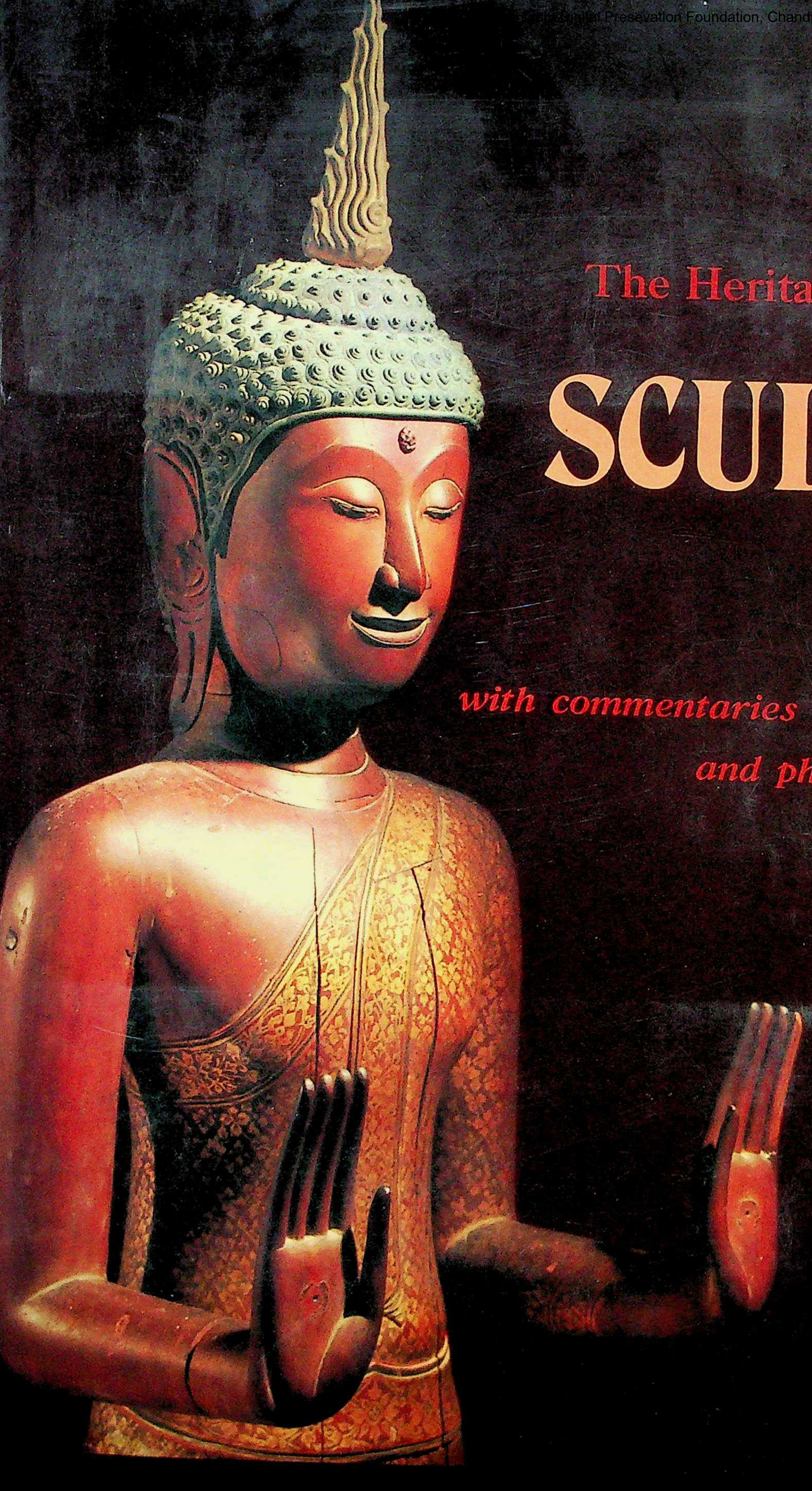

The Heritage of THAI SCULPTURE

by Jean Boisselier

with commentaries by Jean-Michel Beurdeley

and photographs by Hans Hinz

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THE HERITAGE OF THAI SCULPTURE

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by Jean Boisselier
Professor of the Sorbonne and
Director of the French Archaeological Mission
in Thailand

with commentaries by Jean-Michel Beurdeley

and photographs by Hans Hinz

Weatherhill
New York & Tokyo

1 *(frontispiece). The Emerald Buddha, Wat Pra Kèo, Bangkok*

State Museum Library
Lucknow

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IN MEMORY OF
THE FOUNDER OF THAI ARCHAEOLOGY

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab
1862-1943

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FOREWORD

The sculpture of Thailand, an art of extraordinary creativity that has only recently begun to achieve its deserved recognition in the West, occupies a place apart from all the other artistic traditions of Southeast Asia. It owes much of its originality to a peculiar fusion of two seemingly contradictory features: a plurality of styles and schools, on the one hand, and, on the other, a unity of inspiration linking all of them. Unlike the sculpture of Indonesia or that of Cambodia, for example, both of which follow from their beginnings unbroken courses of development that absorb varied religious sources of inspiration, the history of Thai sculpture may be viewed as a series of occasionally successive, occasionally contemporary, schools. Differing considerably in their separate aesthetic systems and in their modes of expression, these schools are nevertheless united by their grounding in the Buddhist faith and in the prominence that all of them accord to the Buddha image. Whereas the sculpture of other areas of Southeast Asia may be studied as a continuous sequence of development, such an approach is inappropriate to the investigation of sculpture in Thailand. Each of the Thai schools must be analyzed separately, but to appreciate fully their "unified diversity", it is equally necessary to identify and define the organic links that connect the various schools.

Thailand has always served as a crossroads for Central Indochina and the Malay Peninsula, and its peculiar geographical situation would seem to account, even more than its political history, for the complexity of its art. A meeting place of various lines of overland communication and a transit zone for maritime commerce and travel, Thailand has from earliest times enjoyed a privileged situation in the spread and interaction of South Asian cultures. The area that is now Thailand served as both a storehouse of foreign cultures and as a center of influence transmitting what it had received from outside to other neighboring lands. As a result, it is particularly rich in prehistoric remains and provides in abundance the earliest archaeological evidence for the expansion of Indian culture into Southeast Asia.

Following the spread of Buddhism from India during the early centuries of the present millenium, a new image of the Buddha arose in Thailand around the seventh century A.D. and spread, unaffected by the passage of time or by political developments, throughout most of the peninsula. What can be identified as a peculiarly Thai art developed there only from the thirteenth century onward, following the rise of the early Thai kingdoms of Sukhothai and Lan Na (Chieng Mai). A truly national style was slowly arrived at only from the fifteenth century onward, under the aegis of the kingdom of Ayuthya. Complete political unity of Thailand was not achieved until the nineteenth century—the accomplishment of the Chakri dynasty that had ruled in Bangkok from 1782. For this reason, and perhaps even more because prevailing religious attitudes encouraged artistic diversity, sculpture in Thailand escaped the dangers of uniformity or of the arrested development that affected art throughout most of Southeast Asia.

Not enough emphasis has been laid in the study of Thai art on the importance of factors making for the preservation of works of art—what might be called a "museological preoccupation" were it not inspired by profoundly religious sentiment. That sentiment combined with a concern to insure the permanence of superhuman forces that would protect and guarantee individual or national prosperity. It was owing to this reverence for the works of the past, an attitude well attested to from the time the Chakri dynasty established itself in Bangkok but certainly much older, that images found in ruined provincial monasteries were gathered up and installed in the newly erected monasteries of the capital. This enterprise is well documented by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in his *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam*, published in Thai in 1926 and partially translated into English in 1962 and 1973. Although necessarily out of date as regards the earliest periods due to the subsequent advance of scholarship, this book nevertheless remains one of the prime sources of information for the modern period and is invaluable to an understanding of the imperatives governing Buddhist art in Thailand. The capture and sack of Ayuthya by the Burmese in 1767 gave a new dimension to the practice of transferring images by associating it with a genuine effort toward national revival.

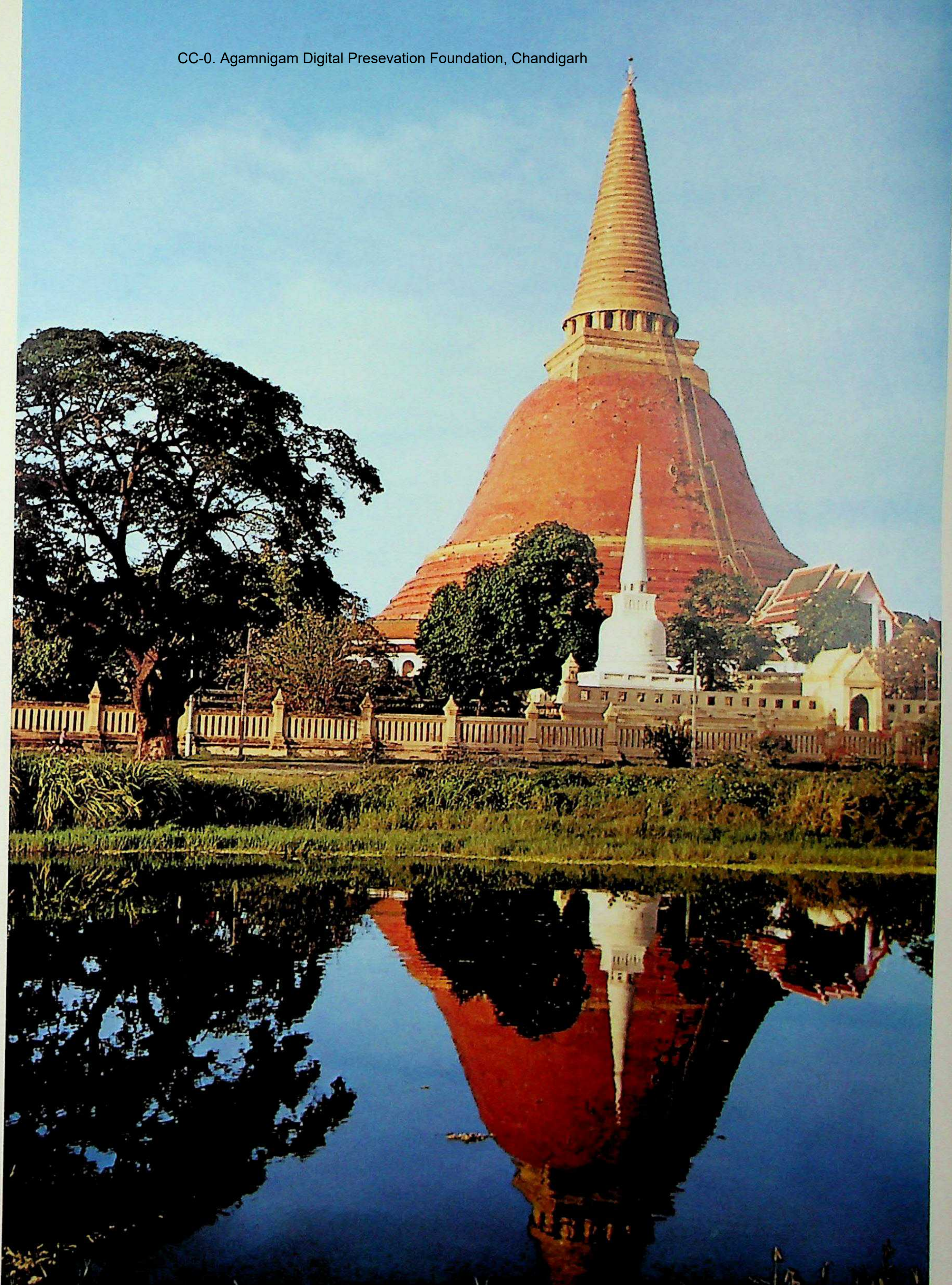
The conservation of religious images also led gradually to a concern for archaeology. The collections, whose initial purpose was to preserve religious images and the merits embodied in them, were superseded during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by actual museums, designed as depositories of the ancient faith rather than as places of study but nonetheless open to the public. At the same time, under the auspices of the Siamese court, archaeological field work was undertaken in connection with a vast movement of religious revival.

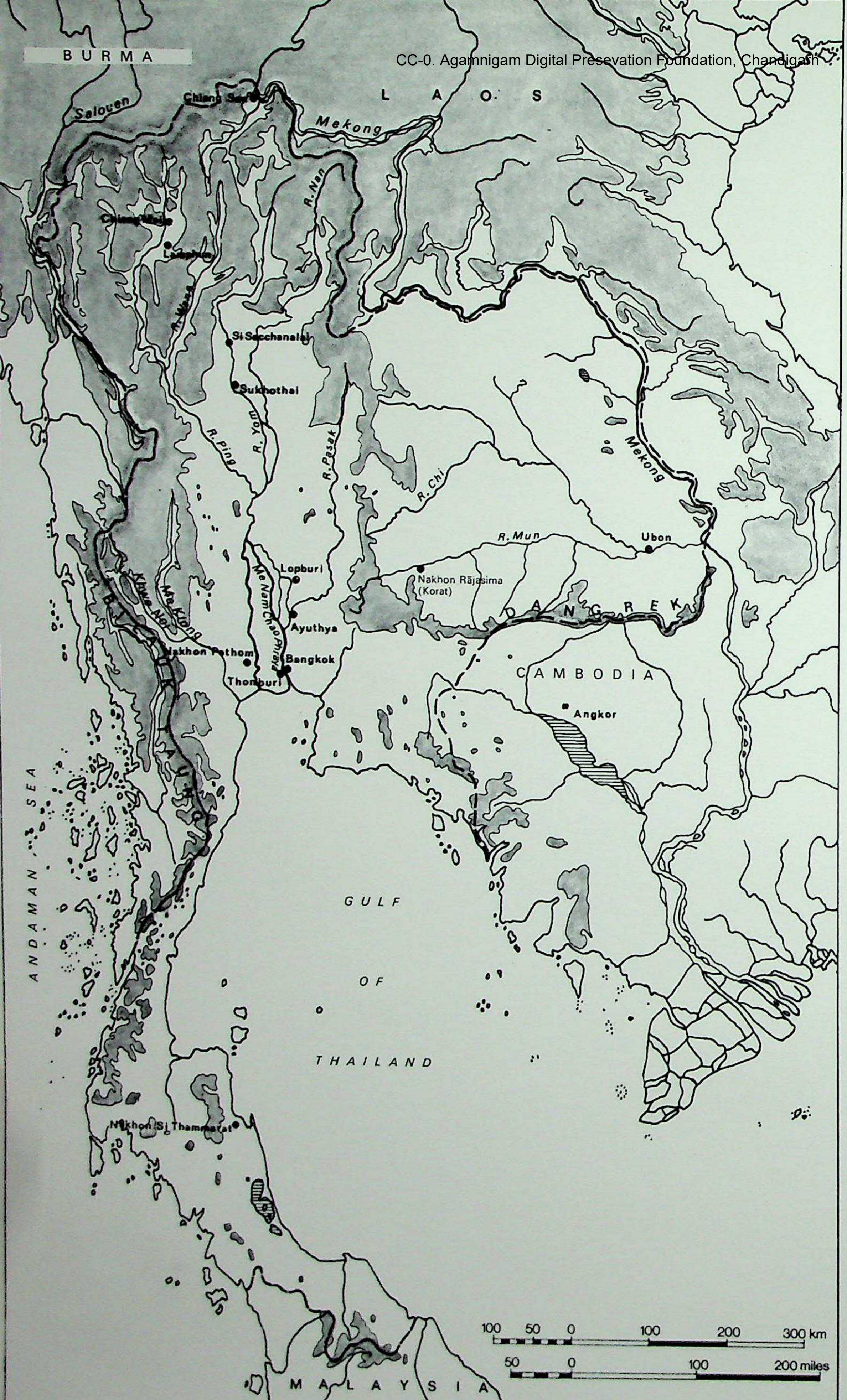
At the outset of his reign, King Rāma IV Mongkut (r. 1851-68) undertook the long and difficult restoration of Pra Pathom Chedi, traditionally one of the most venerated holy places in the kingdom. The work was completed by his son and successor Rāma V Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), who at Wat Benchamabopit (the Marble Temple), the monastery he founded in Bangkok, not only assembled statues from abroad and from all the provinces of the kingdom but also erected copies of the most important images in Buddhist history. Such undertakings were inspired by certain of the oldest traditions and devotional practices of Buddhism. In the late nineteenth century, however, they were to have unexpected results: excavation of the ancient sites, at first for devotional purposes but later all too often for pecuniary gain, rapidly became a widespread activity, resulting in the ravaging and looting of a number of them. At the same time, the copying of religious images developed into a thriving industry, not only supplying the devout with reproductions of venerated statues but also fostering a market for fakes. Although most of these copies are too crude to deceive anyone, the workmanship and artificial patina of a number of them is so fine as to create serious problems of authentication for collectors and even for scholars. In these circumstances, fraught with threats to the national patrimony, the work of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862-1943), the son of King Mongkut, assumes exceptional importance. His historical researches are remarkable for their breadth and insights, and to him, moreover, goes the credit for taking the first steps to protect works of archaeological importance, for establishing the museological principles for the conservation of the collections, and for organizing the national Archaeological Department that was instituted in 1924. The progress of archaeological research in Thailand since the beginning of the present century has been made possible only by such purposeful, enthusiastic, and energetic action at an early stage.

While providing a comprehensive survey of sculpture in Thailand, this book proposes to examine the essential features of the art in order both to demonstrate the originality of the schools and to clarify everything that may help to define particular styles and distinguish genuine works. In Part I is presented the broad picture of Thai sculpture and the unity of inspiration that underlies the art. Part II is devoted to a close study of the separate schools, following a system of classification based largely on the chronology proposed by Prince Damrong. Adopted by George Coedès at the outset of his work and adopted by the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, it has been modified here only in order to bring it into line with subsequent archaeological research and to show more clearly the local antecedents of the schools and their later influences. To avoid encumbering the text with descriptive matter which, although indispensable, is often lengthy, notes on the illustrations have been grouped together at the end of the book. These captions are the work of Jean-Michel Beurdeley, who is also responsible for a short chapter of useful advice to collectors and art-lovers. This chapter accompanies the appendices, in which we have felt it necessary to explain certain notions concerning Buddhist iconography which, in Thailand, cannot always be defined in terms of a few simple points, such as are generally held to suffice for most images in other Buddhist traditions.

A Note on Spelling: As this book has no philological pretensions, Thai and Khmer names are written in the forms most commonly used, so that the reader may find them without difficulty in the books and maps he may be prompted to consult. For Sanskrit terms a simplified spelling has been adopted, and such diacritical marks as have but small importance to the pronunciation have been omitted. Long vowels are indicated by a macron (as in *Rāma*); *ṣ* is transcribed as *sh*; the vowel *ṛ* is rendered *ri*. We have, however, retained *ś* (pronounced like the German *ch*) and *ñ* (pronounced as the Spanish *ñ*). We have also adopted a Sanskrit terminology, in preference to the Pāli terms, because it is better known in the West.

2 *Pra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom*




BURMA
LAOS
Salouen
Chiang Saen
Mekong
Chiang Mai
Lamphun
R. Nan
R. Wang
Si Satchanalai
Sukhothai
R. Yom
R. Ping
R. Pasak
R. Chi
Mekong
R. Mun
Ubon
Lopburi
Nakhon Rājasima
(Korat)
DANGREK
Me Nam Chao Phraya
Khwae Noi
Me Klong
Ayuthya
Nakhon Pathom
Bangkok
Thonburi
CAMBODIA
Angkor
ANDAMAN SEA
GULF OF THAILAND
Nakhon Si Thammarat
MALAYSIA
100 50 0 100 200 300 km
50 0 100 200 miles

Map 1:
Modern Thailand

INTRODUCTION

The Geography, History, and Religions of Thailand

Occupying the central part of the Indochinese peninsula, and the only state in Southeast Asia never to come under colonial domination, Thailand was called Siam prior to 1939 and again from 1945 to 1949. The present name gives official recognition to age-old local usage; it evokes the primacy of the Thai people, who were the promoters of national unity from the thirteenth century on, and the adjective "Thai" (meaning "free") conveys the pride of an independent, sovereign nation. The old name of Siam seems to have arisen out of the international relations of the country and was used primarily by outsiders: in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Thai were known to their neighbors as the inhabitants of Syām or Siem, and the area was designated Sien in Chinese texts of the late thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, when contacts were made with Europe, the name Siam was given by Westerners to the then sovereign kingdom of Ayuthya and frequently to the capital city as well.

GEOGRAPHY

Thailand in its present boundaries occupies an area of 198,247 square miles, located between 5° and 21° north latitude and between longitude 97° and 106° east. Opening broadly onto the South China Sea through the Gulf of Thailand and with a shorter coastline on the Indian Ocean, Thailand has common frontiers with the Union of Burma to the north, the Federation of Malaysia to the south, and with Laos and Cambodia to the northeast and southeast, respectively. In 1972, the population of the country numbered about thirty-five million. Although lying entirely within the tropical zone, Thailand is divided into four distinct regions: the Central Plain, corresponding to the lower basin and delta area of the Menam Chao Phraya River, receives abundant rainfall, contains the bulk of the population, and is the site of most of the essential activities of the country; North Thailand—mountainous, dry, and forested—can be cultivated only in its fertile valleys; the Northeast Plateau, also relatively dry, possesses generally poor, unproductive soil; and the Southern Peninsula, where a succession of well watered mountain ranges skirts the moderately populated eastern lowlands.

Archaeology and history reveal that Thailand was progressively occupied from the periphery inland toward the central zone. The clearing of land and painstaking drainage and irrigation projects enabled the vast delta lowlands of the Menam Chao Phraya River to be brought first under cultivation. In prehistoric times, the population centers were located along several main roads that extended from the north (the present day provinces of Chieng Rai, Me Hongson, Udon Thani, and Sakhon Nakhon) to the south (provinces of Kanchanaburi and Ratburi); in protohistoric times and in the earliest periods of recorded history, they spread to the northeast toward the periphery of the periodically flooded Menam Plain. In this region arose the so-called Dvāravatī culture.

As new lines of communication were opened southward down the Malay Peninsula as well as to the east and west, the western lake region came to be connected with the Menam Plain by way of Aranya Prathet and Prachinburi. This latter site was evidently an important junction of several major roads. With the formation of the Thai kingdom of Ayuthya in the fourteenth century, the development of the delta began in earnest, and the choice in 1350 of the site of the capital city of Ayuthya is indicative of the extent to which the region had already been settled. It was only toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the capital was transferred first to Thonburi and later to Bangkok, that there occurred major movements of population toward the southern reaches of the delta. As a result of these early social, economic, and geographical factors, the oldest and most extensive archaeological remains are to be found outside the zone which has become the modern heart of Thailand. These factors also help explain how and why certain areas that today seem poor and underpopulated, the Northeast is an example, were important cultural centers in early historical times.

As regards population, it is assumed—chiefly on the strength of ancient inscriptions—that before the rise of the Thai kingdoms in the late thirteenth century the Mōn people predominated throughout most of the country, with groups of Khmer occupying the eastern region between Mun and Dang Rek. Once the Thai gained undisputed sway, the Mōn were gradually assimilated. Apart from a large Lao population, very close in every respect to the Thai, the Chinese are the only one of various minority groups to have exerted any influence on the development of the arts in Thailand.

HISTORY

In surveying the history of the area that today comprises Thailand, three periods can be distinguished. A long prehistoric age, the chronology of which remains uncertain, extended until approximately the time that the Christian era began in the West. This was followed by what might be called the "early historical period" that is as yet ill defined politically but began with the Indianization of the region around the turn of the millenium and ended in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, when the Thai people of the Menam Plain established their independence. Finally, a "later historical period", the first that may properly be designated Thai for it saw the consolidation of national unity, began with the founding of the Sukhothai kingdom in the thirteenth century and has continued to the present.

The wealth of prehistoric remains in Thailand was long unsuspected and is only now being revealed by excavation. Beginning with a Paleolithic phase (pebble tools) and including an important Mesolithic period (partially polished tools), the prehistory of Thailand is characterized by an abundance and variety of Neolithic sites and by the apparent precocity of its Early Bronze Age. Among the Neolithic sites, that of Ban Khao in Kanchanaburi Province is particularly remarkable for the quality and elaborate shapes of its pottery. Dating from the Early Bronze Age are the ceramic wares of Ban Chieng (Udon Thani Province), painted with a great variety of spiral patterns. Late Bronze Age sites have revealed *dongson* (bronze drums), which by their presence imply contacts with the eastern side of the Indochinese peninsula. The remains of hempen textiles and beads of colored glass and hard stones long in use in the same sites seem to provide evidence of early contacts with the Indian world.

Although Buddhist tradition asserts that Aśoka, the great Indian ruler of the third century B.C., sent missionaries to Suvannabhūmi, the "Land of Gold" that has been identified either as lower Burma or southwestern Thailand, there is no tangible evidence for the influence of Indian culture in the area prior to the early centuries of our era. It was at this time that Chinese historians first mention a number of principalities in the Indochinese peninsula, although their precise locations are uncertain; the Chinese histories also refer to Fu-nan, a kingdom that was to play an influential role in the destiny of Southeast Asia. While its disappearance or loss of power in the Mekong Delta during the early decades of the sixth century made way for the rise of Cambodia, one can no longer rule out the possibility that Fu-nan may have dominated the southern Menam Plain during the early centuries of its existence.

In any event, it is only from the seventh century on that there appears the name of a kingdom that can be located with certainty in the Menam Plain. This kingdom was Dvāravatī, and its center probably was situated at Nakhon Pathom. Inferred originally from a reading of Chinese texts, the existence of Dvāravatī, of whose history and duration virtually nothing is known, has recently been proved by the unearthing of medals bearing inscriptions that refer to "The Lord of Dvāravatī". The kingdom probably controlled all or part of the western Menam Plain, from Phetburi to Suphanburi, at the least; the eastern section of the plain, where inscribed medals referring to Lopburi (formerly, Lavapura) have been found, appears to have formed a separate kingdom. One thing is certain: the kingdom of Dvāravatī exerted a strong cultural and artistic influence in the region and is largely responsible for the spread of Buddhism throughout central Indochina and to the west of the Great Lakes.

By the eighth century, Chinese records make no further reference to Dvāravatī. This silence on the part of the Chinese historians does not necessarily mean that Dvāravatī disappeared, but it seems to coincide with the notice now taken of the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which was seeking a foothold on the Malay Peninsula at about the same time. Recent excavations reveal that the Mahāyāna Buddhism and Brahmanism practiced by Śrīvijaya spread beyond the peninsula and reached most of the sites where Dvāravatī culture had hitherto flourished; hence, there seems good reason to suppose that the downfall of the latter was somehow related to the rise to power of the

3 *Wat Pra Mahathat, Chaiya*

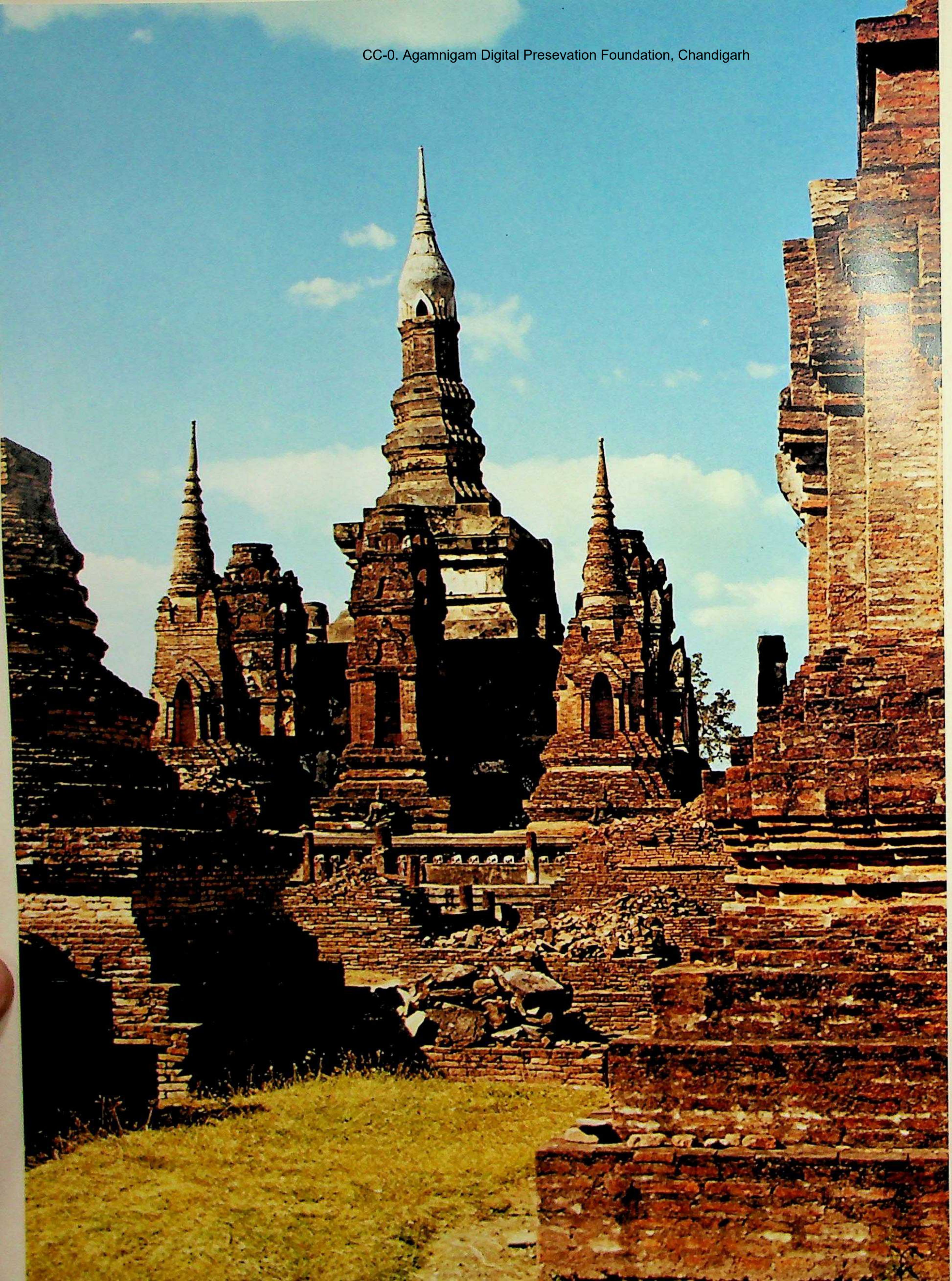
former. The impact of Śrīvijaya on Indochina appears to have been short-lived, however. Barely a century after its expansion into the Indochina Peninsula from Sumatra, Śrīvijaya suffered an unquestionable artistic and cultural decline, hastened no doubt by the ascendancy of Khmer culture in regions where Śrīvijaya had exercised only a tenuous political control. Viewed in this perspective and giving full recognition to the dynastic preoccupations of the Khmer kingdom, its rapid westward thrust at the beginning of the eleventh century takes on great significance. The Khmer occupation of the Lopburi region and the Korat Plateau and a further push in the direction of southeast Burma jeopardized communications between the northern and southern sections of the Menam Plain and hastened the decline of the old, non-Khmer traditions. It was naturally in the Northeast that Khmer power was strongest: the Khmer ruler Sūryavarman II (1113-c. 1145), the founder of Angkor Wat, occupied the right bank of the Mekong at least as far as Sakhon Nakhon and the Sukhothai region, whose Thai population was reduced to vassalage. In 1150, soon after the death of Sūryavarman II, Lopburi sent embassies to China, attempting thereby to assert its independence from the Khmer. Despite that, under Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218) the Khmer were able to extend their rule over nearly all of Thailand (except for the northernmost and southernmost regions) without striking a blow. Soon after Jayavarman's death, however, Khmer power rapidly crumbled before the advance on the political scene of the Thai people.

The "later historical period" began in the second quarter of the thirteenth century with the rebellion of the Thai princes of Sukhothai against their Khmer suzerains. This led rapidly to the establishment of an independent Thai kingdom headed by one of the leaders of the uprising. His third son and second successor, Rāma Kamhèng (Rāma the Strong), who came to the throne shortly before 1280, was the real builder of Sukhothai greatness. Besides concluding a pact of friendship with the Thai princes of Chieng Rai and Payao in 1287, which fostered the rise of the kingdom of Lan Na a few years later, he is credited by contemporary inscriptions with considerable territorial conquests and with the invention of the Thai script. While the separate Thai kingdoms were developing power bases in the North and the rule of Śrīvijaya was declining in the South, the whole of central and eastern Thailand—with the exception of Lopburi, which continued sending embassies to China between 1289 and 1299—remained without any well defined organization until 1350, when a Thai prince of U Thong founded Ayuthya, capital of the kingdom of the same name. As the political and religious successor to Angkor as the most powerful kingdom in the Indochina Peninsula, Ayuthya gradually brought about the unification of Thailand. It captured and occupied Angkor in 1431, and seven years later it annexed the kingdom of Sukhothai, over which it had imposed its sovereignty in 1349. The consolidation of Ayuthya and its penetration into southern Burma provoked a strong reaction from the Burmese and initiated a series of conflicts between the two kingdoms that lasted more than a century. In 1569, Ayuthya was captured by Burmese forces. In 1592, King Nareśvara (alias, Pra Naret the Great) defeated the Burmese at Nong Saray and drove them out of Thailand, thus restoring Ayuthya to its earlier frontiers and cementing national unity.

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, relations were developed between Thailand and more distant foreign nations, chiefly European. In 1516, a treaty was signed with Portugal, providing for the opening of commercial facilities in Thailand and for the exchange of embassies. During the following century and a half, similar relations were entered into with Spain, Holland, Japan, England, and, particularly, France. The increased activity of foreigners in Thailand provoked a nationalistic reaction at the end of the seventeenth century and a gradual decline in European influence. Nonetheless, the eighteenth century was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Ayuthya.

The Burmese resumed their attacks on Ayuthya, however, and in 1767, after eight years of constant warfare, they seized and destroyed the Thai capital. It must have seemed in that year that Ayuthya could never again rise from its ruins, and yet only three years later its rebirth was accomplished by General Phraya Tak, who was proclaimed king in 1770 at the new capital of Thonburi. The mighty task of reconstruction was continued by General Phraya Chakri; in 1782, he quelled a series of uprisings that occurred due to the madness of Phraya Tak, and was crowned King Rāma I. The new king transferred the capital to Bangkok and proclaimed the establishment of a new dynasty. Opening Thailand to the West and modernizing the country without sacrificing the uniqueness and refinement of the traditional culture became the primary

4 *Prang of Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat, Lopburi*
5 *Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai (overleaf, left)*
6 *Pra Chedi Chai Mongkon of Wat Yai Chai Mongkon, Ayuthya (overleaf, right)*



goals of the new Chakri dynasty. The success of these endeavors may be credited largely to King Rāma IV Mongkut (1851-68) and to his son King Rāma V Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), both of them enlightened rulers in the fullest sense of the term.

During the centuries in which the kingdom of Sukhothai grew and the nation of Thailand subsequently came into being under the aegis of Ayuthya, another important Thai kingdom arose in the North: Lan Na or Yonakarattha, the "kingdom of the (Thai) Yuon." Founded by Mang Rai, cosignatory of the friendship pact with Sukhothai in 1287, Lan Na absorbed the older kingdom of Haripuñjaya, founded in the eighth century, thus putting an end to the last bastion of Mōn power still remaining in central Indochina. Although often at odds with its neighbors and an active participant in the battles between Ayuthya and the Burmese or the Lao, Lan Na nevertheless preserved its precarious independence until 1775, when it was annexed to Siam. A relative autonomy, maintained until the end of the nineteenth century, has contributed to preserving its artistic and literary traditions down to the present day. Chieng Mai, the capital of Lan Na, was established in 1296, and through the centuries has remained the second major city of Thailand.

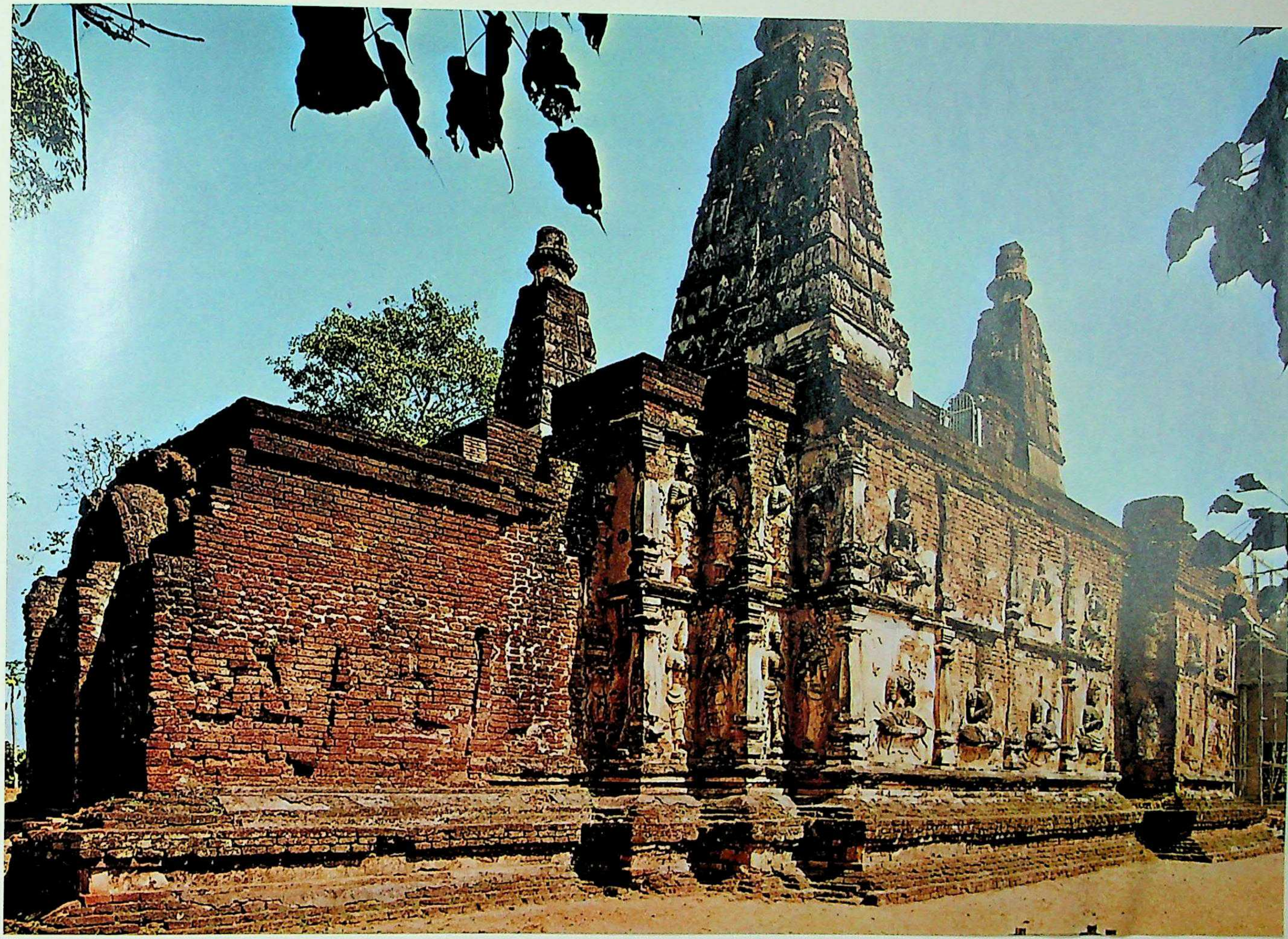
RELIGION

For all the complexity of its political history, it may be said that the single dominant feature of Thai history is its constant fidelity to the Buddhist faith. The religion has provided a strong factor of continuity, the link unifying all the various divergent social or political tendencies that have manifested themselves over the centuries. Brahmanistic cults have also played a role in Thai religious history, but never assumed the overriding importance of Buddhism.

Buddhism has given the art of Thailand its true character and unique complexion. The predominance of a single faith did not mean, however, that a single doctrine prevailed throughout Thai history in a static, unchanging form. Buddhism in all its manifestations proved itself to be a living and remarkably adaptable faith. The only religious evidence available for the early historical period is provided by a few short inscriptions, by the accounts of Chinese pilgrims, and, most important of all, by extant Buddhist images. Of this evidence, the earliest is that of the images, the oldest of which date from the fourth or fifth century A.D. The Buddhism practiced in Thailand at that time seems to have been directly related to that of the same period in southern India and Ceylon. Though it is not possible to identify precisely the sects from which it may have sprung, Thai Buddhism of the time certainly belonged to the Theravādin school. Theravāda, or the "Doctrine of the Elders", is generally considered the closest reflection of the Buddha's actual teaching, and is often improperly called Hīnayāna, the "Lesser Vehicle", to distinguish it from the later, rival school of Mahāyāna, the "Great method of arriving at knowledge" or "Great Vehicle", which introduced a wealth of new, speculative doctrines. While the earliest inscriptions are in Pāli, the sacred language of the Theravādins, there also exist a few texts in Sanskrit stemming from the same tradition but due perhaps to the influence of the Mūlasarvastivādin sect, whose presence in Thailand was noted toward the end of the seventh century by the Chinese pilgrim I-ching. It is not known, however, which sects were responsible for erecting the great early Buddhist monuments, the remains of which have begun to be cleared in recent years; the influence of these monuments was perpetuated in the highly venerated Pra Pathom Chedi (Plate 2), rebuilt in the latter half of the nineteenth century at Nakhon Pathom.

It was toward the end of the eighth century, at the latest, that Mahāyāna Buddhism made its appearance in Thailand. Its advance into central Indochina seems to have been connected with the expansion of Śrīvijaya. Along with Mahāyāna came the practice of making Bodhisattva images, especially of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, and the making of bronze images in the Indian style of Nālandā art. As in Indonesian examples, these bronzes sometimes bear Sanskrit inscriptions engraved in the characters of northern India or even in old Javanese script. It is, of course, in the Malay Peninsula—chiefly at Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat—that there have been found monuments clearly revealing their origins in the Śrīvijaya tradition, despite repeated restorations. Mahāyāna Buddhism does not seem to have taken root very deeply in central and eastern Thailand, nor does it seem to have had an appreciable effect on the evolution of the Thai Buddha image, which apparently adhered to an ideal worked out during the earlier period. This fidelity to a few ancient types is a constant feature of Buddhist iconography in Thailand, one to which frequent reference will be made in later chapters of this book.

While Mahāyāna Buddhism had but a relatively short-lived success in the Menam Plain, its seed seems to have fallen on more fertile ground in the northeastern region of Thailand. Coming into contact with Khmer culture, it led



7 *Pra Chedi of Wat Chedi Chet Yot, Chieng Mai*

849.

to the elaboration of an iconography with Tantric tendencies which was to exert a considerable influence on the art of Angkorian Cambodia, particularly from the late eleventh century to the early thirteenth. The Khmer hegemony over Lopburi gave a new vitality to Mahāyāna Buddhism in Thailand, its art and forms of worship being modeled on those of Cambodia. But these were official manifestations of Angkorian power; they affected only a few chosen sites, and everywhere else the earlier Theravādin communities were apparently allowed to subsist. Their art shows these Theravādin groups to have been impoverished and more or less decadent, but they must have survived all the vicissitudes of the early historical period, for their survival alone can explain the success and scope of the Theravādin revival that occurred during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The establishment of the Thai kingdoms in the thirteenth century marks the final triumph of the Theravāda. One may assume that the success of the school was due to the fact that, perhaps for the first time, the religion on which the rulers based their authority was the same as that practiced by the population for generations past. The difference in tone between the Khmer inscriptions and those of the Sukhothai rulers, the latter having a simplicity wholly imbued with the Buddhist ideal, is highly characteristic in this respect. It has been supposed that the Thai districts (as opposed to those under Sukhothai hegemony) did not yet practice Buddhism at the time when the kingdoms arose. There is no tangible evidence of a Thai Buddhist art antedating the rise of the kingdoms, but it is inconceivable, nonetheless, that those districts could have continued to ignore the Buddhist doctrine while developing in areas where the religion was traditionally practiced, such as the northeast and the Lamphun and Sukhothai regions. Until the advent of the Sukhothai kings, who held themselves to be the defenders of Theravādin orthodoxy, the monasteries of Thailand had doubtless subsisted by their own unaided efforts, having at most the benefit of sporadic contact with the Mōn monks of southern Burma. Like the rulers of Pagan, those of Sukhothai were to depend upon the Sinhalese school for their work of renovation, and it was from Sukhothai that Sinhalese Buddhism made its way to Lan Na and also to the kingdom of Ayuthya. From that time on, there were steady contacts between the religious communities of Thailand and those of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), and the Buddhism practiced in Ayuthya came to enjoy such great prestige that a Sinhalese embassy requested in 1750 that a mission of Thai monks be sent to reform the Buddhism practiced on the island.

In the nineteenth century, King Rāma IV Mongkut, a learned theologian who had lived the religious life until his accession to the throne in 1851, fostered a final reform of the Buddhist establishment in Thailand. The Thammayut ("attached to the Law") sect was born of this movement, and was designed to purge the faith of the encroachments of local popular superstitions. Reformist in spirit and based upon a strict respect for orthodoxy and on a study of the canonical texts, Thammayut exerted an unmistakable influence on the evolution of Buddhist art in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

As compared with Buddhism, the Brahmanistic cults were only of secondary importance in Thailand. Even so, they did on occasion produce works of art which number among the most extraordinary ever produced anywhere in Southeast Asia. From Chaiya comes the earliest Vishnu idol known in Southeast Asia, proving the importance of this region to the diffusion of the Indian religions in early times. But it was only much later, chiefly by way of Śrīvijaya and Cambodia, that Śivaism and Vishnuism spread to the territory that was to become Thailand. As a result, it was in the regions where the Indonesian and Khmer cultures had become most deeply rooted that Brahmanism gave rise to the most original schools of art; the identity of styles, moreover, enables us to trace remote lines of development, often running parallel to those of Mahāyāna.

When Buddhism was finally established in the Thai kingdoms, the Brahmanistic idols by no means disappeared. Indeed, it was in Sukhothai that a number of extraordinary Brahmanic statues, some of colossal size, were cast in bronze. There is nothing paradoxical in this continuing interest in Brahmanism: its divinities could be incorporated into the Buddhist cosmology as gods of the human sphere, Śiva being the greatest of them even though he remained much inferior to the thirty-three gods dwelling on Mount Meru. It was fitting, therefore, not only to honor them but to provide idols for their worshippers. These same Brahmanic divinities also played a key part in the performance of the royal rites, and this was the real reason for their importance in the kingdoms of Ayuthya and Bangkok, where a group of Brahmans attached to the court practiced rituals dedicated to Śiva. These rituals, which may have originated as early as the fourteenth century, stemmed from a tradition imported from South India; renewed over and over again, they brought about a corresponding renewal of Brahmanic imagery, taking on aspects of Khmer culture in the sixteenth century, copying Dravidian models in the eighteenth, and becoming thoroughly Thai in the course of the nineteenth century.

PART ONE

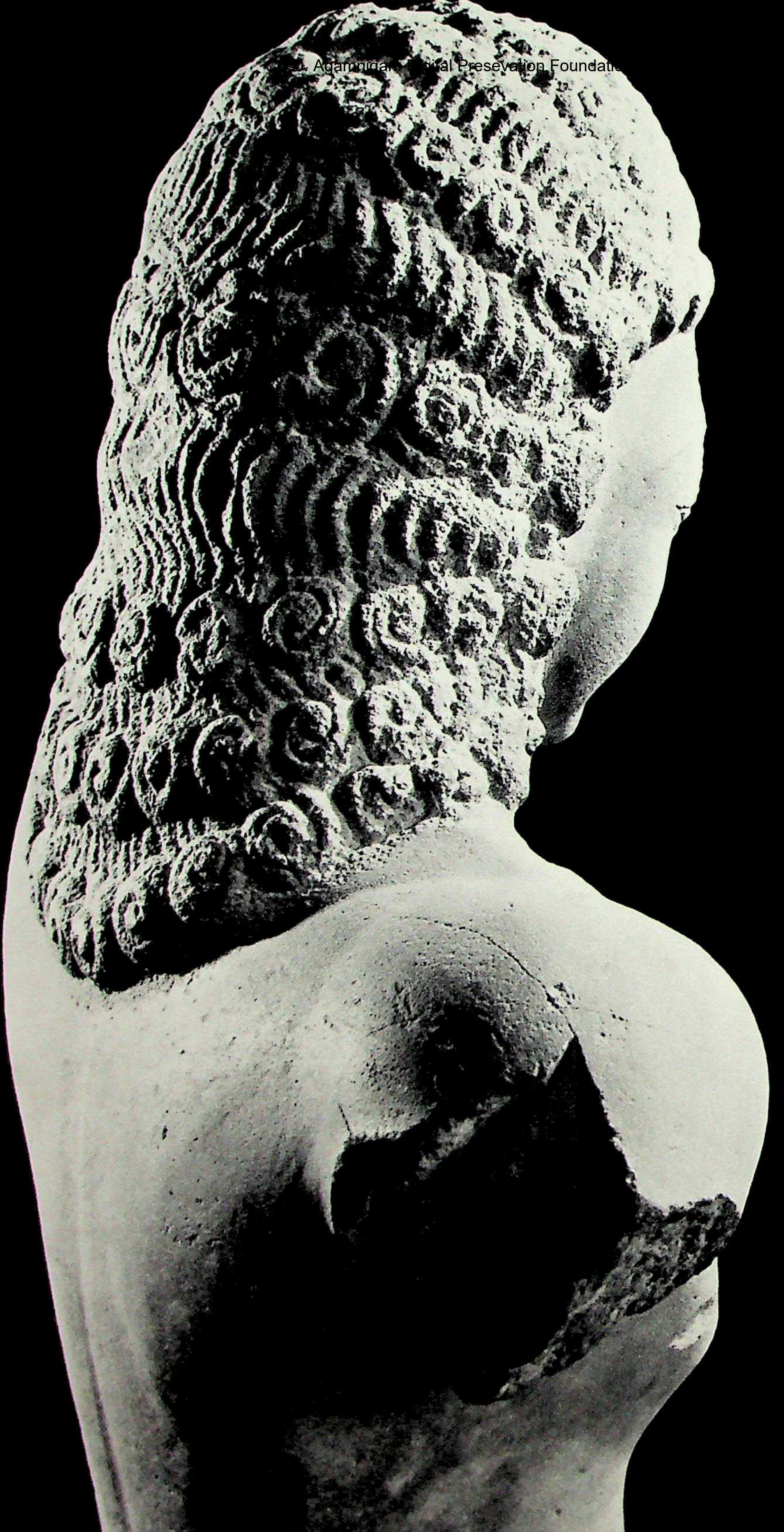
The Spirit and Character of Thai Sculpture

INTRODUCTION

Despite the complexity of its historical development and the diversity of its overlapping schools, the sculpture of Thailand reveals an unexpected unity. To be sure, this unity has little to do with matters of style or methods of plastic interpretation; rather, it is to be found in the sources of inspiration and in the general modes of expression that lie beneath the creation of all works of art, linking various schools and workshops that otherwise appear to have little in common. With the single exception of the Khmer-influenced school of Lopburi, nowhere in the arts of Thailand can there be found the continuous, almost mathematical line of stylistic development followed by the art of Angkorian Cambodia; nor is there anything remotely comparable to the sudden changes and radical shifts of direction that are to be seen in Champa sculpture. Sculpture in Thailand, regardless of the historical moment that one might choose to consider, seems inspired by the same ideals that were at work there centuries earlier or centuries later. Moreover, those ideals are immediately recognizable in nearly all sculpture produced in Thailand: when examining any such statue or relief, except perhaps for a few works of the Śrīvijaya or Lopburi periods, both of which were strongly subjected to outside influences, even the least experienced art lover will not hesitate to identify the piece as "Thai". There is an undeniable "family likeness" linking not only the innumerable Buddha images but the most miscellaneous works of sculpture as well. It is as though shifting ethnic patterns and historical or political vicissitudes had exerted only a negligible influence upon artistic options. To explain the astonishing unity amid diversity one must point instead to two decisive factors that were continuously at work: the abiding predominance of Theravāda Buddhism and the limited selection of materials imposed by local conditions.

Religion was the great inspirer of art, but religion in Thailand was never the exclusive privilege of a ruling class as it so often was elsewhere in the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia. Apparently from the time of the earliest missionaries, Buddhism permeated the entire population of Thailand. Throughout Thai history, unaffected by political changes or by the shifting boundaries of various principalities, the religion provided unity both of thought and of artistic activity. Thus, there seems to have developed over the centuries what might be called a "Buddhistic perception", a way of looking at things, a sense of the sacred, a common attitude toward life, all of which contributed to the gradual elaboration of a unified and genuinely national art. Transcending Buddhism itself, these tendencies became characteristic of the population of Thailand; privileged to live at the meeting point of all the cultural currents that traversed the Indochina Peninsula, the peoples of Thailand succeeded in creating a synthesis of them. Very early in the history of the region there appeared a special sense of grandeur that continued to manifest itself at all times and all places. Tracing a fine line between the rational and the irrational, this sensibility reflected—together with Buddhist thought and with a cosmology that had been accepted for some fifteen centuries—an incomparable sense of the marvelous, a refusal to draw distinctions between tangible reality and a supernatural world that extended to the domain of the gods.

In addition to the myriad factors that undoubtedly contributed to the creation of the unique aesthetic of Thailand, geographical conditions also had a determining influence upon the means of artistic expression. As we shall demonstrate, geography favored unity by making certain artistic techniques practicable and by eliminating the possibility of others; throughout history, a choice has been imposed on sculptors, and their choice, in turn, determined their means of expression. If, in short, the image-makers of Thailand have always been modelers rather than stone carvers, it is not simply because their inclinations lay in that direction but because of the nature of the materials that were available to them.



I PERMANENT CHARACTERISTICS

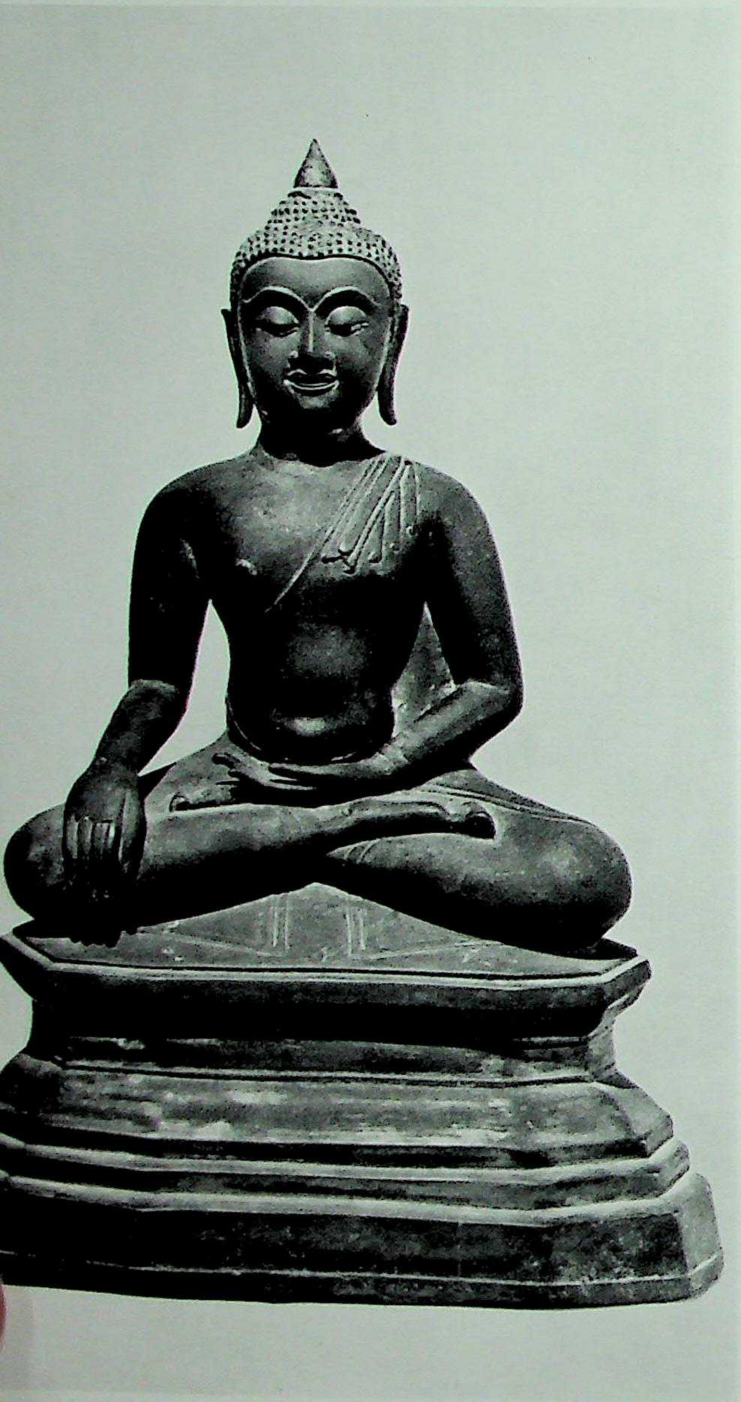
UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Almost until the present day, the inspiration of sculpture in Thailand has remained essentially religious. There is nothing unusual in that: every art to have grown from the Indian tradition is religious by its very nature. Indeed, the notion of art as an end in itself has appeared in the East only during recent decades, resulting from the influence of Western attitudes upon the training of art students. Previously, every image had its proper place in a strictly religious setting. The Buddha, divinities of every rank, diverse human figures, real and fantastic animals, plant forms — all fitted into a universal hierarchy that was precisely defined by cosmological writings and was governed by the great law of *karma* or personal responsibility for one's acts. The framework provided by religion did not, however, impose undue constraints upon the artist. While his primary concern was to represent the Buddha or the gods, he by no means ignored the phenomenal world that he perceived around him. In both the Brahmanic religions and in Buddhism, gods and other supernatural beings do not fail to intervene in the activities of men; to depict such scenes and to tell the stories of the Buddha's various incarnations, artists frequently turned away from hieratic abstraction to a narrative style. The result for sculpture in Thailand was that it remained an art of observation, as responsive to its immediate surroundings as was painting and always prompt to record the particularities of daily life.

In contrast to this apparent freedom, certain rules had to be observed in fashioning images of the Buddha or other gods. Although no single early treatise is known, there can be no doubt that statuary was constantly governed in Thailand, just as it was in India, by strict and well-defined canons. No liberties or personal whims on the part of the sculptor could be tolerated, for at stake was the spiritual value of the image. The proportions of a statue portraying a Brahmanic deity, its attributes, and its adornments were defined with the greatest precision. Similarly, any image of the Buddha had to satisfy a rigidly established set of specifications regarding its physical appearance, attire, and attitudes. In theory, the artist was left with no latitude for interpretation. And yet, no two images of the same god are absolutely identical. If each of the various sculptural styles achieved a marked originality, the reason is that, in the end, there was always a personal understanding of and response to any given text, an individual creative force determining the depiction of specific iconographic features. If, quite apart from differences arising from the varying skill of the image-makers, a Dvāravatī Buddha appears so distinct from one of the Sukothai school, and if it is impossible to confuse either of them with an image from Lan Na, it is because each school perceived and represented the iconographical data in its own terms. Nevertheless, iconographic orthodoxy remained so constant and so important a concern that King Rāma III (1824-51), wary of the increasing influence of Western art forms upon native styles and traditions, felt compelled to decree that the "forty attitudes of the Buddha" be carefully researched in religious scriptures and be precisely defined. With the same purpose in mind, his successor, King Rāma IV Mongkut (1851-68), summoned the finest sculptor of the day to execute several images which not only were closely in accord with traditional specifications but also were more human in appearance than statues of the late Ayuthya and Bangkok periods, whose stylization, carried to the point of lifelessness, he deplored. Although it cannot be denied that these nineteenth-century images—the Pra Nirantarāya, for example—betray hints of the impact of Western vision on traditional Thai art, the importance still attached to points of iconography must be emphasized.

What are the rules that were accepted by all schools of sculpture and that were, if not entirely neglected, often misinterpreted in periods of decadence? Unlike the Brahmanic and Tantric divinities, the Buddha could be represented only in his human aspect. The model for this

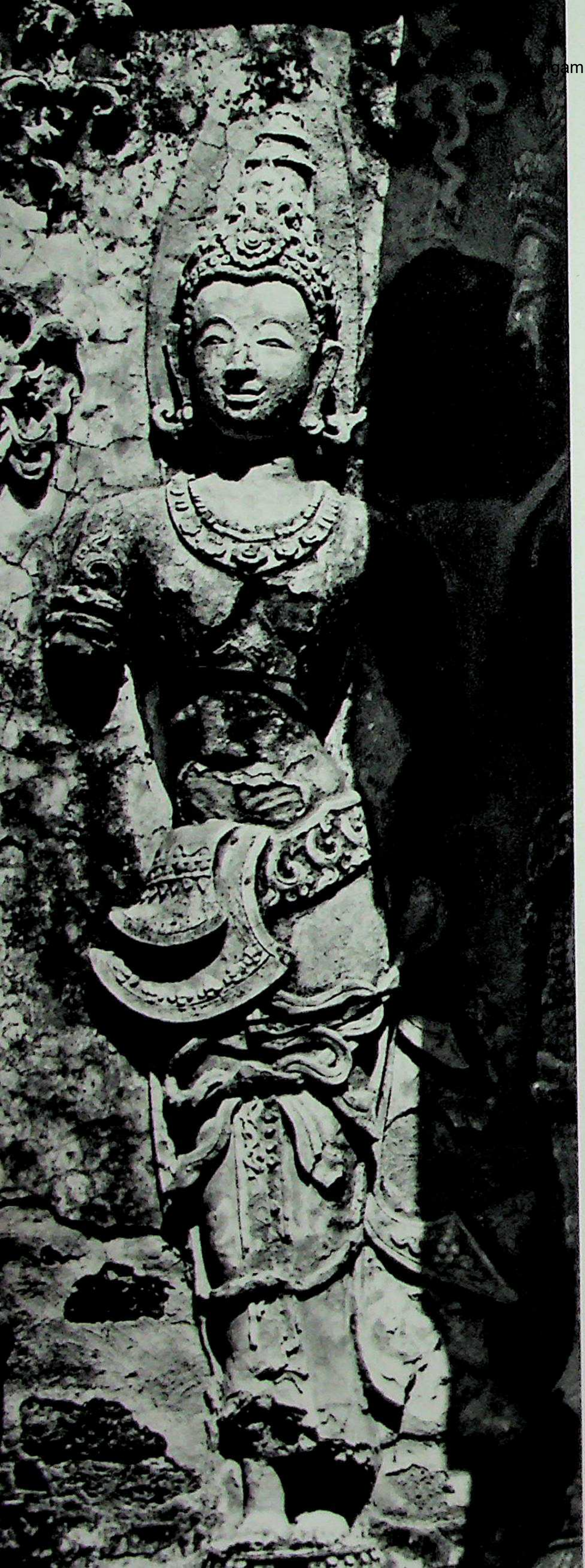
8 *Bust of Krishna, National Museum, Bangkok*



9 Buddha Subduing Māra, National Museum, Bangkok

human form, however, was not merely any man but rather the *mahāpurusha* or Great Man, the eminent man predestined through the merits gained in the course of previous lives to be either a universal ruler or a Buddha. As such, he bore specific marks (*lakshana*) by which he could be recognized from his birth.[1] Of the thirty-two principal marks described in the Buddhist scriptures, some concern personal or inward qualities (his lion's voice, his excellence of taste) that could not be represented visually. Others, inspired by empirical remarks or magico-religious concerns, are auspicious physical features which give the Buddha an uncommon appearance (head crowned with a rounded protuberance, body rounded like the trunk of a banyan tree, thin tapered fingers, etc.). Clad in the prescribed garb of a monk, he always wears the same robe; it consists of three pieces fitted in accordance with the monastic rule, covering both shoulders or leaving the right one bare (see Appendix, p. 199). In certain circumstances, however, the Buddha could be represented wearing royal attire, and this type of image proved to be particularly popular in Thailand from the Lopburi period until the present day. The special problem of the Buddha crowned or adorned as a king (e.g., Plates 18, 19) is complex and transcends the scope of Thai iconography; it appears to have been intended to signify not only the power of the teaching of the Buddha but also the importance of his victory over Māra the tempter. Finally, as regards the aspects in which he appeared at Śravāstī when he performed the Great Magical Display (e.g., Plate 48), the Buddha can be depicted in four attitudes: seated, walking, standing, and reclining. The representation of the walking Buddha (e.g., Plate 93) may be considered the major innovation of the Sukhothai school and one of the most original creations of Thai sculpture. For the rest, the iconographical tradition derives largely from that of South India. Except in the schools of Śrīvijaya and Lan Na, both indirectly inspired by Pāla art, the Buddha is constantly shown seated in the "hero" attitude or *vīrāsana* (legs folded over each other; e.g., Plate 10) and not in the "adamantine" attitude or *vajrāsana* (legs tightly crossed with the soles of both feet turned upward and visible; e.g., Plate 61); the seated "European" posture, with legs hanging down rather than crossed (e.g., Plate 47), is reserved for a few special cases. The Buddha's most

10 The Pra Buddha Jinarāja, Wat Mahathat, Phitsanulok



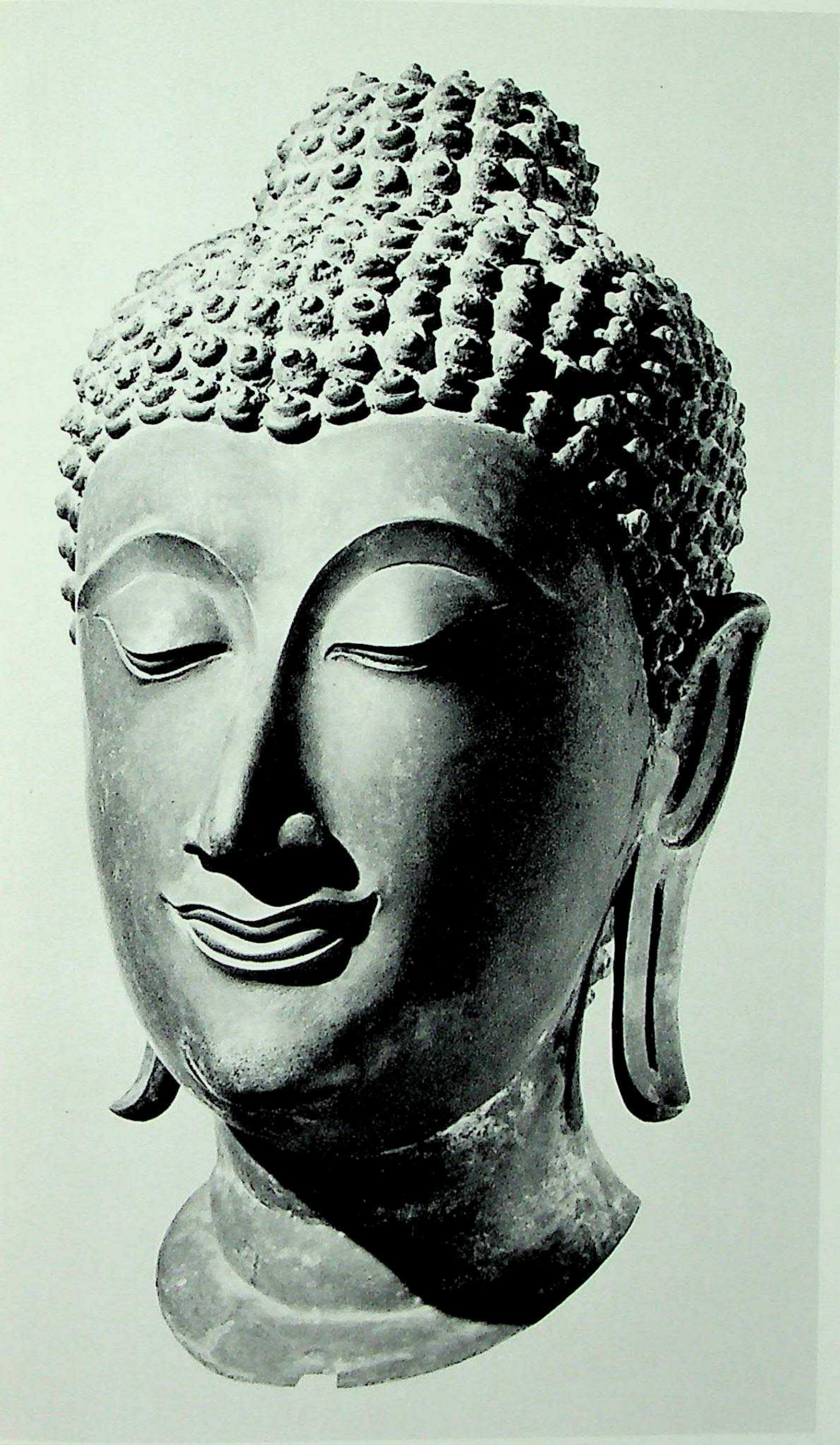
common gesture in the sculpture of Thailand is that of argumentation or exposition (*vitarka mudrā;* e.g., Plates 15, 47), while the gesture known as "setting the Wheel of the Law in motion" (*dharmacakra mudrā;* e.g., Plate 61), so frequent in India, is practically unknown. As in the Theravāda iconography, the gestures in Thailand do not always have quite the same meaning as in India where, in the context of Mahāyāna, each *mudrā* defines a particular *Jina* or Dhyāni Buddha (transcendental Buddha) rather than a moment in the life of the historical Buddha. In Thailand, however, the gesture of "taking the Earth to witness" (*bhumisparśa mudrā;* e.g., Plate 10) occupies a prominent place in the imagery, especially during the Thai period proper, from the late thirteenth century on. Symbolizing his triumph over Māra, this gesture links up with the Pāla tradition and illustrates the greatest of the Buddha's miracles and the apogee of his career.

Thus, in the course of its history, the art of Thailand developed an iconography all its own, one that ultimately prevailed over its borrowed sources and imposed a peculiarly Thai conception of the Buddha and the gods. The elaboration of this iconography did not result simply from the continual obedience to the same religion or from the unchallenged predominance of the same influences. It is as though the land itself, despite the political changes it underwent, was constantly at work to shape its own religious ideals and impose its particular orientation on art.

PATRONAGE AND FUNCTIONS

In Buddhist belief, the making or commissioning of a religious image was an act of devotion and a means of acquiring merit. Moreover, to erect a statue of a god was also to make that god present in the chosen place; hence, a statue of a Buddha was never considered merely a stone or plaster or wooden representation but the very manifestation of the Master's actual presence. Buddhist scriptures abound in passages corroborating the reality of that presence and the supernatural powers of statues, which were to be addressed only in terms reserved for personages of the highest rank. Regardless of its size, aesthetic qualities, or the material of which it was made, an image was never thought to be but a "work of art" in the Western sense. Its beauty was not to be seen in its form or style but rather in

11 *Relief Representing a Standing Divinity, Wat Chedi Chet Yot, Chieng Mai*

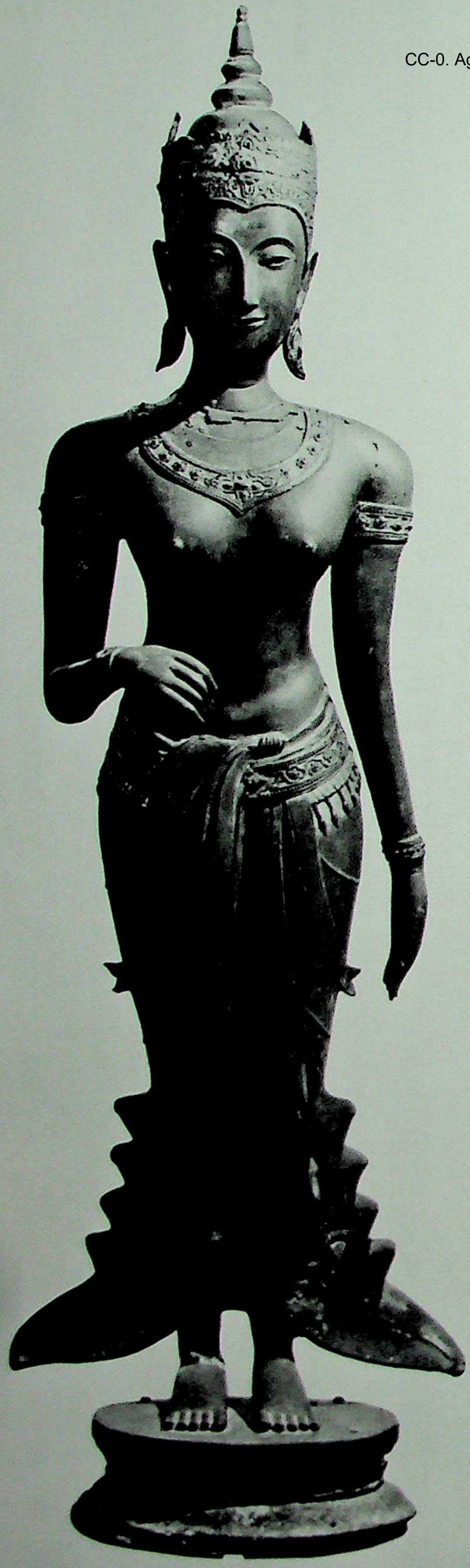


its subjective qualities. The work was *the Buddha* and as such it was, first and foremost, sacred. Given this attitude of reverence for the images, it is not difficult to comprehend the ancient laws of Ayuthya that prescribed exceedingly heavy penalties on anyone guilty of mutilating a statue of the Buddha. Not surprisingly, this belief in the supernatural essence of the images led frequently to practices verging upon superstition. What is important to note, however, is that at no time did the act of commissioning a statue denote the liberality of a patron or the whim of a collector. Similarly, the work was never personalized and the artist was expected to submerge his own personality within the work. In all periods the making of religious images was governed entirely by these conceptions. They inspired not only the initiative of the donor and the craft of the image-maker (who adhered closely to the iconography as it had been laid down in scriptures), but determined also the rites of consecration.

Brahmanism and Mahāyāna Buddhism inspired works that seem designed to enhance the dignity or authority of the donor. Theravāda, on the other hand, by insisting on the intrinsic value of the donation and according equal value to the most unassuming clay figurine as to the most magnificent statue, broadened considerably the scope of the commission. This accounts in part for the very large number of Buddha images that have been produced in Thailand and for their wide range of sizes and styles. Since the merit gained by donating or offering an image was believed to be proportionate to the means employed in making it, and since the latter depends upon the material resources of the individual donor, one can understand why the rich and powerful should have felt called upon to commission works of grandeur and magnificence. Even so, being less a display of opulence than a reflection of the donor's means, such imposing images possessed no greater value, in the end, than the poor man's humble donation.

In view of the religious orientation of Indonesia and ancient Cambodia, it is natural that Brahmanic and Mahāyāna images should be particularly abundant in the Śrīvijaya and Lopburi schools. With the rise of the Thai kingdoms, the making of Mahāyāna images ceased almost entirely, continuing only in the eastern provinces, where a degenerate tradition of Lopburi bronzecasting seems to have lingered on for many years.[2] Images of Brahmanic divinities, as noted already, were made until the end of the nineteenth century; they continued to arouse unflagging

12 Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Bangkok

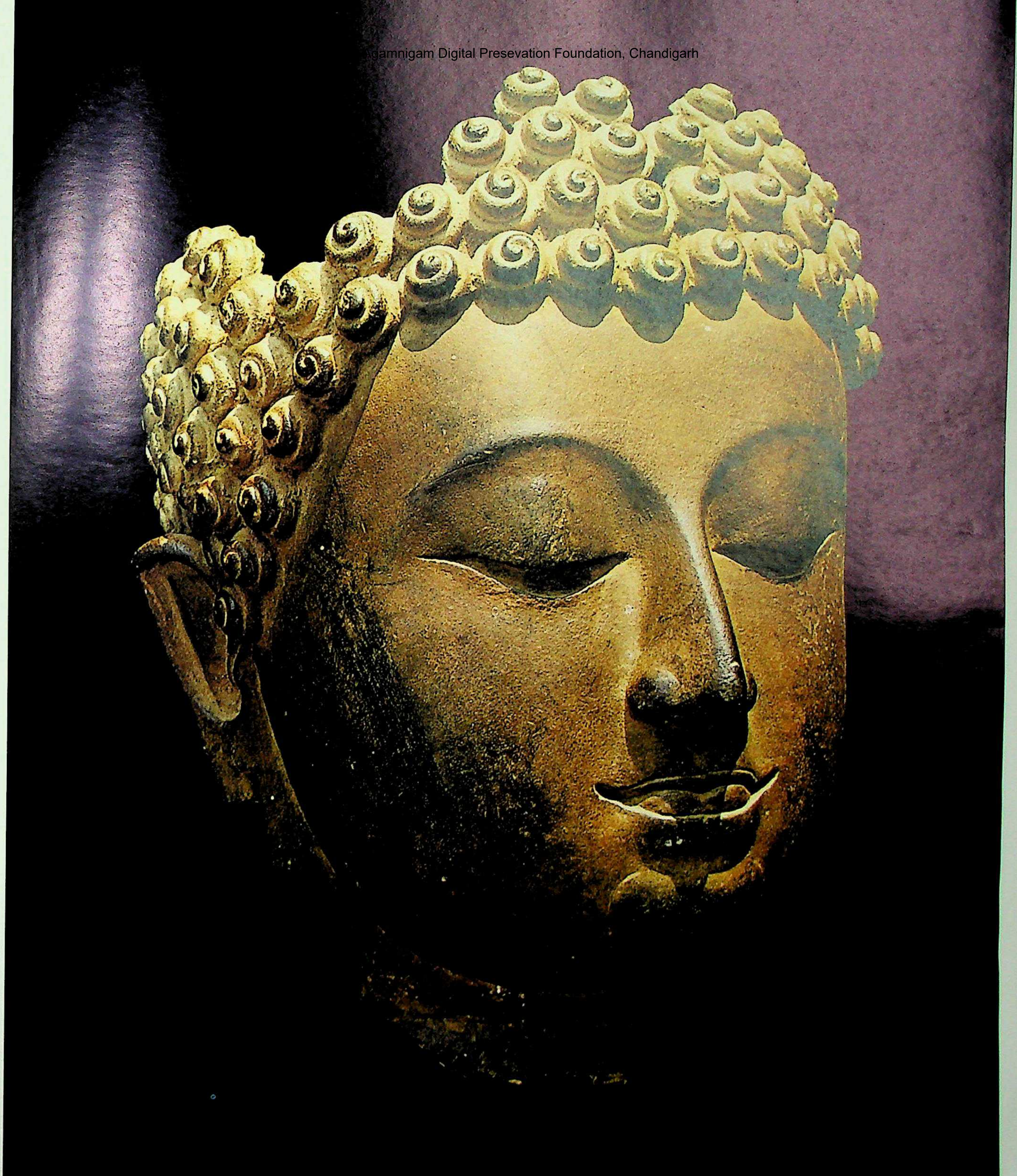


interest and were subjected to creative stylistic renewals as a result of iconographical experimentation that has yet to be studied adequately by art historians.

As regards function, nearly all sculpture in Thailand may be classified into two broad groups: architectural decoration and cult images. The first group, from which religious inspiration is never absent, regardless of the theme or decorative purpose of a particular composition, is extremely large. It includes all the figures and compositions which, treated in more or less vigorous relief, adorn the religious monuments, indicating their sacred character and emphasizing the pre-eminence of the image or relic enclosed in them. The intent of such architectural decoration is usually to evoke a divine world transposed to earth. No monument is considered merely a reliquary or the home of a god: following the well-attested Indian religious concept, the monument itself becomes the god or relic and is wholly identified with them. The sacredness of the reliefs and their close identification with the sanctuary are evidenced by the fact that many sacred deposits were placed in them, thus establishing a magico-religious connection between the heart of the monument and its outer envelope. Decoration for its own sake was never considered: every ornamental element, animal or plant, realistic or fanciful, has an underlying significance. Generally far less arbitrary for the Oriental observer than for the Westerner, the themes of these decorations are derived more or less directly from Indian iconography and symbolism, from Buddhist cosmology, and from the canonical accounts of the Buddha's previous lives (as recorded in the popular *jātaka* fables) and of his last existence (as recorded in the *Vinaya*s and the *sūtra*s).

The second general class of sculpture in Thailand, the immense group of cult images, can be subdivided according to the functions of images in particular religions or their mobility. Brahmanic images and those of the Buddha played very different roles. In the Brahmanic sects, statues of Vishnu or Śiva or other deities were the objects of daily worship by the priesthood alone; the congregation at large was not permitted to participate in most ritual observances. In Theravāda Buddhism, however, all believers were encouraged to worship Buddha images directly; all acts of piety were welcomed, within the supple framework of an unrestrictive ritualism. The images to which believers of

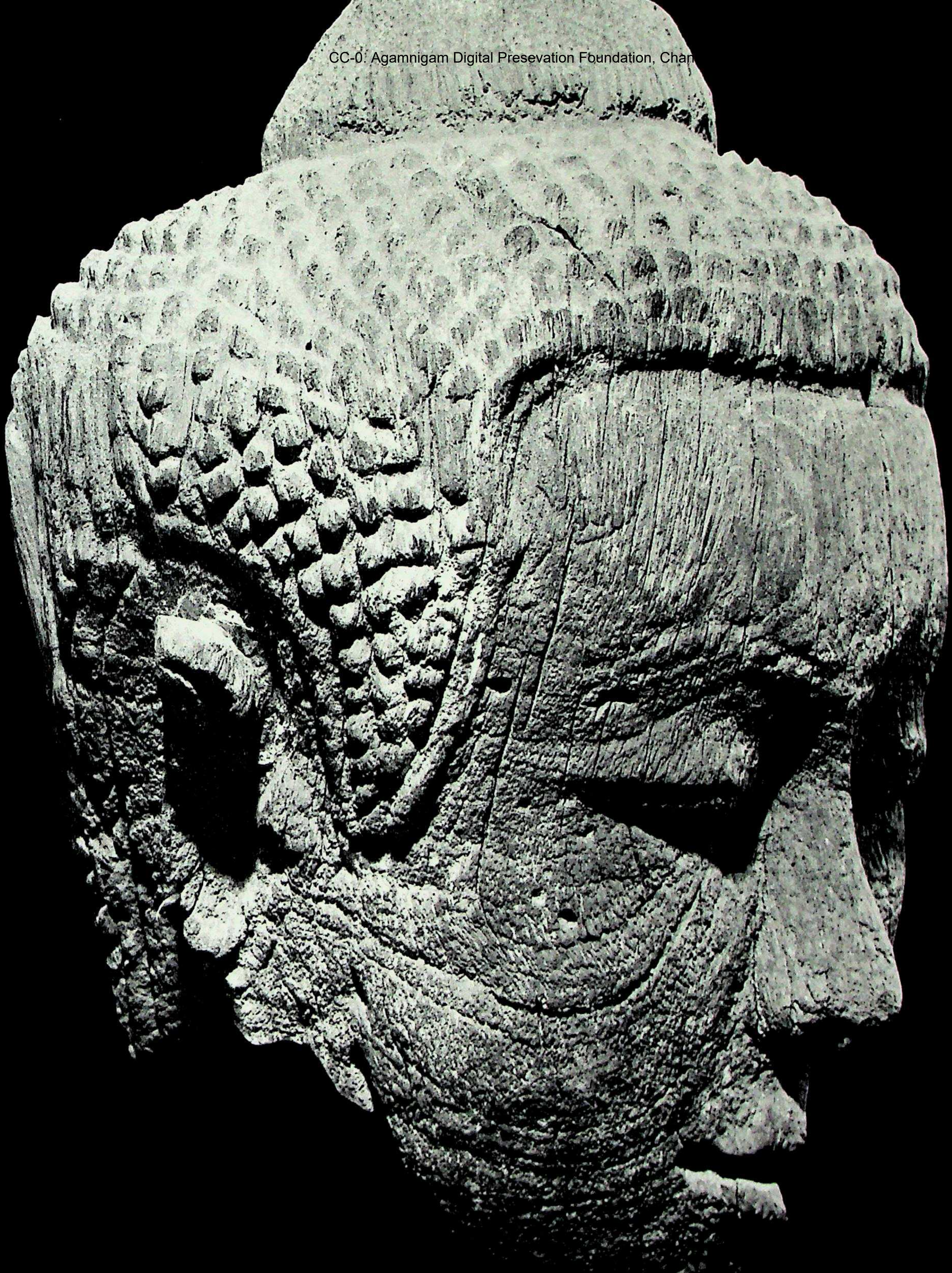
13 *Standing Uma (?), National Museum, Bangkok*
14 *Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Chieng Mai*



all ranks and conditions brought offerings of flowers, incense sticks, and gold leaf, singing praises and reciting acts of faith, were generally located in monasteries, but were also erected at other holy places. Shrines housing images of the Buddha's Footprint and certain caves were venerated as holy sites from very early times. Some images were stationary, fixed permanently in such sanctuaries; others were movable, designed to be carried in processions and used in private acts of devotion. In the monasteries, the principal image was always stationary and occupied the place of honor in the main assembly hall (*vihāra*) or in the ordination hall (*uposathaghara* or *ubosoth*). Usually of colossal size, it was often flanked by statues of the major disciples of the Buddha and surrounded by smaller statues assembled for purposes of devotion. Similarly, in the secondary halls and galleries of large monasteries were groups of statues which, by force of numbers, were intended to evoke the traditional theme of the "Thousand Buddhas".

The large collections of images, particularly in the monasteries of the capital, would seem to be a manifestation of the museological concern that was present in Thailand even in ancient times. At the end of the eighteenth century, reverting to a practice that appears to date at least to the Ayuthya period, King Rāma (1782-1806) dispatched his brother Prince Wang Na to gather up the great statues that had been toppled during the recent wars with the Burmese and lay neglected in the former capitals and principal cities of the kingdom. Over 1200 images, chiefly from Lopburi, Sukhothai, and Ayuthya, were brought to Bangkok and distributed to a number of newly built monasteries. Later, when King Rāma V Chulalongkorn (1867-1911) built the monastery of the Fifth Reign (Wat Benchamabopit, also called the Marble Temple), a similar operation was undertaken, extending to all the Thai provinces and even to neighboring countries; its sole purpose was to bring together statues representing all the styles and schools of the entire Buddhist world. To complete this grand assemblage of images, copies were made of missing originals; the principal image of the monastery was, for example, a faithful copy of the highly revered Pra Buddha Jinarāja at Phitsanulok (Plate 10). This devotional practice of copying renowned images was nothing new in Thailand, and often it was certainly one of the most important

15 *Hand of a Buddha, Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok*
16 *Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Sukhothai*



factors in the commissioning of a work. As soon as the cult of a particular image had established itself—that of the Vajrāsana Buddha at Bodh Gayā is but one example—copies of the venerated statue were transported to other places or individual worshippers carried them on their bodies perhaps less as a keepsake than for the benefit of the blessings which the image was thought to bestow. As will be explained later, such copies were not necessarily absolutely faithful in their external features, for their purpose was more to embody the virtue of the original image rather than to reproduce precisely its appearance. The innovation of King Rāma V was to add to the traditional practice of copying the wholly Western notion that the copy should be an accurate imitation of the outward form of the original.

In contrast to the stationary images, which were permanently installed in monasteries and could not be removed without first performing propitiatory ceremonies designed to obtain the consent of the statue itself, movable images are of two sorts. Some are conceived as duplicates of a particular stationary idol, produced to allow the divinity to leave its home and take part in celebrations and processions. Normally executed in metal, their role is important in Brahmanism and in the Mahāyāna sects. Other images, also in metalwork and sometimes very small in size, are reserved for private devotions. They are equally common in Brahmanism and in Mahāyāna Buddhism; in the Tantric cults of Mahāyāna, moreover, they enter into the composition of the *mandalas.* In Theravāda Buddhism, they exist in two types, both very important in Thailand: cult images proper and votive tablets or plaques called *Pra Pim* (e.g., Plate 30). The former, generally accurate copies of famous images or venerated statues, occupy an altar in private homes where they are accorded the same worship as in the monasteries. The votive tablets play an even more distinctive role. They were made in very large numbers and in a great variety of styles and types; most frequently they were formed of terra-cotta pressed from molds. The oldest extant tablets date from the earliest appearance of Buddhism in Thailand; modern versions continue to be made today. The smallest are carried as charms to confer upon the wearer divine protection from all dangers; acquired at holy places, they serve as mementos of a pilgrimage. Others, deposited within the foundations of a monument or a statue remain as lasting testimony of the donor's piety and of his direct participation in the creation of the monument. Often of high artistic quality, the tablets generally represent the Buddha or realistically depicted scenes with significant religious associations.

AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS

To understand the sculpture of Thailand, an art often very distant in its ideals from that of the classical West, it is essential that one first identify the purposes intended for a particular work and then recognize clearly the motives that directed the efforts of the sculptor. Being always of a religious character, the inspiration and justification of Thai sculpture lie in one of the religions of India: in Brahmanism or, more frequently, in Buddhism. Consequently, any work of sculpture can be fully explained only in terms of the Indian religious presuppositions that governed both its conception and its execution. The interpretation of a given text and notions of beauty are never fixed and unchanging, however; despite the basic aesthetic canon that maintained its rigidity in all of the Indianized countries of Asia as strongly as in India itself, allowance must always be made for the influences on art exerted by the particularities of time and place. A distinction must be drawn at the outset, moreover, between idols and images that were objects of worship and works of sculpture that served narrative or decorative functions. Owing to their eminently sacred nature, the former generally adhere much more strictly to iconographical precepts than do the latter, which border frequently on secular art. In either case, no understanding of premodern Thai art is possible unless it is viewed against its Indian background: the motivation for all Thai art stems from Indian roots, directly in the context of religion and indirectly through the royal commissioning of works, a practice that was itself derived from Indian practice.

"Only those sculptures or paintings that keep to the canonical prescriptions can be considered beautiful, and not those which are merely pleasing to personal taste or fancy. . . . Some are of the opinion that that which pleases the fancy is beautiful; but the measurements which do not agree with those given in the *sastras* [canonical treatises] cannot be pleasing to the wise." These critical judgements quoted by A. K. Coomaraswamy and attributed to the fifth-century Indian theorist Sukrācārya, should suffice to give a hint of the remoteness of the Indian aesthetic and of its fundamental difference in outlook from that of the classical West. Iconography, in the Indian view, is a confluence of art and science, and aesthetic considerations are directly dependent upon iconography. Beauty, while it may convey pleasure in a sensuous way, cannot be con-

17 *Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, U Thong*

ceived of as purely formal or external; it must express an underlying reality. Thus, the beauty of lines can convey only an underlying equilibrium.

The constraint imposed upon art by strict iconographical criteria would, one might expect, exclude the possibility of any diversity of style. This is belied by the results, however. The problem of iconography should not be stated in terms of constraint or coercion. The rules laid down by canonical texts, however binding they may be, were designed only to achieve a certain indispensable harmony in the proportions, attitudes, and gestures of religious images. Although the rules were formulated with a view to uniting outward appearance and inner self, they leave the artist a free hand in the interpretation of details; it is those details that enable him to give concrete form to the ideal figure he is producing.

The act of artistic creation was never considered to be a matter of personal expression on the part of the artist, but was rather the product of his concentration and his deep meditation upon the iconographical data provided by religious texts. In all the Indian religions, such meditation was the necessary preliminary to all artistic endeavor and its importance must not be underestimated. Quoting again from Sukrācārya: "Let the imager establish images in temples by meditation on the deities who are the objects of his devotion. For the successful achievement of this meditation the lineaments of the image are described in books to be dwelt upon in detail. In no other way, not even by direct and immediate vision of an actual object, is it possible to be so absorbed in contemplation, as thus in the making of images." Sukrācārya's comments, stressing meditation over direct observation, helps to explain why in India—and consequently, in Thailand as well—the copyist of a work of art never felt compelled to be slavish in his efforts. Furthermore, it accounts for the presence in the art of Thailand of so many variations and anomalies in the copies of even the most venerated images.

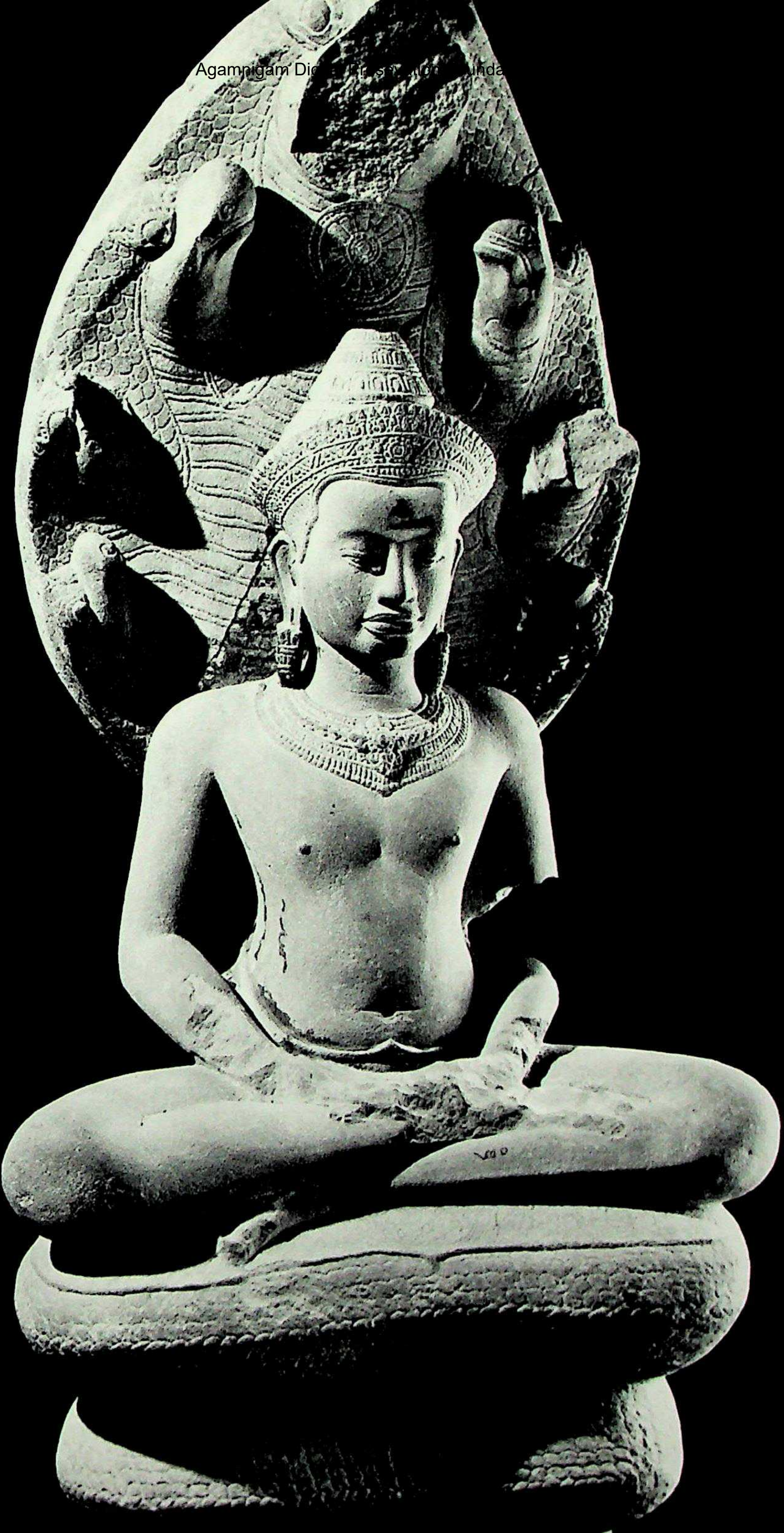
While the historical Buddha could only be represented as a monk, albeit a monk of superior attributes and unique essence, the Brahmanic divinities, like those of Tantric Buddhism, often took forms that depart from human norms. Although it would be an exaggeration to suggest that a kind of sacred teratology was the rule, it must be recognized that the Brahmanic and Tantric figures are often characterized by a multiplicity of heads and arms; some Tantric deities even possess multiple legs. In Buddhism, also, there is a pantheon of similarly fabulous beings, usually depicted as monstrous combinations of actual creatures. Among the many-armed idols, those of Vishnu (e.g., Plate 64) and the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara (e.g., Plate 63) and Maitreya occur most frequently in the art of Thailand, and it was in the representation of these figures that the local schools displayed their greatest originality. Without entering here into the particular problems of the Brahmanic iconography of the Sukhothai and Ayuthya schools, the remarkable plastic qualities of the eighth- and ninth-century Vishnus and Bodhisattvas of the Śrīvijaya, Si Tep, and Lopburi schools should not be overlooked. The free-standing statues of many-armed idols, brilliantly and successfully executed in stone, are ample testimony of the exceptional skill of the sculptors of those schools. Nowhere is the anatomy of a shoulder with two arms sprouting from it more convincingly represented without the slightest flaw in the rendering of the musculature (e.g., Plate 64). In addition to these images, whose originality made a strong impression on such early Western scholars as Lunet de Lajonquière, mention must be made of the astonishingly rich pantheon of the Lopburi school of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: bronze statues with a refined elegance of movement that owes more, however, to the Khmer aesthetic than to any local tradition.

Among hybrid creatures, one of the most remarkable is Garuda, the fabulous deity who is part-human and part-bird of prey. After some initial experimentation with Indian models, the early schools of Thai sculpture, influenced no doubt by the Khmerizing art of Lopburi, arrived at a design quite removed from the Indian tradition and astonishing in its equilibrium and decorative richness (e.g., Plate 85); it remained to the schools of Ayuthya and Bangkok to realize the Garuda's ornamental possibilities to the fullest. Like Garuda, all the mythical beings that inhabit the various worlds described in the Indian cosmology have been represented boldly and resourcefully in art. Always appealing to both mind and eye, and often thoroughly entrancing—like so many seductive and maternal *kinnaris* (e.g., Plate 136)—it is in these works that the keen decorative sense of the Ayuthya and Bangkok image-makers found its finest expression. Certainly, the vitality and inventiveness of Thai art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appear to best advantage in these original creations.

The development of the Buddha image posed far more complex problems, but they were generally solved in Thailand with great skill and originality. Reference has already

18 *Adorned Buddha Sheltered by the Nāga, National Museum, Ayuthya*

Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation

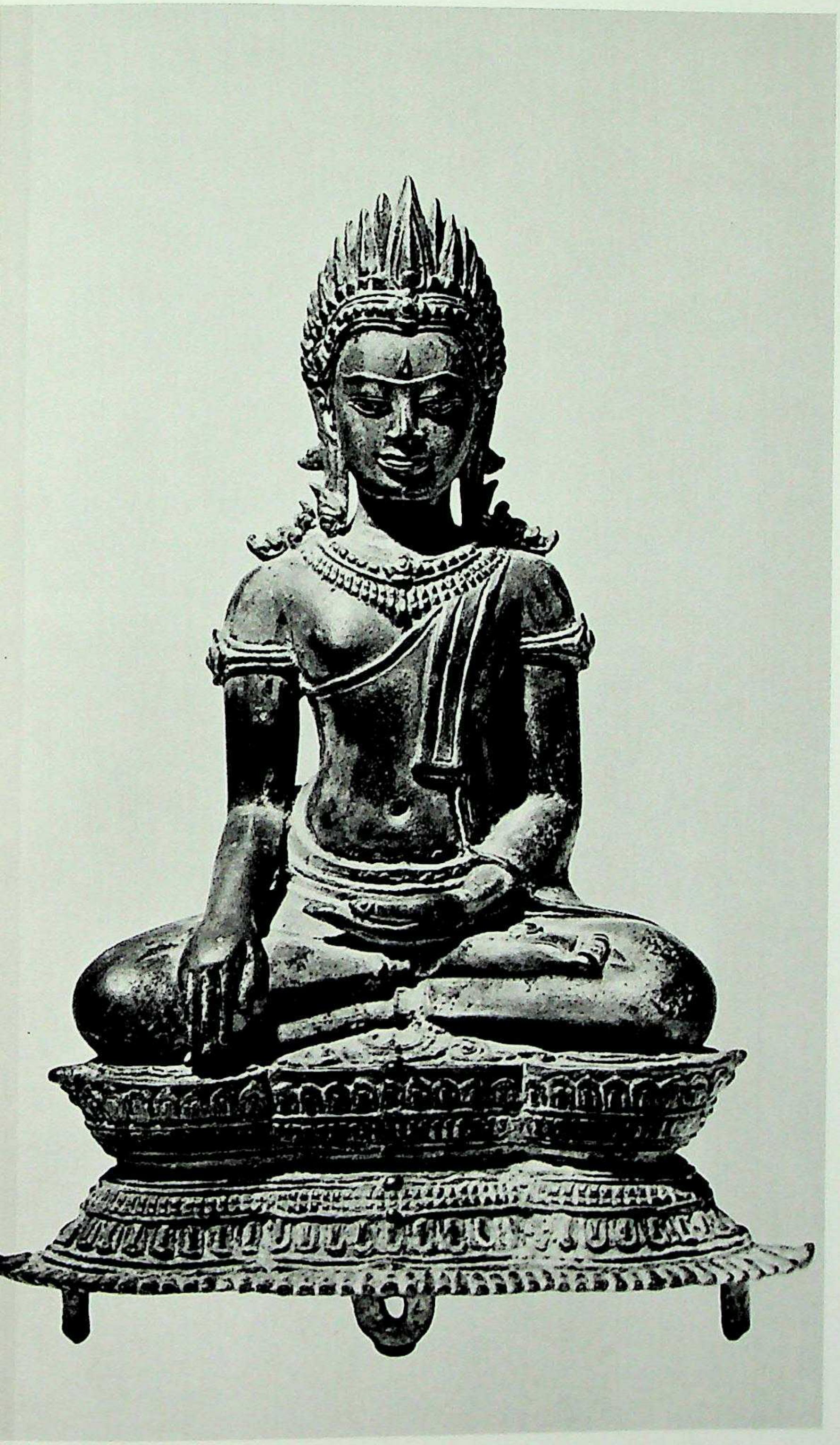


been made to the iconographical rules governing the representation of the Buddha and to the part played by *lakshana* (distinguishing marks), attitudes, gestures, and attire in the elaboration of the stereotype. But to reduce its conception to the mere application of the rules and precepts is to take a singularly degraded view of the idea which the Buddhist, and consequently the image-maker, forms of the Exalted One's figure. All the accounts of the Buddha's life dwell on the extraordinary radiance that emanated from his person and that compelled all who encountered him to pay him homage. Though appearing to be a simple monk dressed in the humblest robe, the Buddha nonetheless stood far above common humanity and his human form could not conceal a transcendental reality. In addition to the unique physical features that set him apart, his radiance—at once both psychic and physical—and his glowing complexion conduce to a transparency or luminosity of his dress that somehow had to be represented in stone or bronze. Furthermore, to endow the Buddha with a purely human beauty, however perfect, would be to reduce him to the level of a human being. The artists of Thailand seem to have understood better than any others the full implications of this problem. No art has gone so far in its attempts to represent a beauty that is at once human and transcendental, a beauty suitable to the representation of a *mahāpurusha* or Eminent Man. If the Dvaravati images already revealed a noble vision, what can be said of the heights attained by those of the Sukhothai school, where the Buddha expresses in his entire person the detachment and immateriality that are the very essence of Buddhism (e.g., Plate 93)? It hardly seems possible to progress further than this in an art which necessarily must remain figural.

Another factor played a critical role here: the repeated redefining of the ideal and the constant reducing of the Buddha image to its essential religious and sculptural values. Independent of political issues and the entrance of Ayuthya on the scene, the prestige acquired by certain statues caused them to be copied many times over. Images set up in sites that were particularly venerated, together with others reputed to be especially effective in protecting the towns or monasteries where they stood, were reproduced over and over again with a view to extending their presence and their beneficent power. It was this attitude that inspired a ruler of Sukhothai, in the latter half of the fourteenth century to have copies made of the Buddha's Holy Footprint, the famous mark on the summit of Adam's Peak in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), in order that the Buddha's presence might be manifest in his own kingdom and might shed its benefit upon all those who were unable to make the pilgrimage to the holy site. Had the copies of famous images been made with the Western copyist's concern for literal accuracy, this practice might well have had a blighting effect on artists and served to check their creative impulses. But, as noted above, the image was there to be meditated upon, not to be slavishly imitated. By meditating deeply on his model, the Thai image-maker would take from it only what seemed essential to him, leaving behind particularistic details that in his vision did not convey the spirit of the work. In this way, it was the ancient Indian practice of meditation that contributed for so long to preserving the vitality and creativity of art in Thailand. In the art of Thailand, in view of the radiant quality of the Buddha's complexion as described in the scriptures—"a golden complexion with a golden color and a delicate skin"—the medium in which images were executed was never chosen on aesthetic grounds. Most statues and reliefs were painted, lacquered, and gilded. The use of bronze, in particular, never led to any concern with patina. Indeed, the precious substances used on some occasions seem to have made the sculptors careless of aesthetic notions. It is only today, as a result of lying long buried in the ground, that some bronzes have taken on a lovely patina (e.g., Plate 17); likewise, the veining of certain wood carvings now produces effects which their makers certainly never intended (e.g., Plate 16).

THE MEANS OF EXPRESSION

Throughout its history, sculpture in Thailand relied largely on a few, constantly used, materials. Of these, bronze and stucco were perhaps the most common. The fact that there are far fewer works in stone has led some scholars to conclude that as a general rule the Thai sculptor found his most congenial means of expression in the technique of modeling rather than carving or cutting. Although statistics seem to bear out this view, they do not explain the reasons for what must have been a deliberate choice of one material over another; curiously, the identical choices were made both by the Mōn people of Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya and by the Thais from the Sukhothai period to the present. Even more suprisingly, the same materials were also chosen by the Khmers occupying Lopburi, even though their reputation as great carvers and stone sculptors in their home territories is beyond question. Actually, the choice of modeling as the primary technique of Thai sculptors was no doubt less a matter of inclination than of necessity, a necessity which accorded very well with the desire to



ensure the permanence of the images while enlarging the cult of the Buddha.

Geographical and geological conditions were important factors in determining certain characteristics of Thai sculpture. In regions where activity developed during the early historical period, only a limited choice of materials was available for sculptural use. Clay was abundant in the alluvial plain, accompanied at some sites by deposits of laterite; limestone and occasional outcroppings of sedimentary granitic rock were to be found in the surrounding hills. Clay was formed into bricks, the traditional building material of religious monuments in Thailand, and was also used in making the terra-cotta reliefs which served as architectural decoration. Laterite, formed chiefly in deforested areas, was employed only occasionally for sculpture; like the generally coarse-textured brick, it could only be used by sculptors for rough work. Limestone or quartzite, however, might have provided an ideal medium for their chisels had they been available in sufficient quantities. Quartzite was used, but only very seldom, as a medium for statuary (Plate 47). Fine varieties of limestone, particularly well suited to sculpture, were to be found but were scattered amid heterogeneous formations either too dense or too exfoliated to be quarried systematically; consequently, a lasting tradition of sculpture carved in limestone never developed. This is to be regretted, the more so since the fine, schistose limestones, despite their brittle quality and their tendency to split, lend themselves admirably to delicate carving and take an excellent polish (e.g., Plates 44-45). Finally, adequate supplies of sandstone of good quality were to be found only in the eastern regions, which were long subjected to Khmer influence. As a result, the stone was little used in sculpture except during the Lopburi period (Plate 18) and occasionally during the Ayuthya period.

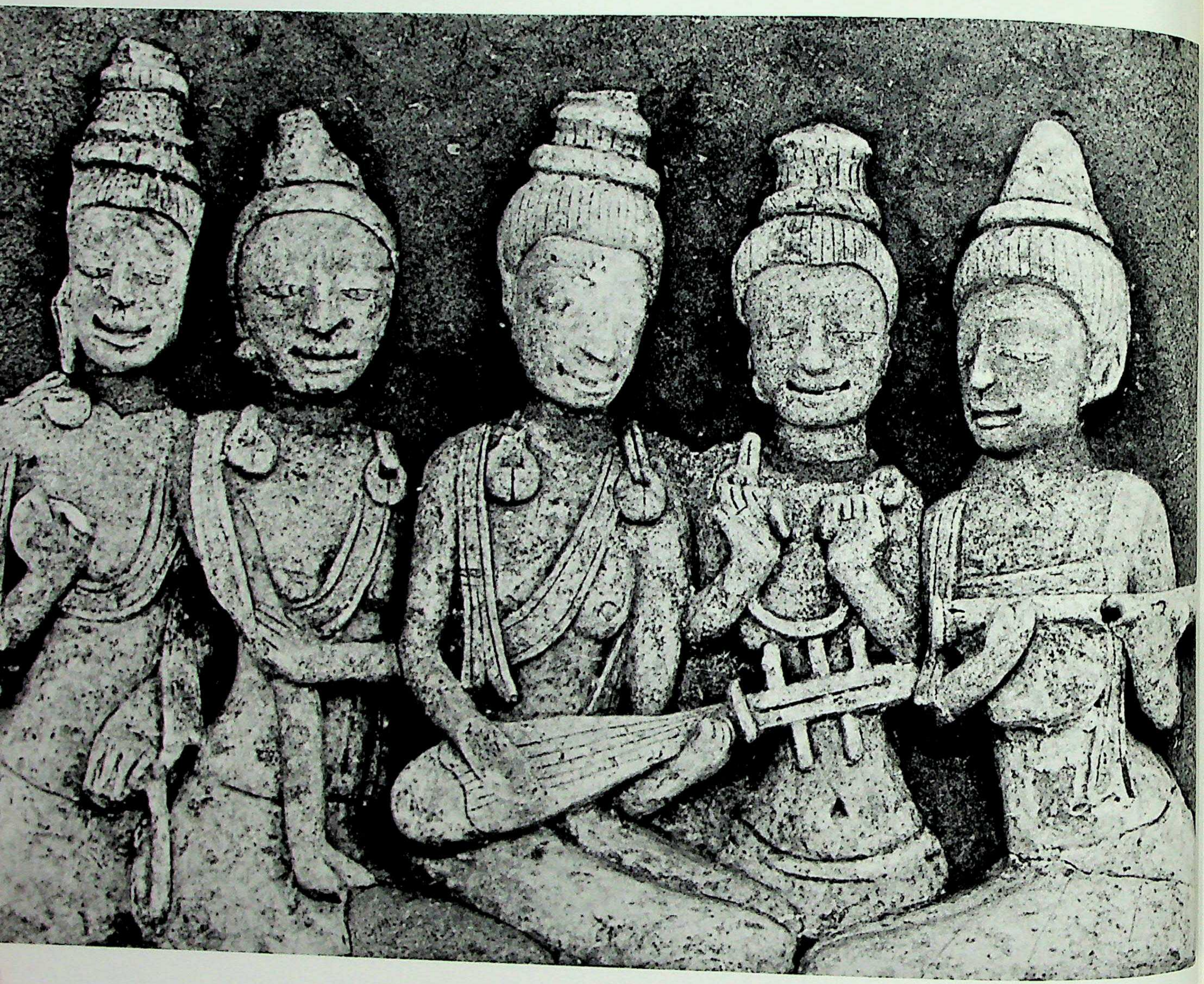
In Thailand, as in the whole of Southeast Asia, where architecture has always depended largely on carpentry and timberwork, wood carving was no doubt widely practiced during all periods. There remain no examples, however, of wood sculpture carved earlier than the seventeenth century. If wood carvings dating from recent centuries become increasingly numerous, it does not necessarily imply that wood came to enjoy greater favor with artists; it means, rather, that earlier works in wood have not withstood the ravages of time and climate.

19 *Adorned Buddha Subduing Mara, James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok*

Similarly in the case of wooden timber architecture, only comparatively recent structures have survived the dampness of the Southeast Asian climate. The usual materials of older extant monuments were brick and occasionally laterite. Both these masonry materials called for surface plastering and overlaid ornamentation. A stucco coating served both to smooth the surface irregularities and, more importantly, to protect the masonry, which in early periods was bonded only with clay. Thus, stucco was used primarily for practical purposes, but it also provided a medium for modeled architectural decorations. As in India, where the construction method had originated, relief decorations were usually applied to panels separated by pilasters or shallow niches (Plate 53). Stucco compositions were produced as needed and then painted in strong, forthright colors (white, black, reddish-brown, yellow-ochre). It was in such decorative panels, far more than in large-scale sculpture, that artists could give free rein to their instinctive verve and spontaneity. Sometimes both panels and reliefs were made of terra-cotta, a more sophisticated and less brittle material than stucco, but one that also required more skillful modeling techniques and was more difficult to restore. It is no doubt for these reasons that terra-cotta sculpture, in which the craftsmen of Thailand excelled, was practiced there on only a limited scale. In connection with terra-cotta, mention must also be made of glazed ceramic architectural elements, whose use was even more limited but which nonetheless gave rise to some bold and highly original works (Plates 25, 101-102). Of all the various materials, stucco remained the most widespread and was used not only for making small reliefs but also for producing monumental Buddha images.

In statuary, none of the above-mentioned materials rivaled the importance of bronze. In fact, the abundance and quality of bronze images in Thailand was not matched anywhere else in Southeast Asia. What were the reasons, one may wonder, for the long-standing preference for a metal which, although used fairly widely from earliest times, was not particularly abundant in the Indochina Peninsula? Several explanations suggest themselves; none is determinant in itself, but all seem to have contributed to the wide dissemination of bronze sculpture. Besides the force of tradition, the following factors were clearly at work: the scarcity of any stone truly suitable to carving; the importance attached to metal statues which, in the hierarchy of idols, were both the most costly to produce and the most durable; the value of bronze as testimony to the piety, the status, and the generosity of a statue's donor; finally, the requirement—borrowed from India—that booty gained in battle could only be used for religious purposes. Simplifying the subject a good deal, it may be surmised that the first reason was the major determinant for the use of bronze in the art of Sukhothai and Lan Na, while the latter factors had greater influence on the art of Ayuthya and Bangkok. It should further be noted that, while bronze was the metal most commonly employed, recent discoveries have shown that alloys with a high proportion of silver were not unusual in sculpture of the eighth and ninth centuries. Tin is also to be found in certain of the alloys, but being soft and malleable it was more commonly used in making personal adornments and votive tablets than in statuary. Gold, often alluded to in ancient inscriptions, was used primarily for smaller images (e.g., Plate 122), although at least one very large Sukhothai statue is known. Crystal and semi-precious stones were used as sculptural materials, but only very rarely.

20 Colossal Head of a Buddha, National Museum, Bangkok



II TECHNIQUES AND THEIR IMPERATIVES

Just as the appearance of Thai Buddhist images was dictated by iconographical texts inspired more or less directly by Indian traditions, so also was their execution governed by techniques derived largely from those of Indian sculpture. As will be demonstrated, however, this predominance of Indian influence did not bind Thai sculptors to slavish imitation of Indian models, nor did it suppress their instincts for creative innovation. Even the hastiest comparison of Indian and Thai sculpture will reveal, on the contrary, that they developed original formulas of their own.

In discussing the techniques of Thai sculpture, several fundamental points must be emphasized at the outset. First, bronze sculpture developed out of an extremely ancient tradition. The history of bronze work in the general context of Southeast Asia may be assumed to extend back to remote prehistoric times, for which any attempts at precise dating must depend largely upon speculation. Secondly, the influence of Chinese techniques, except in ceramics, seems to have been very limited. Finally, the very nature of the available materials imposed upon Thai image-makers two fundamental techniques: modeling and direct carving. If, at first sight, the former seems to have played a significantly greater part than the latter, it is not only because it was the ordinary means of providing models for the sculptor and the craftsman, but also because stucco and terra-cotta were the materials most easily available to the sculptors and most favored by them. It should not be concluded, however, that sculptors failed to develop any skill in carving techniques. Their work reveals immediately an amazing virtuosity in woodcarving and an extraordinary mastery, although maintained only for rather short periods of time, of the techniques of three-dimensional stone sculpture.

21 *Group of Five Female Musicians, National Museum, Bangkok*

TECHNIQUES OF MODELING

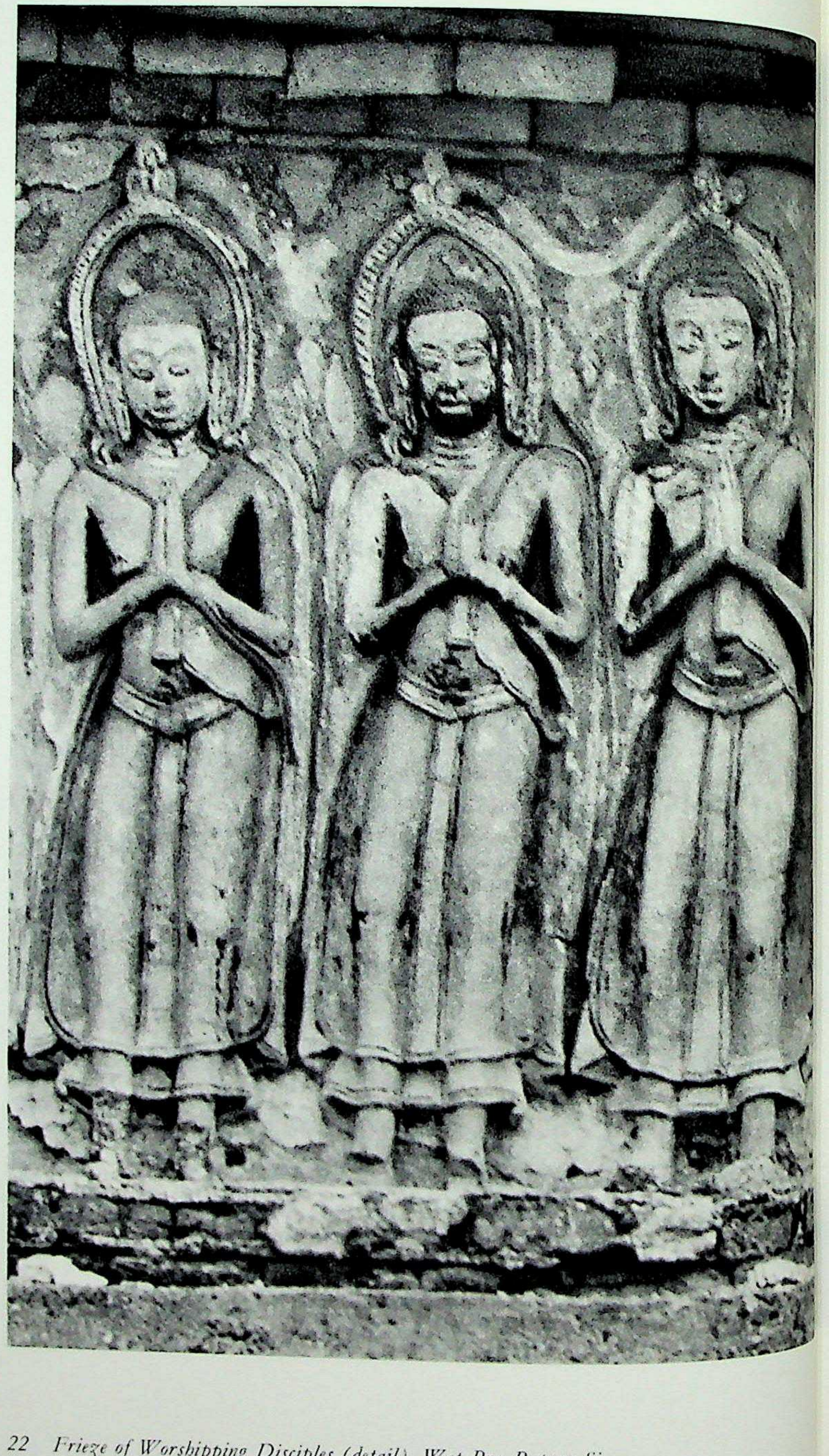
What might be called *pure* modeling, where modeling is an end in itself, as in the case of stucco relief work, should be distinguished from the preliminary modeling that shapes the form of a work to be cast in another material. Further, the modeling of an unfired material such as stucco or clay must be distinguished from modeling that calls for firing, as in terra-cotta or ceramic sculpture.

Stucco The ingredients of the plaster used in Thai sculpture, called stucco for lack of a better term, do not correspond precisely to those of the stucco used in the West since antiquity. In Thailand, stucco consists essentially of lime and sand, mixed in varying proportions, to which rice husks are sometimes added. The quality of this material varies greatly, not only from one school of sculpture to another, but even from one monument to another contemporaneous structure; even on a single monument, the quality of stucco may vary considerably, due to restoration done at different times. Stucco quality depends as much on the type of lime used as on the quantity and fineness of the sand that goes into it. It seems likely that some kind of vegetable or animal glue, used as a binding medium, entered into the composition of the finest stucco.

Low-relief stucco sculptures (e.g., Plates 21-22) were modeled directly or, in the case of repeated patterns, were pressed from a mold. For more vigorous reliefs and for large free-standing figures, it was necessary to build an armature over which the stucco could be applied. For simple projects, the armature consisted of wood or bamboo, perishable materials of which no more than an imprint generally remains today. The shape or core of large images and of statues that were virtually treated in-the-round was generally roughed out in brick or laterite. In the case of free-standing works, a rough model of laterite or bonded bricks was made first, and over it a relatively thin coat of stucco was applied for the final shaping of form and details. Sometimes, when the reliefs comprised both emphatic and delicate work in the figures and ornaments, an armature of fine tin rods was improvised.

During the pre-Thai period, the mass of a statue was shaped by direct modeling, even in relatively large works, and details were later defined with a sharp tool when the stucco had begun to set. Timing was very important and it was essential that the sculptor determine with great care the moment for applying such final touches, for the incised details could be done only while the stucco was hardening. Under these conditions, the quality of the finished work inevitably depended as much on the skill of the artist and his sensitivity to the properties of his materials as on the pains he took with the overall conception. Thus, there resulted considerable differences of style even among works of a single school done at nearly the same time. Only with the beginning of the Thai period proper, and notably in the Sukhothai school, did the technique of applying successive layers of plaster establish itself, especially in the making of monumental Buddha images in high relief. The stucco would be applied in thicknesses of only about an inch or less. For the essential features of a figure (the face, shoulders, or breast), but never for the whole of it, each successive coat of stucco was finished with great care, as though it were the final coat. Such statues, viewed today with their outer layers partially broken away, often have the appearance of having undergone successive restorations or having been gradually built up piecemeal, preserving nevertheless a perfect unity of style. This painstaking procedure was due no doubt to religious preoccupations rather than to any technical necessity. At roughly the same time, another technique—one that may have developed from earlier precedents—was adopted in an effort at simplification and refinement. It consisted of inlaying separately each curl of hair on the heads of large Buddha images. The curls themselves were pressed as required from steatite molds. Steatite (or "soapstone"), a soft, smooth stone from which plaster casts could be readily lifted, was also used for certain decorative elements because of the ease with which it could be carved.

The stuccos were always painted. Earth pigments unaffected by the action of chemical and atmospheric agents were the only ones used during the earlier periods of Thai art, and to these was added in the nineteenth century a more varied range of colors adopted from the Western palette. Leaf gilding was traditionally reserved for the areas of flesh of Buddha images. During the Dvāravatī period, inlays of stones, colored enamels, and mother-of-

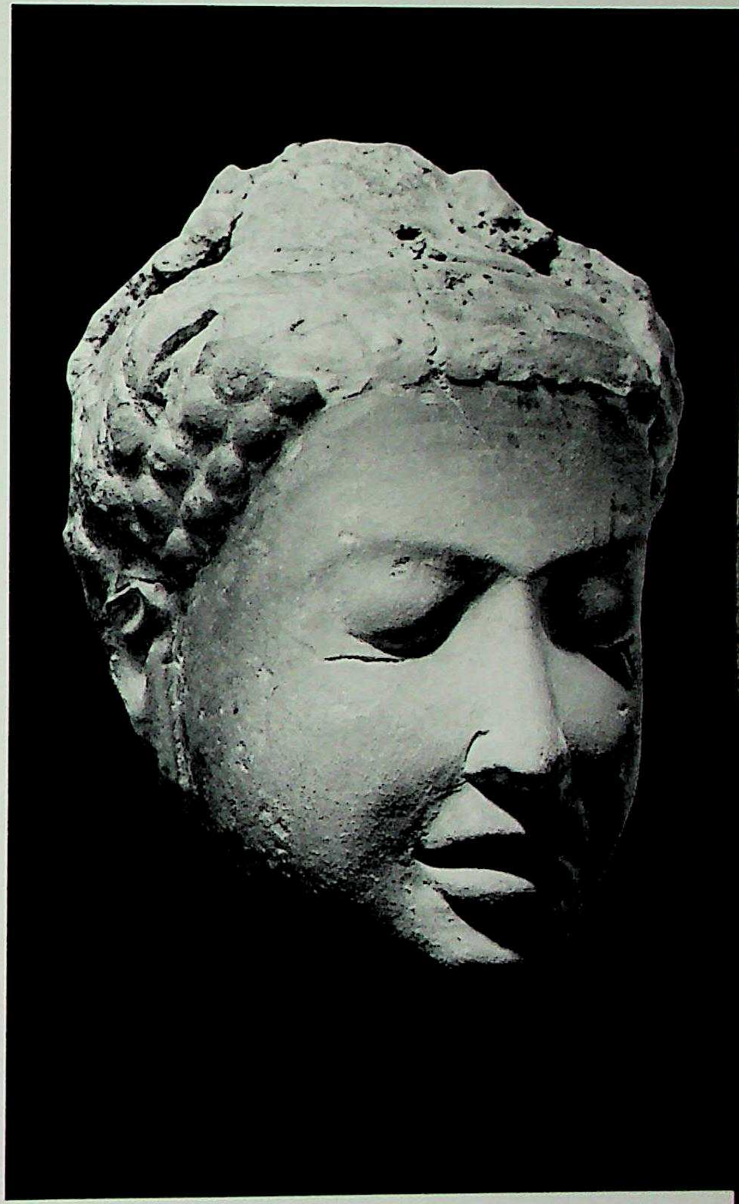


22 *Frieze of Worshipping Disciples (detail), Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat, Lopburi*

pearl were occasionally used to embellish details of adornments or to enhance ornamental motifs. A decorative technique not unlike that of the *azulejos* of Spain and Portugal arose toward the end of the Ayuthya period and was practiced throughout the Bangkok period. It consisted of embedding in stucco surfaces multicolored ceramic fragments designed to catch the light and give off an iridescent glow.

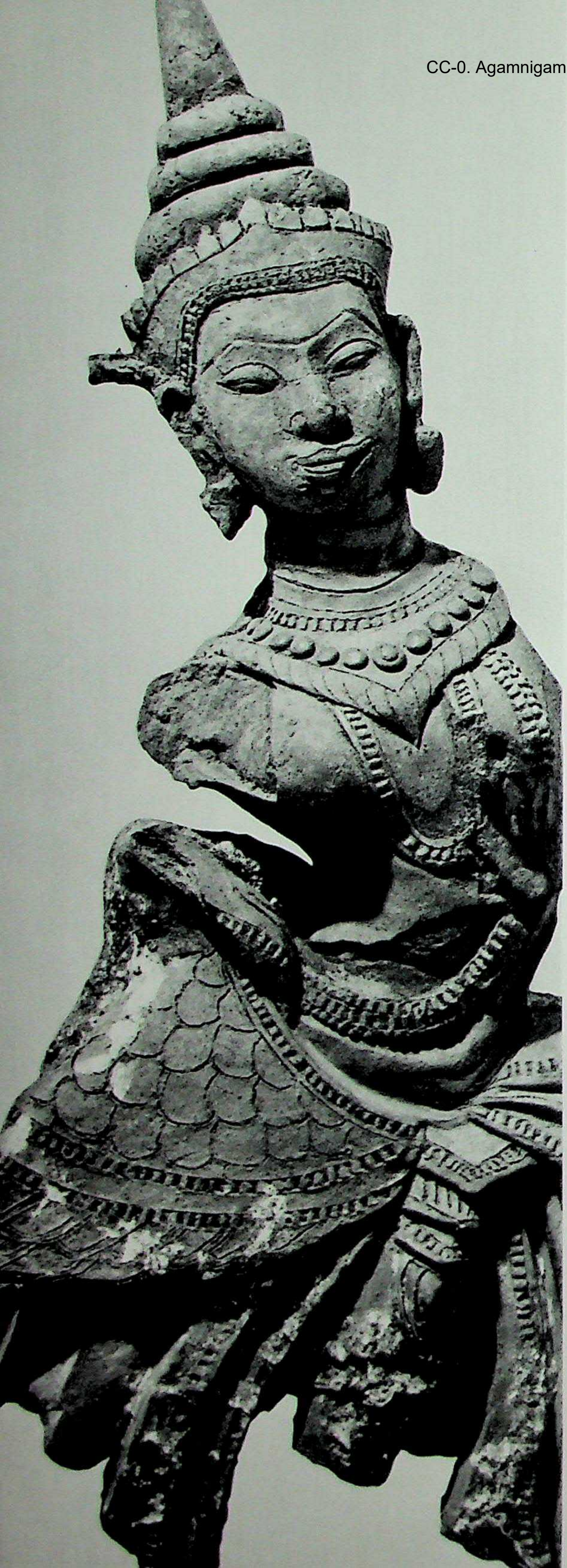
Terra-cotta Independent of the earthenware, made in Thailand since Neolithic times, terra-cotta sculpture may be divided into two categories: portable figures and works of architectural decoration. The former had appeared in the Indochinese peninsula by the dawn of the present millenium and are still being made in modern times. Such objects fall into two distinct groups: figurines and votive tablets. Many statuettes were modeled in clay by hand; this was a rather popular art form, widely practiced and often showing a marked tendency for bold stylization and schematic design. The most characteristic figurines, however, were cast in two parts in terra-cotta molds and retouched after firing. The same molds often remained in use for centuries, producing figurines of increasing mediocrity as their surfaces were worn away. For making the flatter votive tablets, which were generally quite small in size although some stand over a foot high, a single mold was sufficient. Such molds were made with the greatest care, and the patterns produced from them were compositions of high artistic quality. The tablets were usually made of terra-cotta and occasionally metal, but some made of unbaked clay have also been found; these are chiefly rather uninspired Mahāyāna tablets of the Śrīvijaya school.

Architectural terra-cottas served much the same functions in ornamenting large monuments as the stucco reliefs, but they were never used as extensively. Their limited use is probably due to the more complex requirements of the terra-cotta technique. The fired terra-cottas could be made only in well-equipped workshops and called for greater skill than could be expected from the volunteer craftsmen provided by most monasteries. Such workshops could handle only relatively small orders and craftsmen working in them were thus confined to a more limited program than were the stucco workers. The terra-cotta technique does not have the same flexibility as that of stucco, nor does it lend itself to the making of large-scale works. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that, since they necessarily require highly skilled workmanship, many terra-cottas display greater aesthetic quality (e.g., Plate 23) than do contemporary stuccos.



23 Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Bangkok

Though all or nearly all the Thai schools used terra-cotta for architectural purposes, the technique does not show the same continuity throughout the history of Thai art as that of stucco. Two sites are remarkable for the abundance and the quality of the terra-cottas they have yielded: Ku Bua, a Dvāravatī site excavated in 1961, and the neglected but never entirely abandoned Sukhothai site



of Kamphèng Phet. Two other sites, Lamphun and Wieng Ta Kan, both of which flourished during the early Haripuñjaya period, have also provided valuable information about the evolution of the terra-cotta technique toward mass production. The Ku Bua terra-cottas, especially those discovered on sites No. 39 and No. 40 (Plates 54-55), reveal a great deal about the technique as practiced around the eighth century. For decorations and figures, the clay employed was always much finer than that which went into bricks. It was never mixed with rice husks, which were generally added to bricks to ensure even firing but which would have given terra-cottas too coarse a texture. Since firing the terra-cottas posed problems of shrinkage and deformation, it proved impossible to produce large figures. The terra-cotta sculptors experimented with various devices designed to alleviate firing difficulties, but none was wholly successful. As a result, terra-cotta figures showing signs of distortion and uneven firing abound.

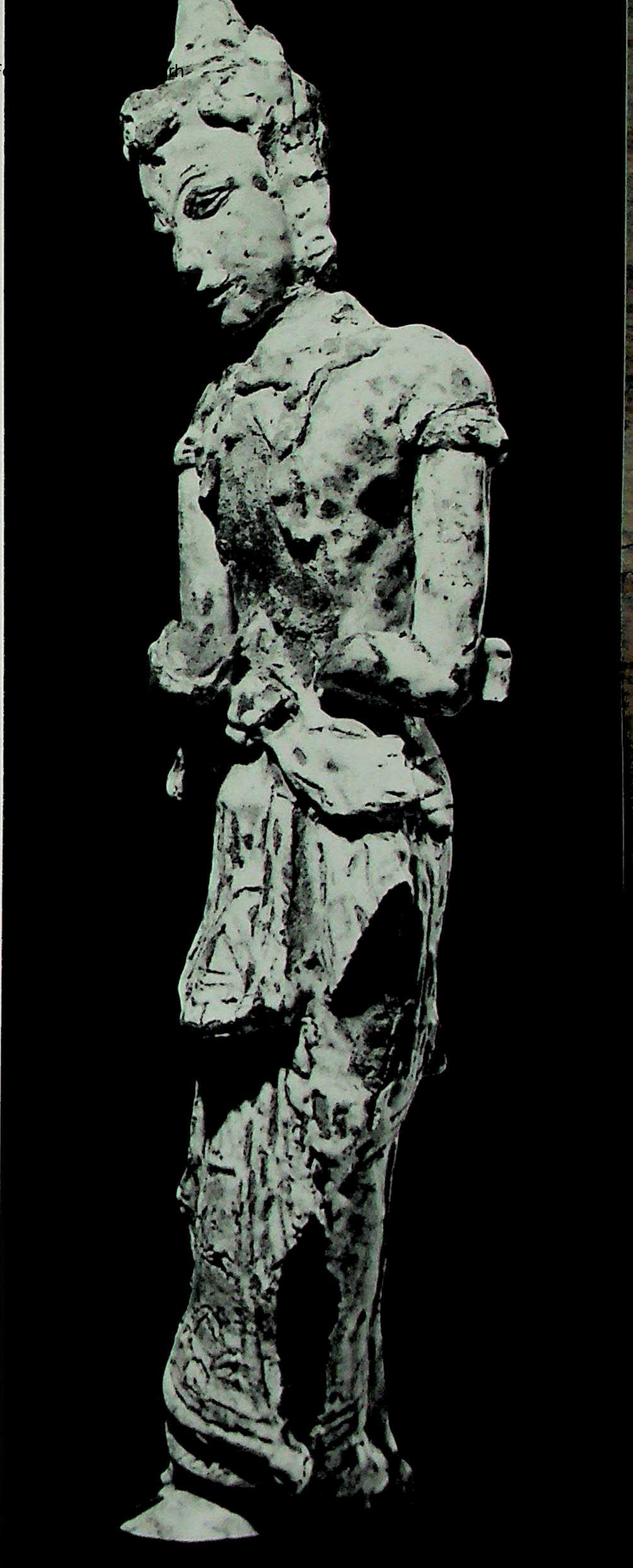
Because of the considerable weight of larger works and the difficulty of firing them thoroughly, techniques of hollow execution proved indispensable. By giving the clay an optimum thickness of one or two inches, it was possible to fire large pieces evenly and thus avoid the cracking and distortion caused by uneven heat distribution. The hollow works of sculpture would first be modeled by hand; then, before firing, their surface details would be finished with a sharp instrument. Figures taller than four feet would be divided into sections, whose number and cut, in fairly simple combinations, depended on their size and shape; the separate elements would be connected after firing by means of wooden or metallic armatures, which not only held them together firmly but also were essential in attaching the entire work to the monument of which it was a part. Once fixed in place, the terra-cotta was coated with a plaster and then painted with the same colors as those used conventionally on works done in stucco. Little attention was paid to the differences in texture between the two media. Repeated restoration and repainting would, in time, build up additional surface thicknesses which often blurred the details that originally had been sharply delineated.

In the kingdom of Haripuñjaya, during the thirteenth century if not earlier and apparently some time after its annexation by Lan Na, a more economical and expeditious but considerably less artistic terra-cotta technique came to prevail. Actually, in its recourse to a carved mold, this technique only took over the older method used for mak-

24 *Kinnari, National Museum, Kamphèng Phet*

ing votive tablets and extended it to monumental art. The adoption of this simplified technique apparently resulted from the demand for large numbers of statues to adorn a new type of religious monument then in vogue. This was a type of square *stūpa* in the form of a stepped pyramid known as a *ratana cetiya* ("jewel monument"), the most famous example of which is the Wat Kukut at Lamphun (Plate 105). When this stupa was built in 1218, it was described by the king of Haripuñjaya as "a divine jewel . . . unmatched in this land". Its unique design consists of five stories, each of which is adorned with niches housing Buddha images, all identical except that their size decreases with each higher level. Similar Buddha images, and eventually all manner of figures and ornamental motifs, came to be made in quantity from terra-cotta molds, many examples of which have been found in nearly complete form. Facial features and various surface details were reworked after molding, and adornments were indicated on these mass-produced sculptures by means of special instruments such as punches or rollers. To facilitate the operations of molding and unmolding, the Buddha's hair curls were at first executed in two stages: they were molded separately and then affixed to the head before firing. Later, on lesser works the image-makers were content merely to suggest the hair by incising a simple pattern all over the head before the piece was fired. Following the usual procedure, larger images were made in several sections that were later assembled; sometimes these sections were even made of different materials, as in the case of statues with terra-cotta heads fitted to bodies of stuccoed laterite.

Ceramic Sculpture Sculptural ceramic figures played a really important part as architectural ornaments only during the Sukhothai period, from about the fourteenth century to the sixteenth. Certain monuments, Wat Mongkon being a noted example, reveal the popularity enjoyed by ceramic sculpture at that time. Individual pieces were often quite large (some nearly five feet in height), and each was produced as a single unit rather than assembled. They were fired in kilns, a good many examples of which survive at Sukhothai and Chalieng. Although it is well known that Sukhothai pottery was strongly influence by Chinese techniques and styles, the sculptural pieces designed for architectural purposes show great originality both in subject matter and in execution. Distinct differences of detail between works in a single series, together with the intricacy



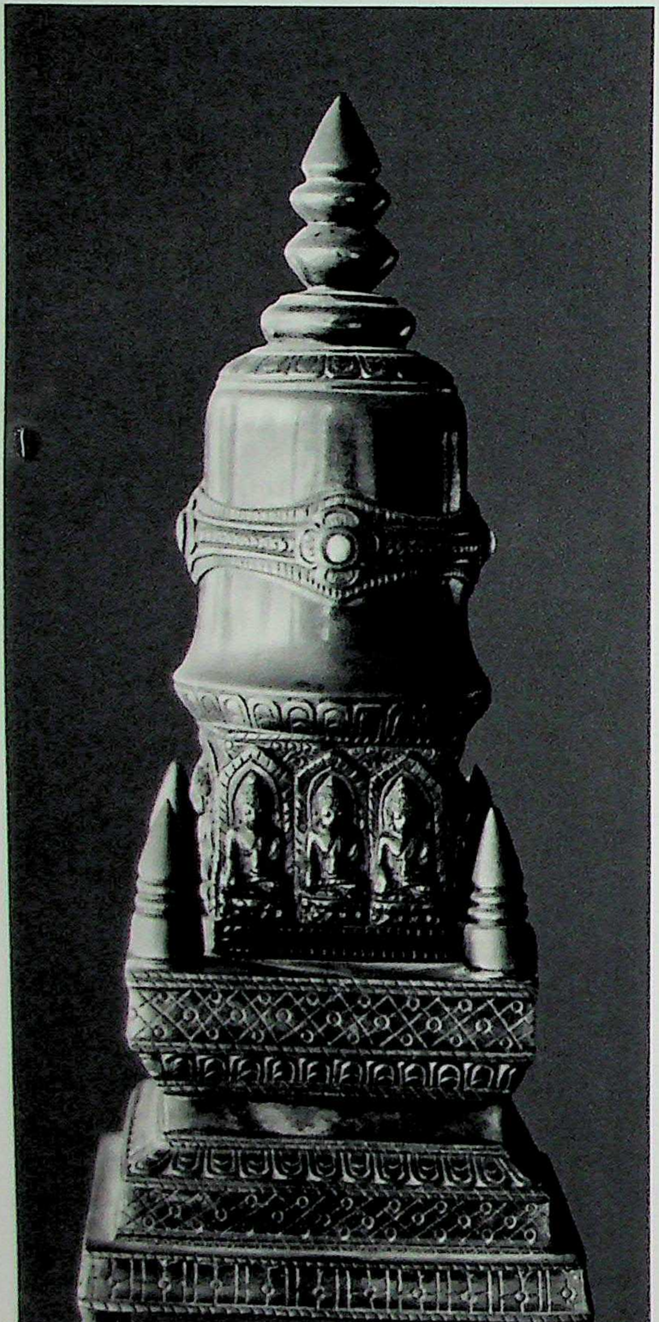
25 Worshipping Figure, National Museum, Bangkok of their forms, attest to the fact that all were modeled directly, without the use of molds. Hard, gritty clays were used and the finished pieces were given a greyish or creamy-white glaze to which the design was applied in a brown tone calculated to bring out details and simultaneously emphasize mass and volume. As a substitute for terra-cotta figures, ceramic pieces served as decorative architectural elements such as roof borders or string walls (Plate 101), and even as the guardian statues of some temples (Plate 102). Pottery is represented by lively figurines and by large-size compositions with many figures; its quality is equal to that of architectural ceramics and it further shows a vitality that might hardly be expected from the more solemn works of major art.

Bronze and Metalwork In contrast to the art of the sculptor working in stucco, terra-cotta, or ceramic materials, modeling for the bronze-caster no longer serves as an end in itself. Rather, the modeled image is merely an initial stage, to be used in fashioning a mold for casting the finished metal sculpture. This use of modeling recalls the traditions of Western art, though the technique employed is quite different from those practiced in the West. During all historical periods, the sculptors of Thailand excelled in metalwork, and particularly in the making of bronze statuary. The large number of bronzes that exist today bear witness to the high degree of technical skill of their creators, a proficiency that has not been sufficiently recognized.

The technique used in bronze casting, as in the casting of other metals and alloys, was that known as the *cire-perdue* (" lost wax") process, also practiced in the West but in a rather different manner. Traditional casting techniques are still practiced in Thailand and can be directly compared with those described in the art treatises of ancient India.[3] Two methods were employed, depending on whether the work was to be cast solid or hollow. In principle, the choice was determined by size: larger pieces require hollow casting for reasons both of economy and technical necessity; smaller ones could be cast solid, although there are fairly numerous examples of hollow-cast images scarcely exceeding four inches in height, particularly among images dating from the Ayuthya period and afterward. As in the West of antiquity, the model in both processes is a "positive", which could be used only once, being necessarily destroyed in the casting. Each piece is therefore unique, and even in a series or a group no two objects could ever be perfectly identical. Even so, there are various indications suggesting that in the eighth or ninth century there may have existed standard models from which the wax models were made, a method that recalls the "negative process" used by Japanese bronze-casters and those of the Italian Renaissance; the discovery at U Thong in 1968 of a large fragment of a plaster statuette seems to support this theory. In any case, the method can hardly have enjoyed wide or continued success, for no subsequent evidence of it has come to light.

Although the principles of *cire-perdue* casting are well known, the techniques peculiar to Indianized Southeast Asia differed sufficiently in their complexity and empiricism from those of both China and the West to require some description, especially since it must be remembered that the manual operations of the artists were always closely associated with religious rites. Both processes involved the same materials but dealt with them in different ways, hollow casting requiring much more complex manipulations than solid casting. Ignoring for the moment the matter of different bronze alloys, whose characteristics will be touched upon later, the materials to be prepared first were the wax for the models and the clay for the molds; for hollow casting, the cores supporting the coating of wax also had to be constructed as a preliminary step. The wax was actually a mixture of beeswax and shellac, blended over a slow fire; during the casing it would flow off and could be collected and re-used. For the molds and cores, the Thai bronze-casters used a fine clay whose composition directly paralleled that described in the Indian treatises. To improve the plasticity and cohesiveness of the clay and to insure its resistance to the high temperatures it would have to undergo, other ingredients might be added in amounts that varied according to the intended purpose of the piece: brick and pottery shards, ground to a powder, or organic matter such as cow dung, charred rice husks, or cotton fibers. The mold, always in one piece, could be used only once, for it was broken away after the bronze was cast. The mold, with its carefully placed outlets and air holes, was formed of three layers. The first, made of the finest clay mixed in a mortar with dung, brick or pottery dust, and water, was spread with a brush directly over the wax model. The second coat, made of rougher clay, was thickly applied by hand after the first had dried thoroughly. The outermost layer, made of a coarser clay mixed with fine sand, was still thicker than the first two and had additional layers reinforcing weak points. For bronze works of any size, the mold was strengthened with an armature of iron rods embedded in the outer coat.

26 Avalokiteśvara, National Museum, Lopburi

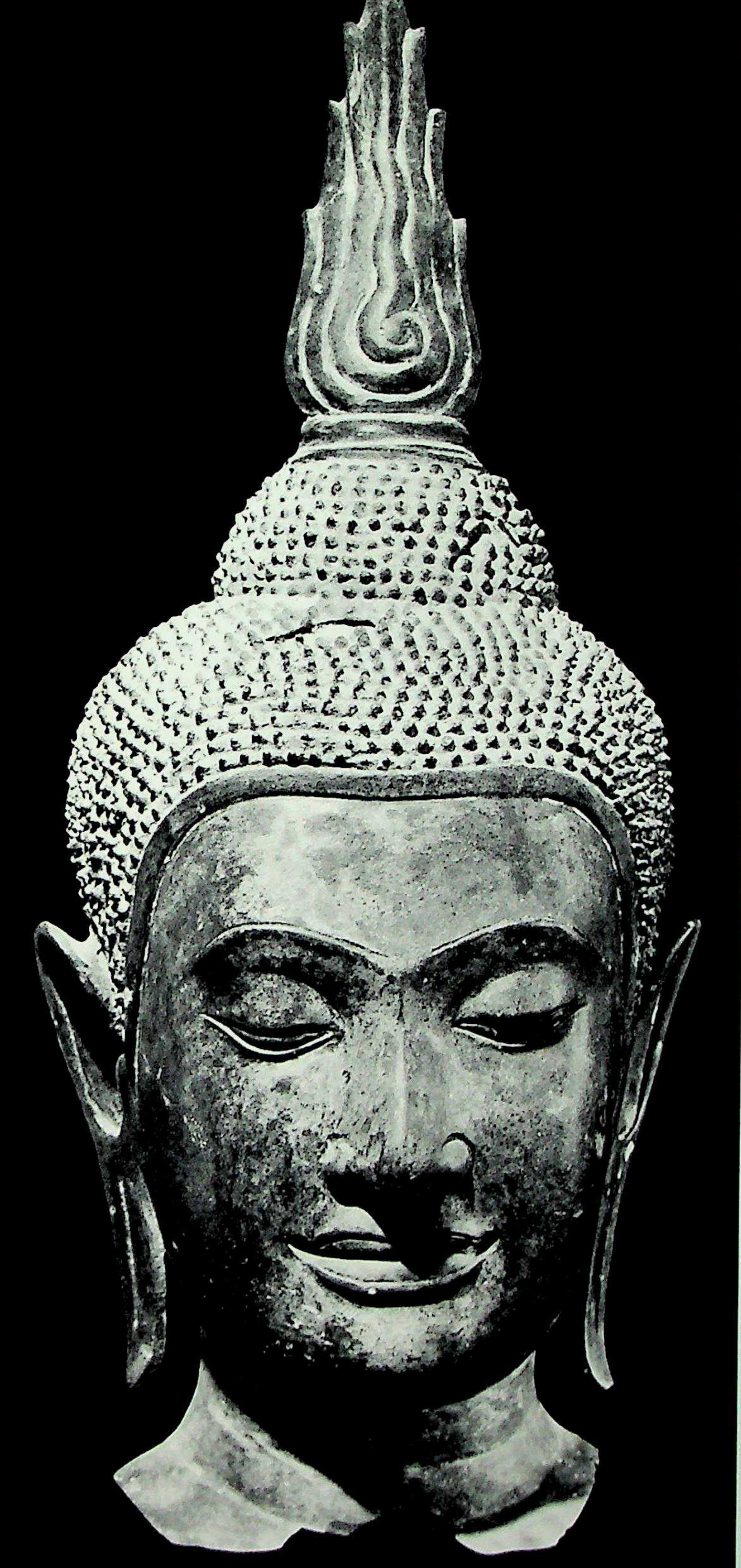


27 Votive Stūpa, National Museum, Bangkok

For solid casting, the model was made of solid wax with all surface details precisely marked. Covered with a clay mold by the method described above, it was fitted at several appropriate points with stems of wax extending through the outer coats of clay. When thoroughly dry, the mold would be ready for casting. The whole would be overturned and heated over a fire to melt away the wax and bake the mold; the liquified wax would run off from the mold through the channels left for that purpose. When the right temperature was reached, as indicated by the color of the clay mold's outer surface, the molten metal was poured in. After slow and thorough cooling, the mold was carefully broken away. As in the classic techniques of casting, the piece was then "mended": the rods formed by molten metal running through the channels that had permitted the wax to escape from the mold would be removed and surface flaws were repaired with cold-hammered overlays of metal. As a final step, the finished bronze piece would be polished.

The fact that the molds were broken away, thus eliminating the difficulty of lifting them off the bronze contained within them, made it possible to cast highly intricate forms. This does not mean, however, that the bronze-casters systematically avoided assemblages. On the contrary, both for practical reasons and no doubt for religious motives as well, assembled castings were fairly common, especially in the Lopburi school. Practical reasons came into play chiefly with furniture and other secondary fittings, whether ritual or not, and these were commonly assembled with tenon-and-mortise joints, fixed by means of pegs and pins. Religious motives for assembling works from separately cast parts came into play in the case of idols which, like large-scale statues and probably for the same reasons of ritual consecration, were usually independent of their pedestal. Likewise, those Buddha images sheltered by the hood of the *nāga* king Mucilinda (as in Plate 67), whatever their size, were assembled in three pieces: the Buddha itself, the snake's coils that serve as a pedestal, and the seven-headed hood.

Hollow-casting was necessary for monumental images; given their weight and the problems of pouring and cooling the metal, they could not have been produced otherwise. Certainly economy was also an important factor; indeed, it could be carried so far that the thickness of some hollow-cast statues was reduced to a single bronze leaf. The production of hollow bronzes of very slight thickness seems to have increased from the end of the sixteenth century on, due either to a scarcity of metal or to the slender means available to most donors. To execute images



whose thicknesses vary from about an inch to barely more than a millimeter, it was necessary to provide a core that would support a coat of wax that would be no thicker than the bronze itself. It was a complicated operation, for the thickness of the wax had to be carefully calculated in terms of the intended size of the statue and the quantity of metal available; no interruption was allowable once the casting had begun. Similarly, the size of the core, made of the same ingredients as the outer mold, was governed by that of the statue and by its thickness. A small statuette presented few such technical problems, but in the case of a monumental image a carelessly prepared core might well prove too heavy or might not bake properly. Furthermore, a very thin casting could be executed only over a core modeled as carefully as the wax model itself, whereas with a thicker sheet of bronze the forms and details indicated in the wax need not be so precise. Like the mold, but in reverse order, the core was built up in successive layers, each gradually defining the form; the last layer had to be the sharpest in detail for it would be in direct contact with the wax. For large-scale works calling for a hollow core, an armature or a rough framework supported the first layer and could be removed once it had dried. The core was then covered with wax carefully kneaded to the desired thickness, cut into strips and applied by hand so as to capture the exact features of every detail. The thickness of the wax was carefully equalized, for the success of the casting depended in large measure on its perfect regularity. Surface details were defined with tools quite similar to those used by bronze casters in the West. Extensive adornments, such as those commonly applied from the eighteenth century on, were executed separately and soldered to the finished statue. Filigree work seems to have been done by a process similar to that of India: threaded wax or bamboo fibers applied to the wax made it possible to achieve compositions of great finesse. When the model was ready, the mold was prepared and provided with the outlets indispensable for the casting of large-size pieces. The most important precaution of all was that no gap be left between mold and core when the intervening coat of wax flowed off; their relative positions were maintained by bronze nails, which were driven through from the outer mold to the inner core. Only when the molten wax had escaped and the core and mold had been sufficiently baked in a temporary kiln specially constructed for the purpose, could the actual bronze casting begin. For an idea of the technical difficulties involved,

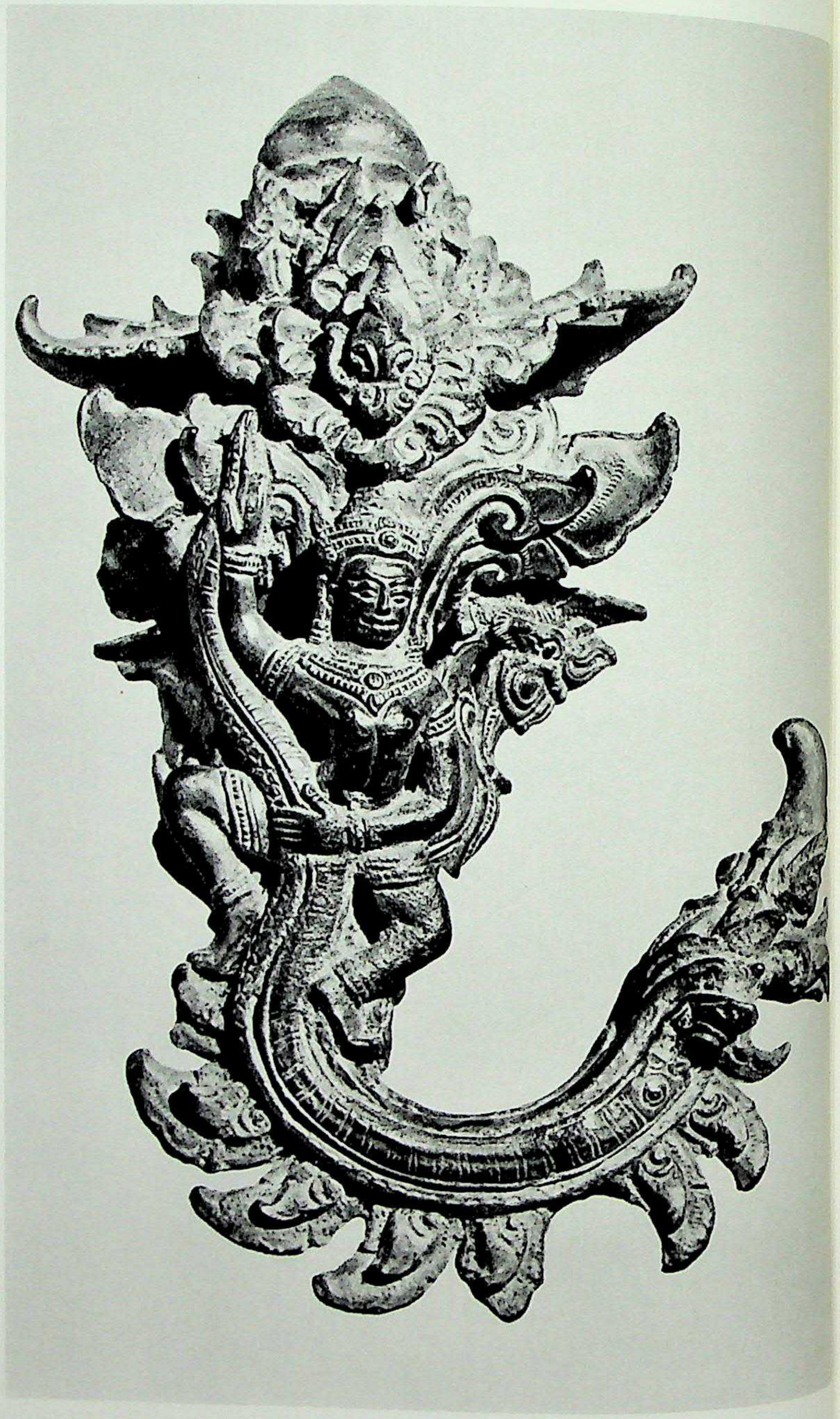
28 *Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Ayuthya*

one need only consider a colossal bronze statue such as the so-called "Buddha of the Hundred Thousand Outlets" (i.e., casting holes), the head of which is now in the Museum of Chieng Mai. The face of this statue from the Wat Yang Kwang monastery at Chieng Mai measures fifty-one inches from the tip of the chin to the hairline, which means that the overall height of the seated figure must have been at least twenty-one feet.

As soon as the enclosing mold and its contents were brought to the correct temperature, the fire was extinguished, the kiln dismantled, and the mold repaired with soft clay in order to seal up fissures and the outlets through which the wax had escaped. The casting was carried out from a makeshift scaffolding to which crucibles containing the molten metal were brought from a number of hearths. The final operations of breaking away the mold and tooling and polishing the statue were carried out as in solid casting.

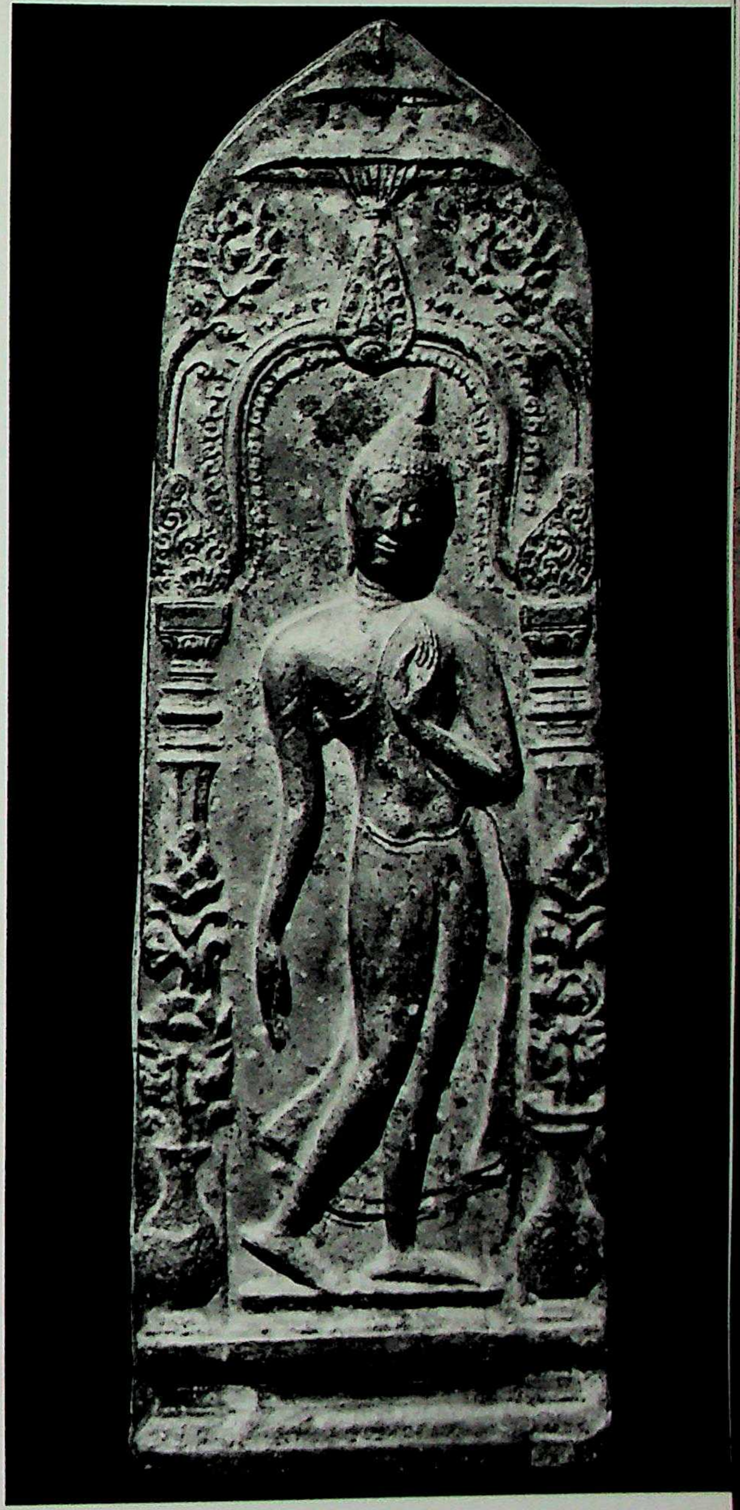
The preceding paragraphs, describing *cire-perdue* casting as practiced in Thailand, touch only on its essential technical features. Its originality with respect to Western traditions, however, lies rather in its religious context. Even today, the casting of a statue of any size is carried out only in a monastery and calls for an elaborate ritual combining semi-secular festivities with peculiarly religious practices drawn both from Buddhism and from ancient Brahmanic rites. The religious ceremonies begin on the evening before the casting and continue through the night. After intoning certain canonical texts, the monks join in collective meditation and their concentration is transmitted by means of a long sacred cord to the image. At daybreak, the bronze-caster, clad in ceremonial costume, pays homage to the spirit of his masters, invoking their assistance in his work; he makes offerings to the guardian deities and proceeds to exorcise all evil influences from the tools to be used in the casting. Positioning themselves around the courtyard and still holding the sacred cord, the monks resume their chanting while the head of the monastery sprinkles purifying water on the mold and on the metalworkers. Then, touching the mold with a long wand tied to the sacred cord, he thereby impregnates it with the accumulated force of the monks' meditation. The casting then proceeds, and any excess of molten metal is immediately poured into specially prepared molds for statuettes; these smaller images thus share the benefit of the supernatural powers acquired by the principal statue.

All the art manuals carefully specify the composition of the alloys used in the making of bronze statuary. Metallurgical analyses of Southeast Asian bronzes, however,



29 Hook of a Litter, James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok reveal a disconcerting variety in their composition and proportions. Bronze, the English word used to translate the Thai *samrit,* is, in fact, only a general term designating the alloy most commonly used. It corresponds approximately to the bronze of the West, being dark in color and taking a high polish. It consists chiefly of copper (75-80%), alloyed with tin and lead and, in small and varying quantities, with iron, zinc, mercury, silver, and even gold. The differences revealed by analysis are due primarily to the traditional way in which the metal was collected and melted. The constituent elements, themselves rarely pure, were usually older images, ritual objects, or metal fragments that may originally have been pious donations or booty gained in battle. To these were added, during melting, additional offerings of various metals contributed by donors eager to perform an act of merit. Since the composition of the alloy was not fixed at the start, it no doubt varied from one crucible to another. When large quantities of metal were required, the melting necessarily was done in successive stages; thus, the various parts of a single image may vary in composition. While *samrit* of a fine, dark brown color is by far the most common alloy, others that occur less frequently are *thong deng,* with a higher proportion of copper and roughly equivalent to our red copper, and *thong lüang* (the "tombac" of Western writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), having a bright yellow color similar to brass. Finally, in the eighth and ninth centuries, alloys with a high silver content seem to have been used rather widely, especially for Mahāyāna images of the Lopburi school.

As already noted, neither the color of the bronze Buddha statues nor their patina seem to have been matters of great concern for Thai image-makers, for from the Dvāravatī period on the figures were usually gilded. After the bronze surface was polished, it was coated with black or vermilion adhesive lacquer, over which gold leaf was laid. Inlaid eyes became a prominent feature of the images of certain schools: they consisted of different metals (during the early Lopburi period) or colored stones (for the Lan Na school). In the Nakhon Si Thammarat workshops during the eighteenth century, hammered silver was sometimes used to cover images instead of gold. While gold was used chiefly in thinly hammered leaves in the school of Dvāravatī (Ku Bua), solid gold statuettes were also made by all the different schools (Plate 122) and there is even one large Thonburi statue cast in gold by the *cire-perdue* process.



30 *Votive Tablet (Pra Pim), Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

Gold statues are frequently mentioned in ancient chronicles, but they have disappeared, taken perhaps as booty or as the spoils of war.

TECHNIQUES OF CARVING OR CUTTING

Modeling, whether in stucco, plaster, wax, or clay, was without question the most important fundamental technique used by sculptors in Thailand. The other primary sculptural technique—direct cutting—never rivaled modeling in continued or widespread use, but it produced, nonetheless, many works that show great technical skill and undeniable originality.

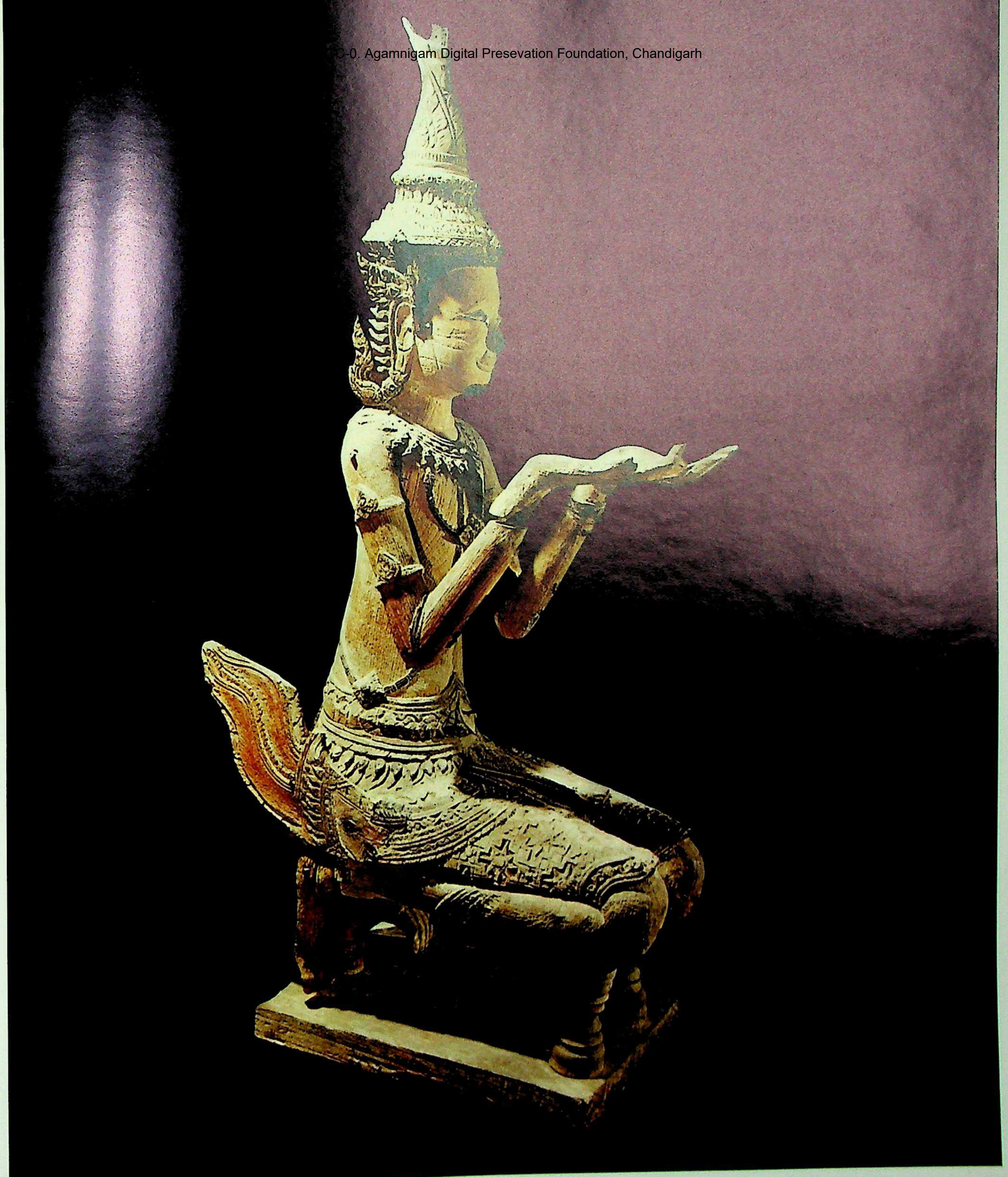
Stone sculpture reached a high level of achievement in Thailand only for a comparatively short period, some three centuries at most, during the flourishing of the Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya schools. Outside these schools, stone served as an important medium only in the Lopburi and Ayuthya schools, both of which adhered closely to Khmer sculpture in technique, if not always in stylistic inspiration. The Sukhothai and Lan Na schools showed a marked preference for bronze and made little use of stone. The very few extant Sukhothai stone images are roughly carved and difficult to date; in the latter school, stone seems to have been used only as a humble material in a few provincial workshops such as Payao.

During the apogee of stone sculpture, certain techniques seem to have benefited directly from the experience of wood carvers. This is true not only of stone bas-reliefs (Plates 44, 48), all too few of which survive, but also of free-standing statues, which, to a surprising extent, were made up of assembled parts in the manner of wood sculpture or carpentry. As regards the free-standing statues of the Śrīvijaya school (Plates 32, 62, 64) and those of the contemporary school of Si Tep (Plates 69, 70), the assembling of stone statues remained a unique experiment that was never fully developed. The determining influence behind the technique would seem to have been the work of bronze casters, causing the stone carvers to take little account of certain technical problems unique to stone sculpture.

In Dvāravatī art, the material itself seems to have played a decisive role in the orientation of Buddhist statuary. The stone most easily available to Dvāravatī sculptors was a schistose limestone capable of taking a fine polish but apt to split as it was being worked. Dvāravatī sculptors found themselves exploring means of reducing the risk of splitting or fragmenting, and this is probably one reason that they soon abandoned Indian models, eliminating the broad swing of the hips and fluent gestures in their statues, adopting instead a stiffer, more hieratic pose that allowed the statue to be shaped in terms of a cylindrical volume. Thus, increasing stylization in these images does not indicate a regressive evolution so much as growing preoccupation with technique at the expense of aesthetic considerations. The characteristic statue of the Dvāravatī school is a frontal figure, almost unvaried in width from shoulders to pedestal, the side edges of its robe running strictly parallel to the base, its elbows held tightly against the torso and its hands against the breast; it was this position, in short, that offered the best guarantee of solidity (Plate 33). The weakest points of such a figure were the hands and wrists, which were liable to snap off since they protrude from the stone cylinder. Challenged by this technical problem, early Dvāravatī stone carvers resorted to a device which was to become standard practice: hands were fashioned separately from the body of the figure and were attached at the wrists by mortise joints. This device was not a means of varying the position of the hands, as has sometimes been assumed. That would not have been permitted in a religious art in which all features of an image were rigidly prescribed. The sole purpose of this device was to reduce, if not quite eliminate, the risk of breakage. It was no doubt for the same reason of avoiding any marked salience in statuary that the Dvāravatī school gradually abandoned altogether the carving of seated images.

Much rarer than standing figures, seated stone statues were usually treated as high reliefs. In contrast to the customarily fine execution of the torso, the legs—forced into the same plane as the torso—seem uncharacteristically atrophied. This awkward convention betrays not so much an ignorance of plastic volume as a fear on the part of the sculptor of creating the structural weakness that would be inevitable if a distinct change of plane were attempted at thigh level. It would seem, indeed, that limestone was also considered unsuitable for large-size statues seated with dangling legs in the European manner (Plate 47). For such works, quartzite was preferred to limestone; although less abundant and more difficult to carve, it proved far more robust.[4] Only a single large limestone statue seated in this attitude is known: the one preserved at Wat Pra Men in Ayuthya. Rather clumsily reassembled at an early date, it is probably not by chance that its hands both rest on the thighs instead of being raised in the gesture of teaching, a

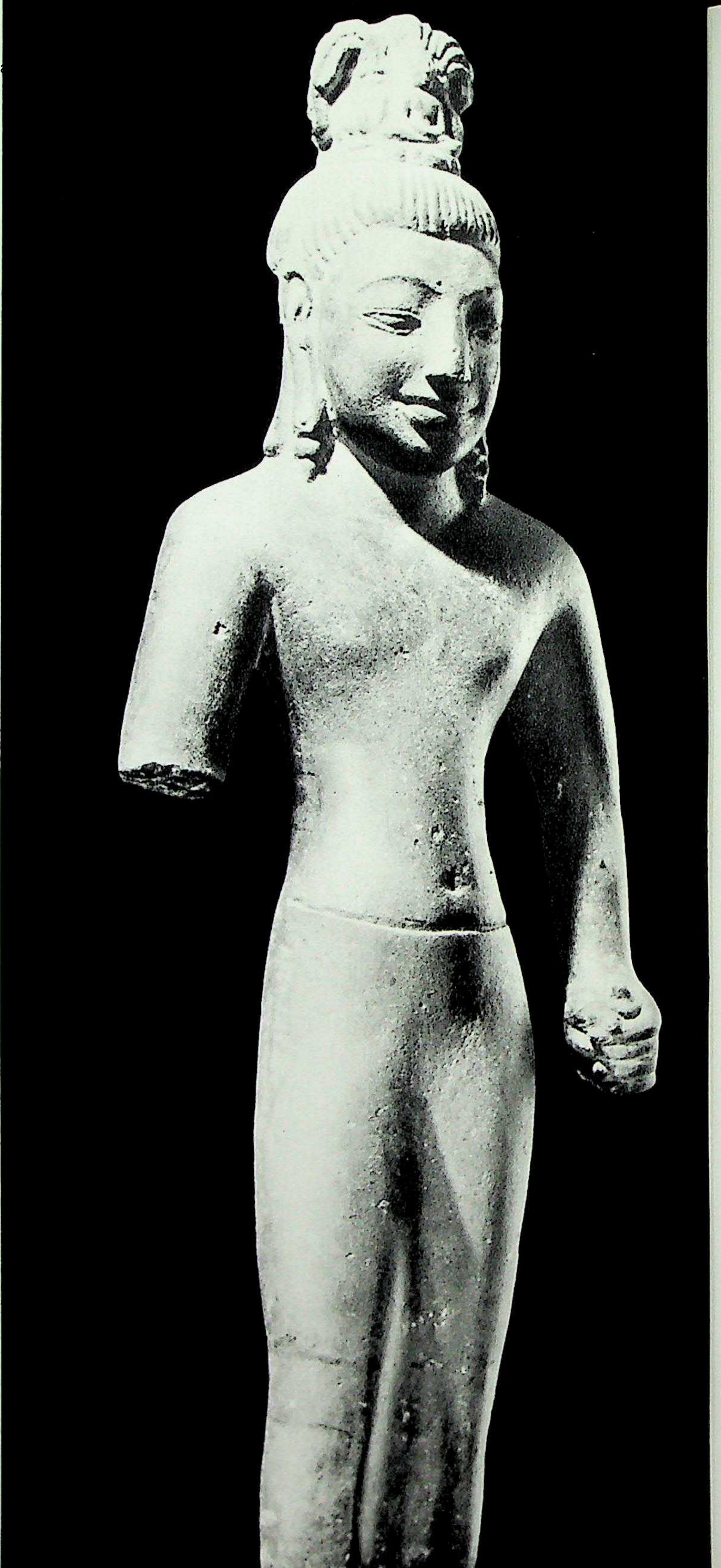
31 Kneeling Offering-bearer, National Museum, Ayuthya



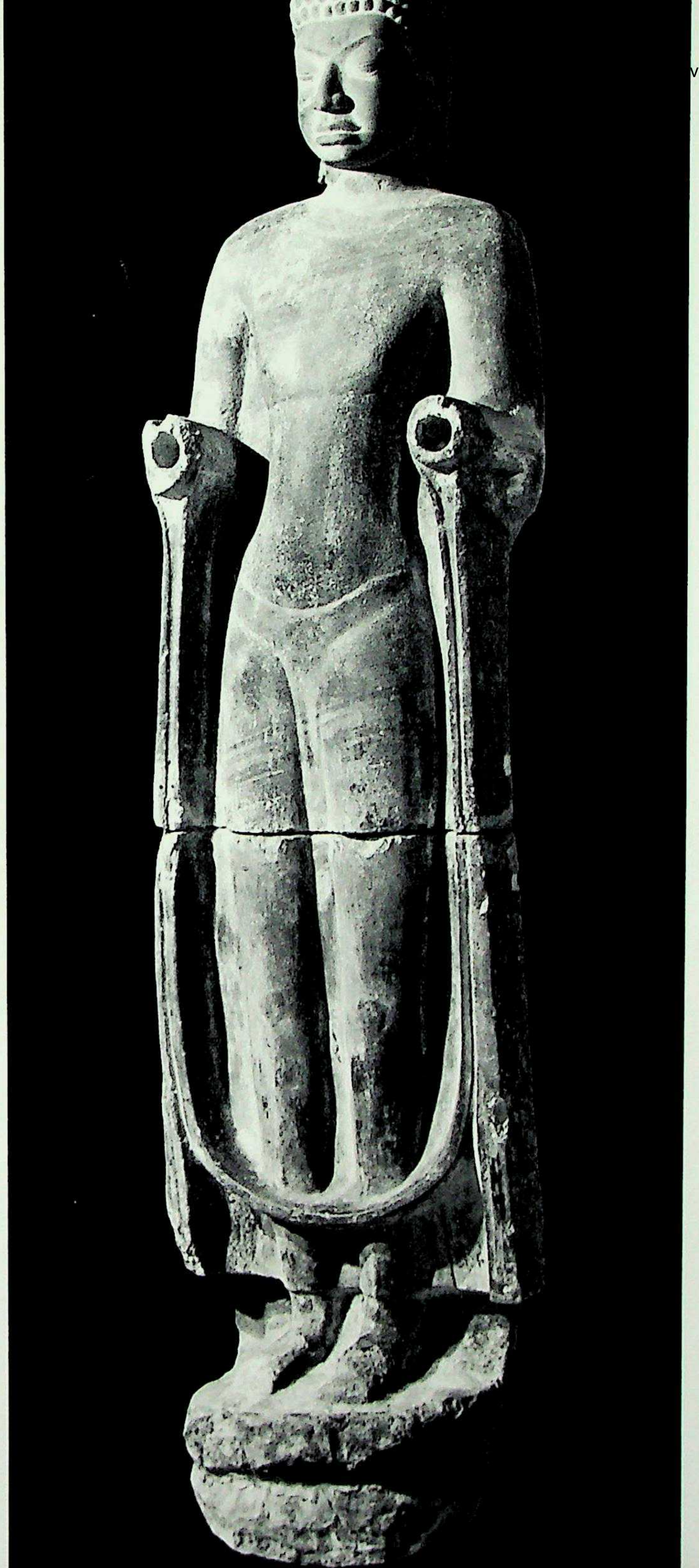
gesture that is nearly impossible to render in brittle limestone. Quartzite images were usually made up of several separate units joined in mortise-tenon fashion since a single block of the material would have been too large and heavy for quarrying and carving. Such statues generally consisted of three parts: the upper body with a tenon at its base; the lower limbs with a mortise at the top, at pelvis level, and tenons at the ankles; and the feet, with mortises, forming a single unit with the lotus pedestal. Other ritual furnishings were similarly assembled. A fine large urn, preserved at Pra Pathom Chedi, was formed of two pieces of schistose limestone, hollowed out and carved and then fitted together along the median plane and held by double clamps.

The so-called Wheels of the Law (*Dharmacakra*), so characteristic of Dvāravatī art (e.g., Plate 58), were also made up of assembled units. As revealed by excavations at U Thong, especially site No. 11, such wheels evoke a familiar Indian tradition: in the Amarāvatī reliefs, a sturdy column topped by an independent abacus supported the wheel itself. In the Thai version, the assembled sculptures were directly inspired by carpentry techniques, and in design they were not well suited to stone (see Appendix, p. 206). In view of their size and weight (the largest known wheel has a diameter of 6½ feet), such compositions would appear to lend themselves much better to wood carving than to stone sculpture.

While the statuary of the Dvāravatī school seems to be characterized by caution, that of Śrīvijaya and the schools related to it all display a boldness that verges on temerity. Thanks to this fearlessness on the part of the Śrīvijaya sculptors, Thailand can boast of the finest three-dimensional statues ever produced in Southeast Asia. The works of such excellence are chiefly Brahmanic, particularly statues of Vishnu; on the whole, Buddhist imagery remained under the direct influence of the Dvāravatī tradition. Art historians and archaeologists were early attracted by the remarkable quality and originality of the Śrīvijaya school, which, spreading from the peninsula during the late eighth century, extended at its apogee as far as the Prachinburi region (Plate 65) and is even related to the more northern school of Si Tep. As early as 1909, Lunet de Lajonquière proposed in his paper, *Le domaine archéologique du Siam,* to designate Śrīvijaya sculpture as a "non-Cambodian Hindu group". Characterized by a technical virtuosity that per-



32 *Avalokiteśvara, National Museum, Bangkok*
33 *Standing Buddha, National Museum, Nakhon Pathom*
34 *Standing Buddha, James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok*



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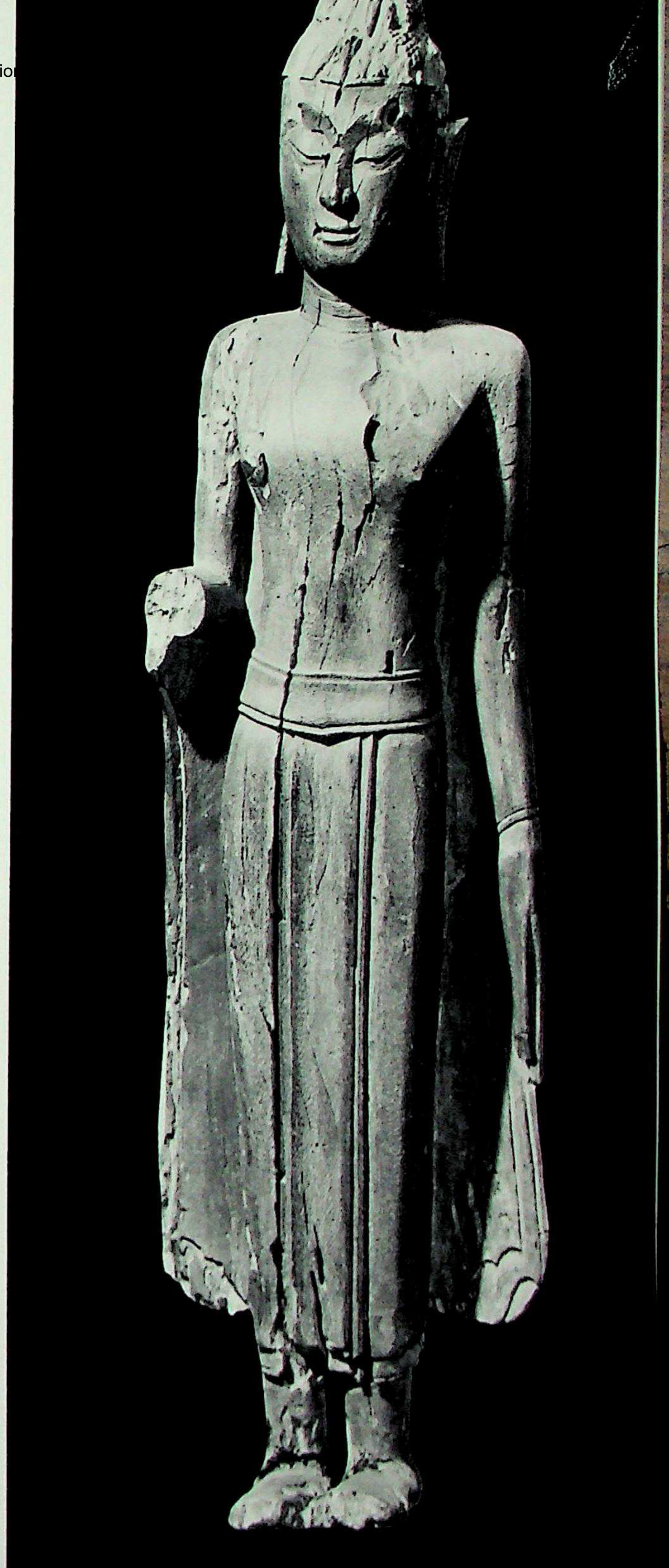

mitted the execution of statues free of the supporting arches and cross-pieces indispensable to pre-Angkorian statuary,[5] it also reveals an unusual interest in lifelike musculature.

The related Si Tep school, moreover, shows a fascination with the depiction of movement. Recourse to reinforcement devices is very rare, occurring only when the material employed is schistose limestone. In all other cases, the upper hands of four-armed images are free of any support (Plates 64, 66). Statuary of the school narrowly labelled "Śrīvijaya", remains strictly frontal and the lower hands of most images rest firmly on lateral props. With the Si Tep school, which probably cannot be dated any earlier than the eighth or ninth century, a final step is taken: stone statues, incomparably graceful and slender, were set completely free and given an easy swing of the hips (Plates 69-70). Previously, such dynamism and vitality had been possible only in bronze. Sculpture in stone could progress no further in this direction and the Si Tep achievement was never surpassed.

There is little to be said about the art of wood carving except that by permitting the combination of several separate units in a single statue it encouraged a bold approach. It should only be noted that wood carving was little used in the making of religious images but supplied a wide range of furniture and various fittings and equipages. Unaffected by the limitations of metal casting and the hazards of stone sculpture, wood carving (Plates 31, 34) produced works of great brio, all of them relatively recent in date.

Brick, being generally coarse in texture, was not well suited to sculpture. Although there exist a few brick figure carvings and a few Dvāravatī architectural decorations that may be dated as early as the fifth century, the brick used and the method of bonding did not lend themselves to such sculpture as that adorning the walls of the pre-Angkorian sanctuaries. Special mention must be made, however, of a simple monument in northwest Thailand, the venerated Buddhist sanctuary of That Panom. Built of Khmer-type bricks and bonded by the same method that produced joints which were invisible and indestructible, it was decorated in the ninth or tenth century with an imposing array of floral motifs and figures carved in low relief in a style very different from the Khmer tradition. One further use of brick carving is to be seen in the foundation deposits of Dvāravatī sanctuaries. Made of the same very fine clay that was used for pottery, these bricks were carved with graceful plant motifs or geometric patterns and were often covered with gold leaf. The bricks, whose patterning was always independent of the neighboring decorations, were laid side by side in the foundations of certain important *stūpas,* such as the Chedi Chula Paton at Nakhon Pathom.

Finally, carving of precious and semi-precious stones was of comparatively little account. Although such materials as crystal or jasper were sometimes used for carving the most venerated images (e.g., Frontispiece). Their cutting presented no special problems to Thai sculptors, and they require no extensive discussion here.

Part two

THE SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE

INTRODUCTION

In art history, any scheme of classification tends to suggest a chronological sequence of schools, each clearly defined and evolving within narrow limits. Such a scheme, while it may provide useful guidelines for investigation, can never account fully for shifting realities, for blurred chronologies, or for the continual overlapping of schools and styles. The application of any such rigid classification system to the art of Thailand would be particularly inappropriate, for schools there were essentially regional and, in many cases, existed contemporaneously over long stretches of time. The classification followed in this book is largely that adopted in Thailand as a result of the researches of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, and offers the singular advantage of defining schools of art in relation to the main historical periods and also to their geographical position. Certain minor changes have been introduced, both to bring the classification up to date and to make it more readily understandable to readers unfamiliar with the geography and particular historical problems of Thailand. Giving due weight to the latest archeological data, necessitating occasional adjustments of chronology, the following scheme, reflected in the chapter titles of this section, has been worked out:

The early images (c. 4th-6th centuries)
The Dvāravatī school (c. 7th-11th centuries)
The Śrīvijaya school (c. 8th-13th centuries)
The Lopburi school (c. 7th-14th centuries)
The Sukhothai School (13th-15th centuries)
The Lan Na or Chieng Sèn school (13th-20th centuries)
The Ayuthya school (14th-18th centuries)
The Thonburi and Bangkok schools (late 18th century to the present)

The first four of these chapters deal with what might properly be called "pre-Thai" art, for a genuinely Thai art made its appearance only during the course of the thirteenth century as the Thai population of the region gained its independence and sovereignty. The chronological framework, it will be noticed, is often very approximate: precise dating is impossible owing to the paucity of inscriptions or documentary material for the whole of the early period. A further obstacle is the difficulty of dating Buddha images by a comparative method, for Buddhist art is by its very nature conservative. In this general scheme, various secondary schools have been subsumed under the main schools on the strength of their affinities, the part they may have played locally in the formation of the major schools, and the evidence of enduring survivals which they reveal. Thus, the Si Tep school (eighth-ninth centuries) is included with the Śrīvijaya school because of the influence that the latter seems to have exerted on Si Tep iconography; by the same token, the school of Nakhon Si Thammarat, whose production maintained some of the Śrīvijaya traditions for many centuries, is also classified with Śrīvijaya. Likewise, the school of Haripuñjaya, the distant heir of Dvāravatī, introduces the Lan Na school, which in part was formed at its expense. Finally, for both historical and geographical reasons, it has been considered advisable not to separate the U Thong style (c. thirteenth-fourteenth centuries) from the Ayuthya school, which seems to be a direct extension of it.

A final point is worth emphasizing: in the case of each of the schools of Thai sculpture far more is known about style than about chronology; this clearly is an effect of Buddhist iconography. While specialists can readily identify a considerable number of local workshops, each possessing original features that are more or less unique to it, the peculiarities of Buddhist iconography render it much more difficult to date them, even within a margin of one or two centuries.

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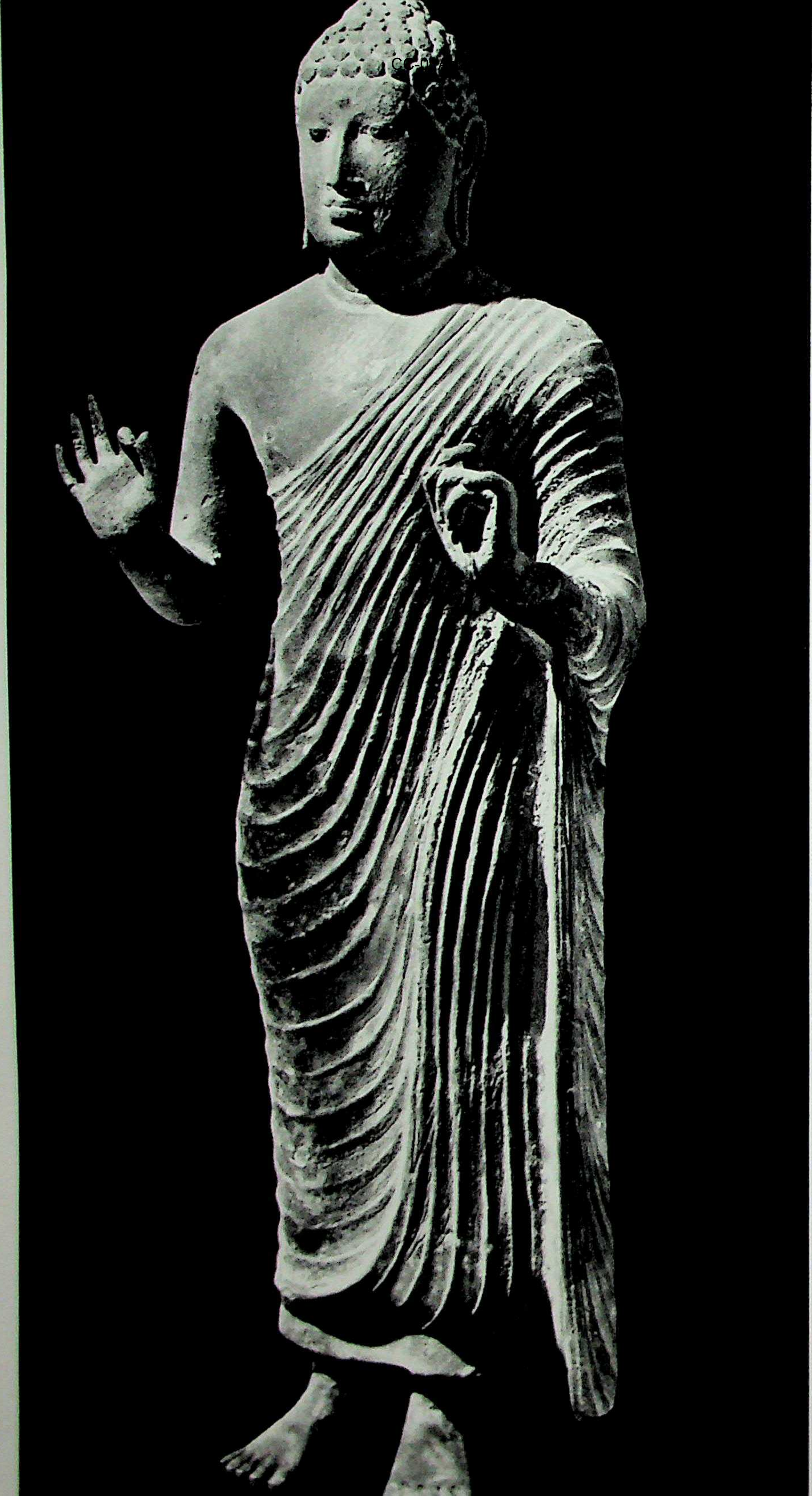
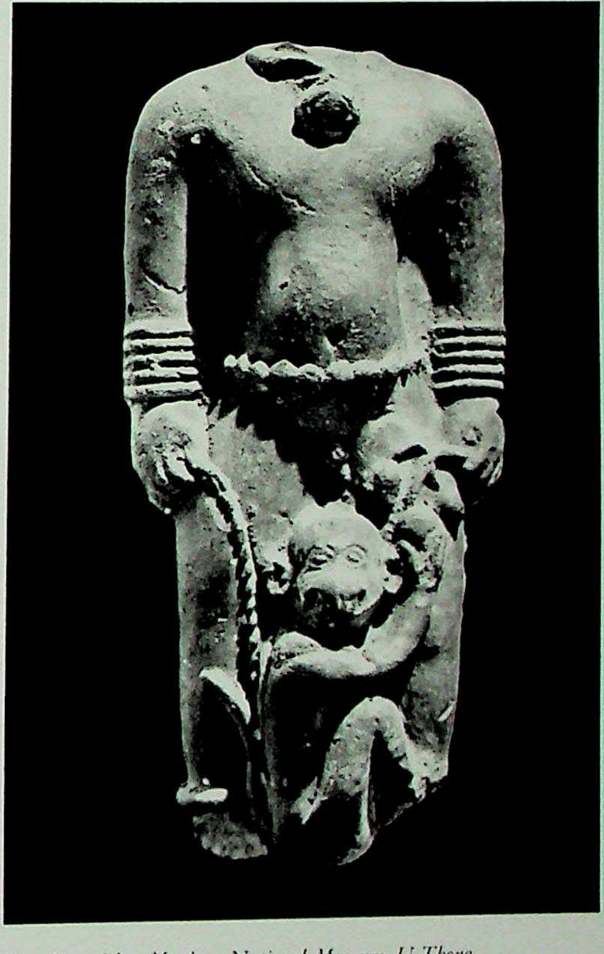


35 *Standing Buddha, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

III THE EARLY IMAGES

For many years the art history of Thailand was thought to begin only with the Dvāravatī period, the origins of which were believed to extend as far back as the beginning of the Christian era. As archaeological data and historical research made it clear that the earliest evidence of the Dvāravatī kingdom did not precede the seventh century, it was generally admitted that art must have appeared in the Menam basin in about the sixth century at the earliest. For the long gap intervening between prehistory and a historical period merging with the supposed beginnings of Dvāravatī, the only evidence of art activity was a few works of sculpture that obviously had been imported from outside the area. Archaeological research of the past few decades has revealed nothing to justify an earlier date for the kingdom of Dvāravatī. It has, however, demonstrated the scope and importance of the imported pieces. More remarkably, it has also revealed the existence, before the seventh century, of workshops copying the imported models in the the oldest centers in the western part of the Menam Plain (Nakhon Pathom, Kanchanaburi, U Thong, and others) and in peninsular Thailand (e.g. Chaiya). Despite these local copies, the early imports had so limited an influence in space and time that they cannot be included in the Dvāravatī period, which was characterized by the rise of an original iconography destined to enjoy a long life. Coming predominantly, although not exclusively, from South India, and demonstrating by their dispersal Thailand's early role as a cultural crossroads, the imported works merit independent consideration as a group. The period concerned extends roughly from the first centuries of the millenium, when Indian expansion into Thailand began, to the early seventh century, when the kingdom of Dvāravatī presumably arose.



36 Boy with a Monkey, National Museum, U Thong

Practically nothing is known of the local population that received the early Indian influence. From evidence that probably does not antedate the seventh century, it may be assumed that a Mōn ethnic group occupied the greater part of the Menam Plain, but there are no grounds for supposing that it also extended into the peninsular region, which was by then an advanced center of activity. The importance of the peninsula is due to the arrival there of early Indian traders who came by sea. An overland route, avoiding the long detour around the Straits of Malacca, extended along the Isthmus of Kra and led directly to the Menam Plain. Chinese texts attest to this route and note the existence in the peninsula of many Indianized principalities, of uncertain extent and location. Some apparently flourished and were undoubtedly instrumental in diffusing Indian cultural traditions. But it was chiefly along the Gulf of Thailand and in the western part of the Menam Plain, especially in towns like U Thong, whose origins presumably extend back into prehistory, that the most active Indianized centers seem to have been established, preparing the way for the rise of Dvāravatī culture.

Better than the scanty evidence supplied by the Chinese histories, which constitute the only written records for this early era, archaeological findings reveal the nature of the international contacts of the time. Generally, this material may be divided into two groups: a large array of ritual objects associated with the practice of particular cults and statues of the Buddha or, more rarely, of other divinities. The latter group comes from sanctuaries, which have also yielded a few reliefs made of brick and stucco and datable stylistically to this early period.

The objects associated with particular local cults are for the most part glyptic pieces, terra-cottas, small-scale statuary, and occasionally items of ritual furniture. As in India and the Oc-èo culture of the Mekong Delta, the glyptic work, better known from seal impressions than from the engraved gems and seals themselves, reveals two traditions: one properly Indian and the other Hellenistic or Roman. The latter tradition is abundantly represented and its types were copied locally with varying success at Nathon Pathom, U Thong, Dong Si Maha Pot and other sites; related to it are a few bronze pieces of the same origin, the most famous being a large, handsome Alexandrian lamp found at Pong Tük and preserved in the National Museum of Bangkok.[6] To the Indian tradition of engraved seals belong a few epigraphical types and the well-known image of a recumbent ox. Other seal figures such as warriors and yoke bearers, although apparently of local inspiration and not primarily of religious significance, are probably connected with the Indian series. Intaglios and seals long remained in use, but the early symbols disappeared during the Dvāravatī period.

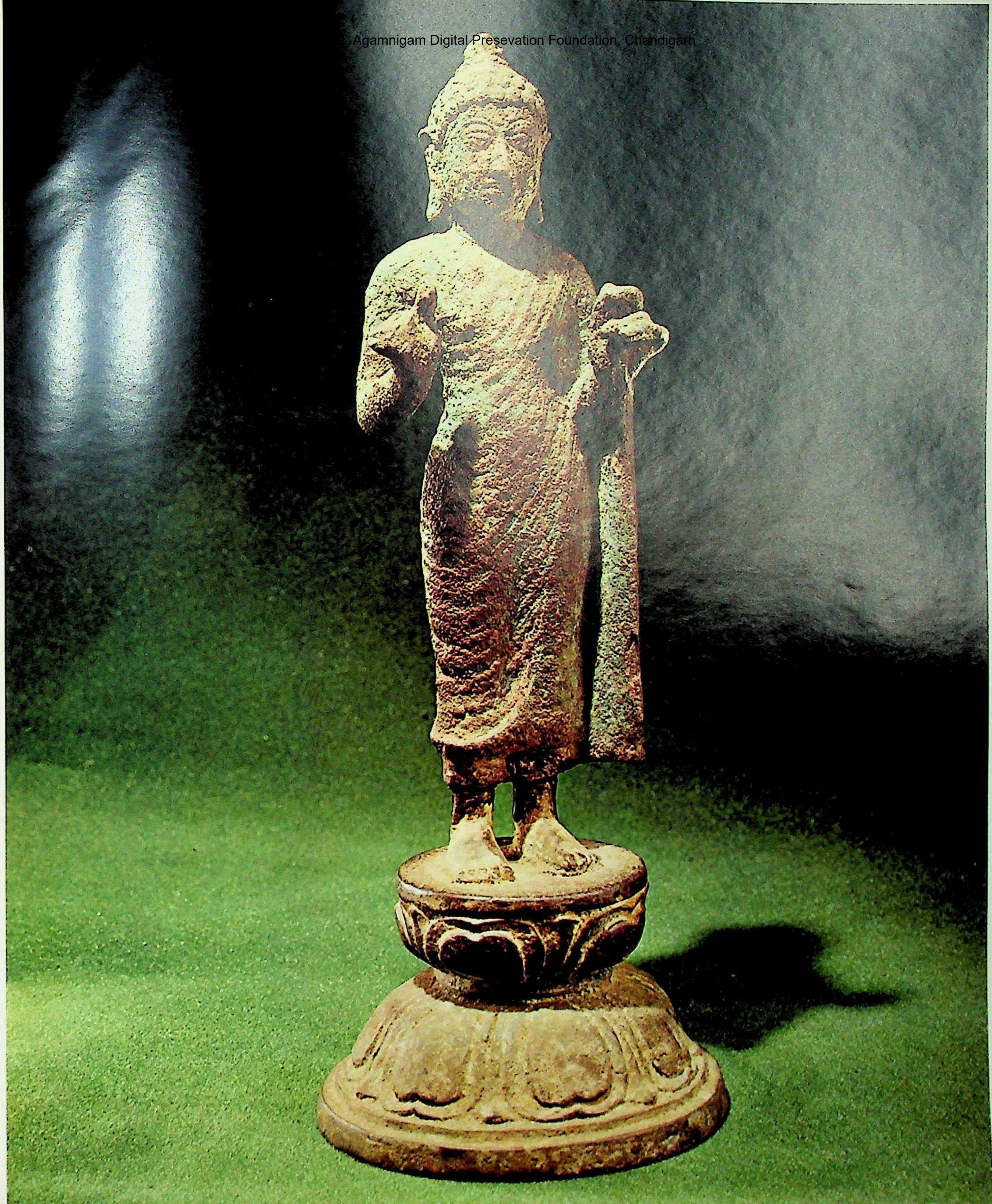
Votive tablets known as *Pra Pim*, the most important extant evidence for the earliest individual practice of Buddhism in Thailand, do not seem to have appeared until about the fifth or sixth century, and thus are somewhat later in date than the first imported images. The most remarkable of them represent the Buddha seated or standing in the attire, attitudes, and gestures characteristic of South Indian iconography; they were found in the Songkhlà region, which seems to have been one of the earliest centers for the propagation of Buddhism in the Indochina peninsula.[7] Also belonging to this first group are some molded terra-cotta figurines, which remained in vogue well into the Dvāravatī period; their designs are often so worn from use as to be practically undiscernible. The earliest types of such figurines are very rare; they can be identified by their headdress, directly influenced in style by the art of Amarāvatī.

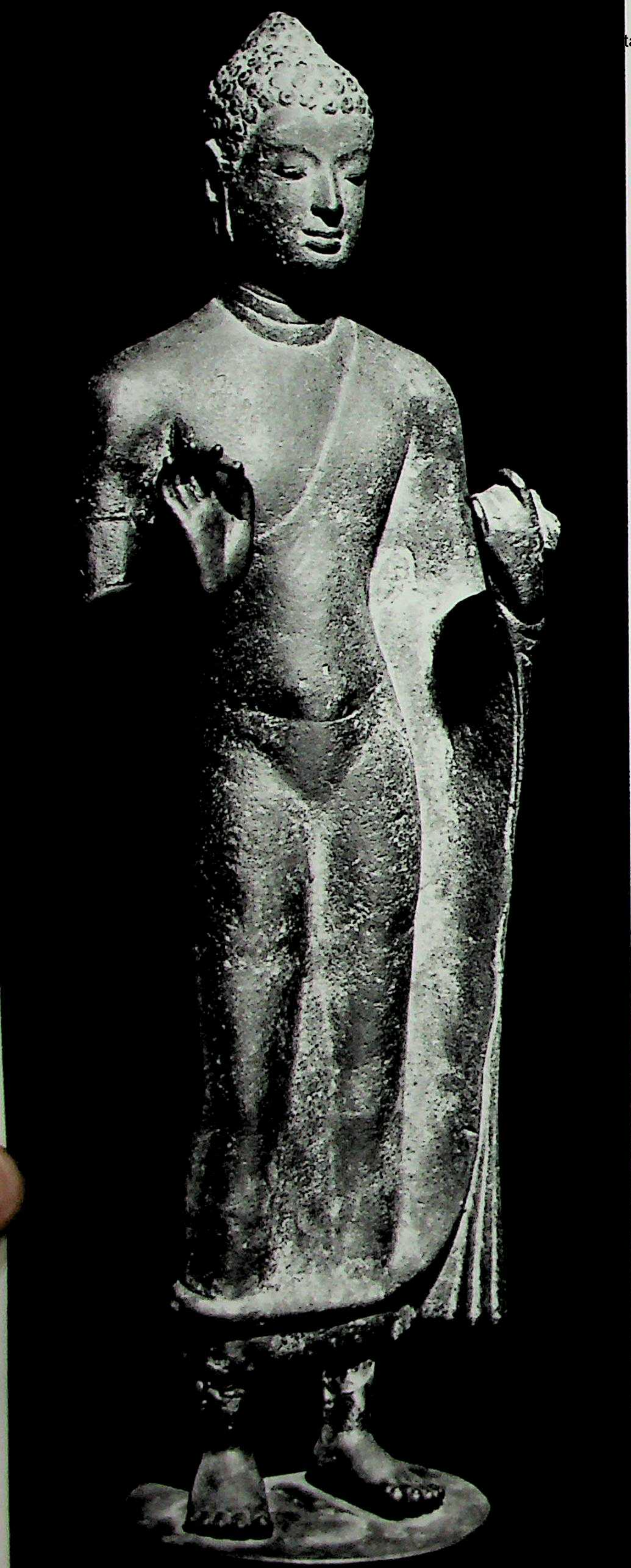
The most characteristic statuette is that of a naked boy holding a monkey on a leash (Plate 36). Usually headless, no doubt because of some ritual precautionary practice that reappeared much later in the kingdom of Sukhothai,[8] these figurines reveal a physical type unrelated to that of Southeast Asia and seem to have been imported before being copied locally. One would hardly be justified, however, in grouping together with these imported figurines a variety of other types of statuettes—*yakshinis,* clad figures, and images of the goddess Śrī—which, although executed by much the same procedures, continued to be made throughout the Dvāravatī period.

Finally, to complete this brief survey, a word should be said about certain curious sculptured palettes and cupped tablets whose function is still a matter of conjecture. The tablets evoke in shape and decoration Indian types which antedate the Christian era and which may have had some connection with the cult of the Mother Goddess.[9] These objects, too, were destined to enjoy lasting favor throughout the Dvāravatī period, during which were created new compositions that often embodied traditional auspicious symbols borrowed from the Indian repertory.

Statues and statuettes, together with the all-too-rare fragments of reliefs, provide more important evidence because they help define outside contributions more accurately and enable specialists to discern such influences on local workshops. The various types of images, however, did not remain in favor so long as most of the cult objects in the previous group, which seem to have been adopted almost as a matter of routine. The images vary with successive importations: earlier types were regularly superseded by later ones until such time as the local religious communities had become sufficiently strong and well-organized to impose an iconography of their own. The statuary of the early historical period thus appears to

37 *Statuette of a Standing Buddha, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

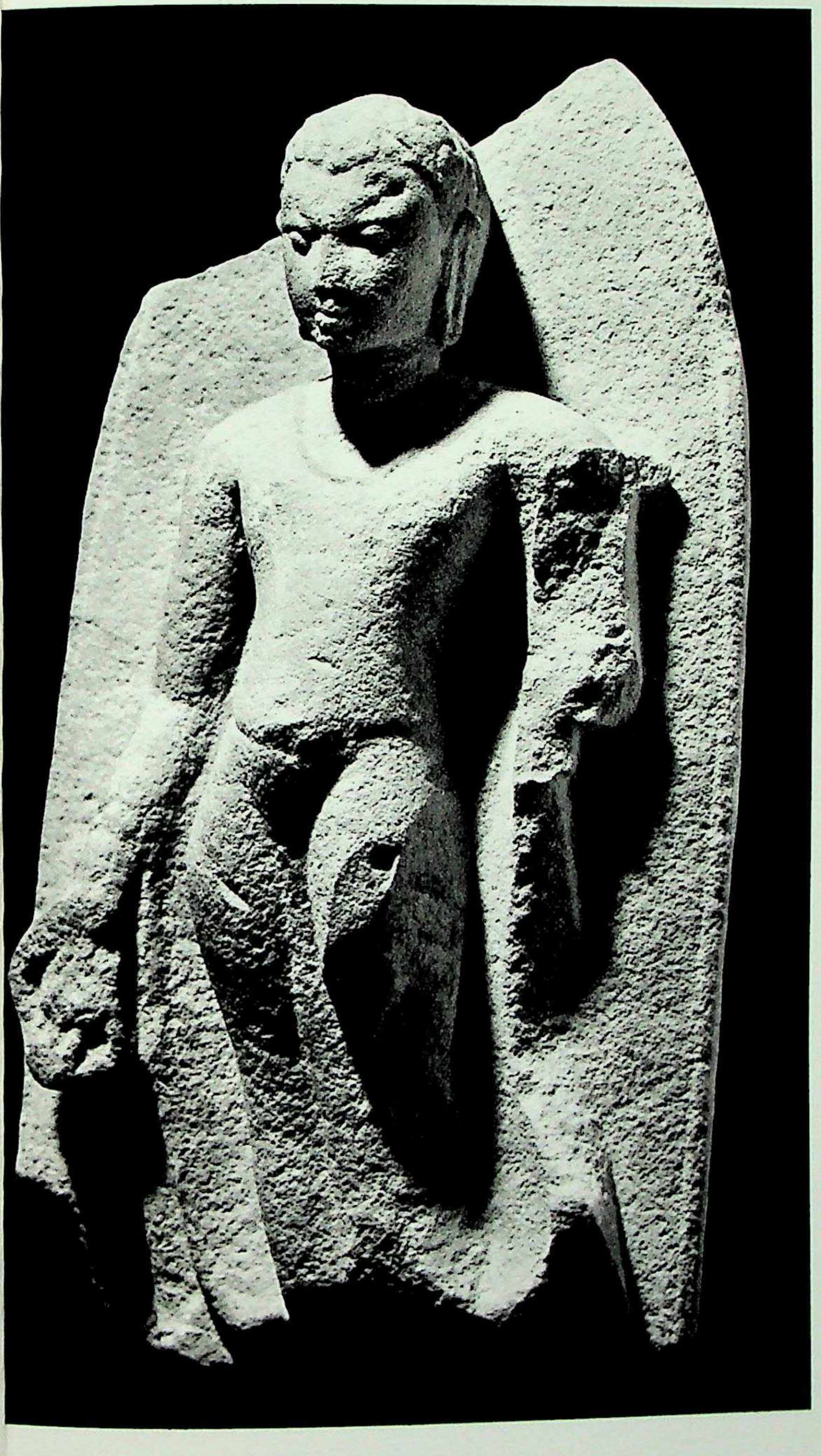




38 *Standing Buddha, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

reflect a series of tentative efforts: different Indian iconographical traditions reveal their presence, successively or simultaneously, but none of them really prevails or endures. Two Chinese statuettes found recently at Phetburi are worth mentioning (but only in passing, for they left no lasting influence): both bronzes of rather mediocre workmanship, they are of interest chiefly as evidence of contact with China. They date from the end of the Wei dynasty or the Sui (late-sixth or early-seventh century), a period comparatively late in relation to the Indian pieces. The latter, as already indicated, originated in South India. Thus, it may be said that the Buddhist art of Thailand first adopted the gestures and attitudes of the South Indian tradition; the attire in which Buddhist images were depicted, however, reflects a more complex play of influences.

The first Buddha images to appear in Thailand cannot be dated any earlier than the fifth or perhaps even the early-sixth century, and are therefore not so old as was once assumed. They form part of a well-defined series of standing figures diffused throughout Southeast Asia. The iconography, characterized by gesture and attire, seems closest to that of the Amarāvatī tradition. The essential features of these images, the left hand grasping a flap of the robe, is in fact unknown in Andhradeśa art; it occurs in Ceylon only in a fine seated statue from Badulla, now in the Colombo Museum. In these circumstances, it seems justifiable to consider the series as characteristic of South Indian art and to assume that it was diffused toward Ceylon and Southeast Asia from the great Buddhist centers on the Coromandel Coast. The finest and most important of these statues is that of Dông-düöng (South Vietnam) in the Saigon Museum, but there are at least three in Thailand whose scattered locations would seem to mark one of the routes along which Buddhism spread. The largest and most impressive of the three (Plate 35) was found at Sungai Kolok in Narathiwet Province, far south in the Peninsula; another, unfortunately much over-restored, is from Phetburi in the northern section of the peninsula; and the smallest but the most ancient one known was discovered at Korat. More remarkable is the fact that, with a statuette from Nakhon Pathom (Plate 37), Thailand can also show one of the very rare examples of a local copy that adheres quite closely to the stylistic features of its model. Related to this series is a stone torso, just under two feet in height, now in the National Museum of Bangkok but too damaged to be reproduced here. No doubt slightly later in date, it is



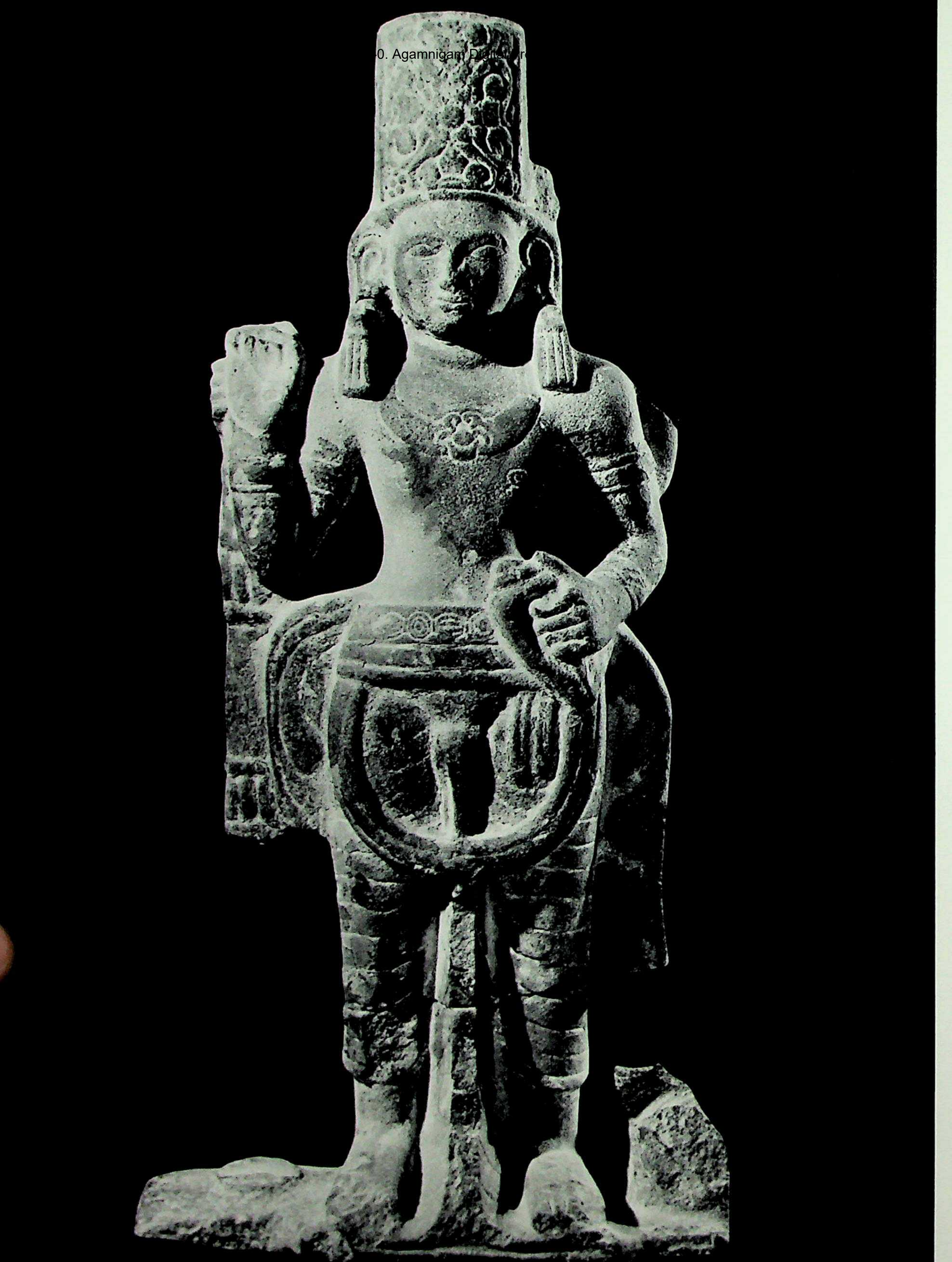
the earliest known Buddha statue believed to have been carved in Indochina. Although its gesture directly recalls the statuary of Amarāvatī, the robe has lost its characteristically draped folds and the head rests against a nimbus that seems to have been copied from a bronze statue.

These works are presumed to be the earliest Buddha images in Thailand. Those that followed, while still testifying to the influence of South India, belong to a more advanced stage of evolution and may be related to the Andhra-Pallava school of Buddhapād; this presumably sixth-century school preserved most of the early features but seems less remote from the Gupta tradition. The finest of these images is a standing Buddha (Plate 38), found in the neighborhood of Songkhlā, that seems to belong to another series which was also widely diffused in Southeast Asia. Copied locally much more often than the models of the previous series, the image lies at the source of a widespread group of Thai bronzes that came to show a gradual deterioration in iconography. Many votive tablets were also inspired by the same type, a fact that was probably instrumental in maintaining the tradition.

Other Indian schools made an appearance in Thailand around the sixth century, leaving evidence of what was apparently a fresh effort to propagate Buddhism in the peninsula. Three separate currents can be detected, but none of them had a real influence on the local evolution of art. A sandstone tablet (Plate 39), found at Wieng Sa in the southern part of the peninsula, belongs undoubtedly to the Sārnāth school. Of two bronze statuettes, both with a robe folded and draped naturalistically, one found at Nakhon Pathom is obviously a copy of a late Gandhāra model; the other, from Pong Tük, can be related to the Nālandā school. Widely different in origin, these works vouch for the important role of the area that was to become Thailand in the propagation of Buddhism throughout Southeast Asia well before the beginning of the seventh century.[10]

In addition to the copies of images referred to above, several reliefs also deserve attention at this point. Found embedded within masonry of the Dvāravatī period at U Thong, which together with Nakhon Pathom was one of the earliest centers of activity, they point to the existence of monuments already constructed at a date close to the time when the first imported images arrived in Thailand. Two reliefs in the U Thong Museum are of particular interest. One is a brick carving showing three monks holding alms bowls, each clad in a robe draped over both

39 Standing Buddha, National Museum, Bangkok



shoulders and folded in the customary manner of South India. The other is a stucco fragment representing a very archaic *kinnari* (a mythological heavenly creature, part bird and part human in form) wearing a diadem with a broad circular ornament; it recalls examples in the art of Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura no later than the third or fourth century. This stucco thus seems to preserve a reminiscence of one of the earliest Indian imports into Southeast Asia.

Compared to the relatively large number of Buddhist images brought from India at an early date, Brahmanism is less well represented. Indeed, only a single statue can safely be assigned to the period that concerns us here, but it is a work of considerable importance. A limestone Vishnu idol from Chaiya (Plate 40), probably carved on the spot, this image derives from a South Indian tradition that cannot be traced back any earlier than the fourth century; it may thus be regarded as the earliest Brahmanic statue in Southeast Asia. Unlike the Buddhist images which left no true descendants, this statue may well be thought to stand at the source of a long line of iconographical development which, despite its gradual degeneration, extended far beyond the Chaiya region into the Mekong Delta (Oc-èo), and which appears to owe much to the art of peninsular Thailand and the Menam Plain.[11]

Thus, the flowering of art during the Dvāravatī period must be viewed not as the sudden outburst that it was once believed to be, but rather as the result of a long period of borrowing from foreign models, growth, and development in the various ancient cultural centers in the Isthmus of Kra and in the eastern part of the Menam Plain.

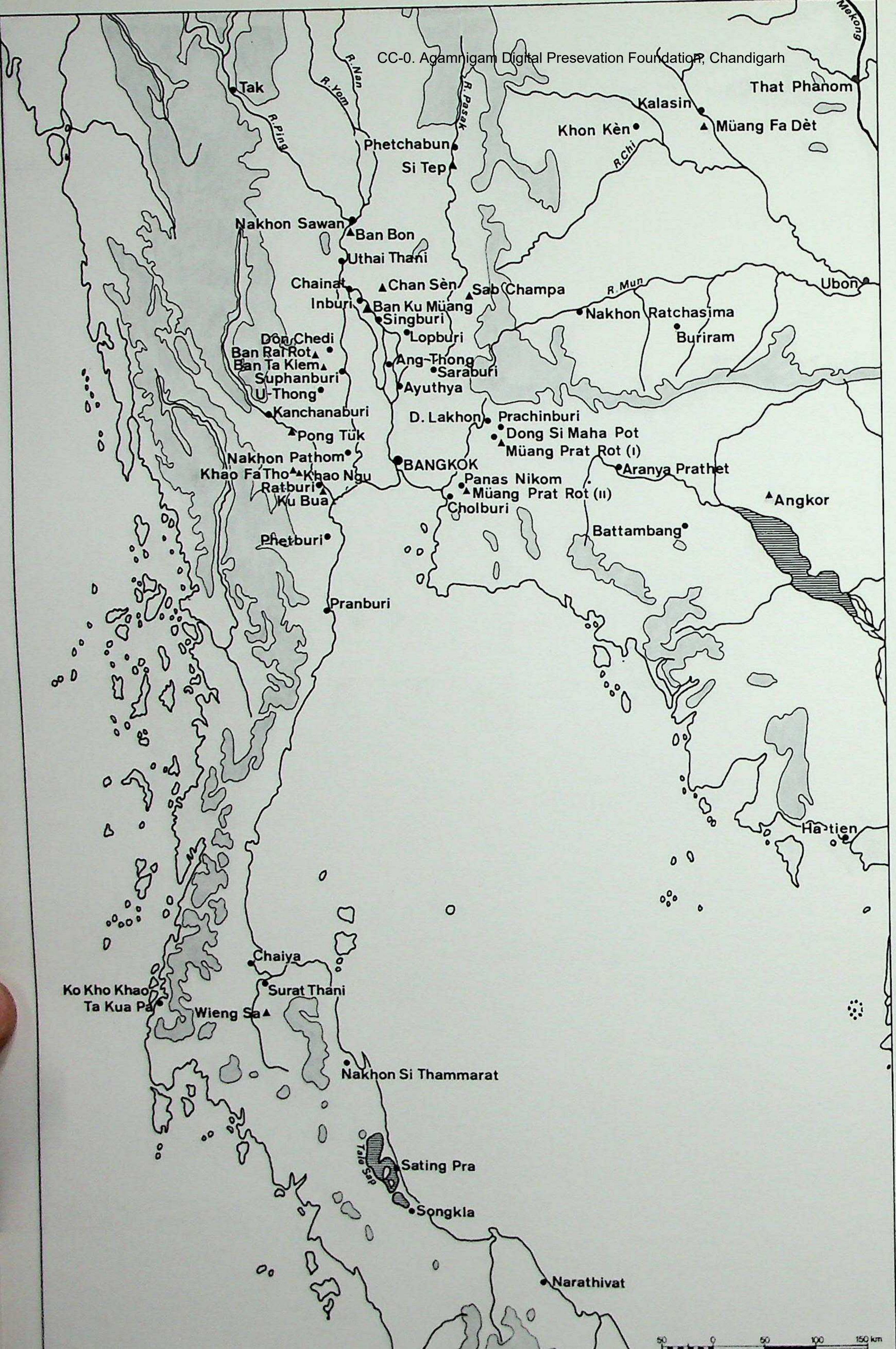
40 Vishnu, National Museum, Bangkok

IV THE DVĀRAVATĪ SCHOOL

The name Dvāravatī, traditionally assigned to what was long assumed to be the earliest school of art in Thailand, is but a convenient designation of questionable historical significance. Indeed, the kingdom of Dvāravatī may enjoy a celebrity far greater than is deserved, or at least greater than can be supported at present by the factual record. While the originality of its sculpture was recognized long ago, the essential features of its architecture have only begun to be defined as a result of the clearings and excavations of the past thirty years. The very existence of a kingdom of this name, originally deduced from a reading of the name as it figures in Chinese chronicles, was definitely established only in 1963, when George Coedès deciphered a reference to a " Lord of Dvāravatī" on silver coins found at the site of Nakhon Pathom, an important city which quite possibly may have been the capital of the kingdom. The geographical extent of the kingdom, its political history, and its chronological duration may never be known, for documentary evidence is exceedingly sparse in the whole of this region. A royal inscription engraved on a bronze plaque of Brahmanic character was discovered at U Thong in 1957; although it probably dates from the seventh century, there is, unfortunately, no compelling reason to ascribe it to the kingdom of Dvāravatī rather than to some other contemporary principality in the same region. Chinese texts refer to Dvāravatī only during a brief period of time, making no further mention of it after the eighth century; this silence appears to coincide with the expansion into the Indochina Peninsula of the Indonesian kingdom of Śrīvijaya. Confirmed by archaeological findings—primarily votive tablets bearing inscriptions both in Sanskrit, cut in the characters of North India, and in Old Javanese script as used in Indonesia, and also Mahāyāna idols in Indonesian style—this penetration of Śrīvijaya extended not only throughout the central area of present-day Thailand but even into the southern regions of Cambodia and ancient Champa. In the Menam Plain, however, the newcomers brought about few lasting changes in a culture whose main features were apparently already well established; it is in this sense that the art known as Dvāravatī does constitute an enduring reality, very little affected by the political changes occurring over the course of subsequent centuries.

Dvāravatī sculpture is dominated by a particular type of Buddha image; lacking any direct influence of Indian models, it may be regarded as a truly original creation of the workshops of the Menam Plain—the first such original form of Buddhist art to appear in the whole of Southeast Asia. This image enjoyed great success and its influence extended well beyond the presumed limits of the Dvāravatī realm. Its iconography gained such wide and lasting acceptance that it remained unaltered either by political vicissitudes or by the subsequent evolution of art. That an iconography already possessing something of a national character should make its appearance by about the seventh century, while political unity was not achieved until many centuries later, is a noteworthy historical fact. Indeed, in any discussion of Buddhist iconography, the school of Dvāravatī may stand alongside the great Buddhist artistic traditions of India, so enduring were its innovations and so pervasive its influence on most of the art of Southeast Asia.

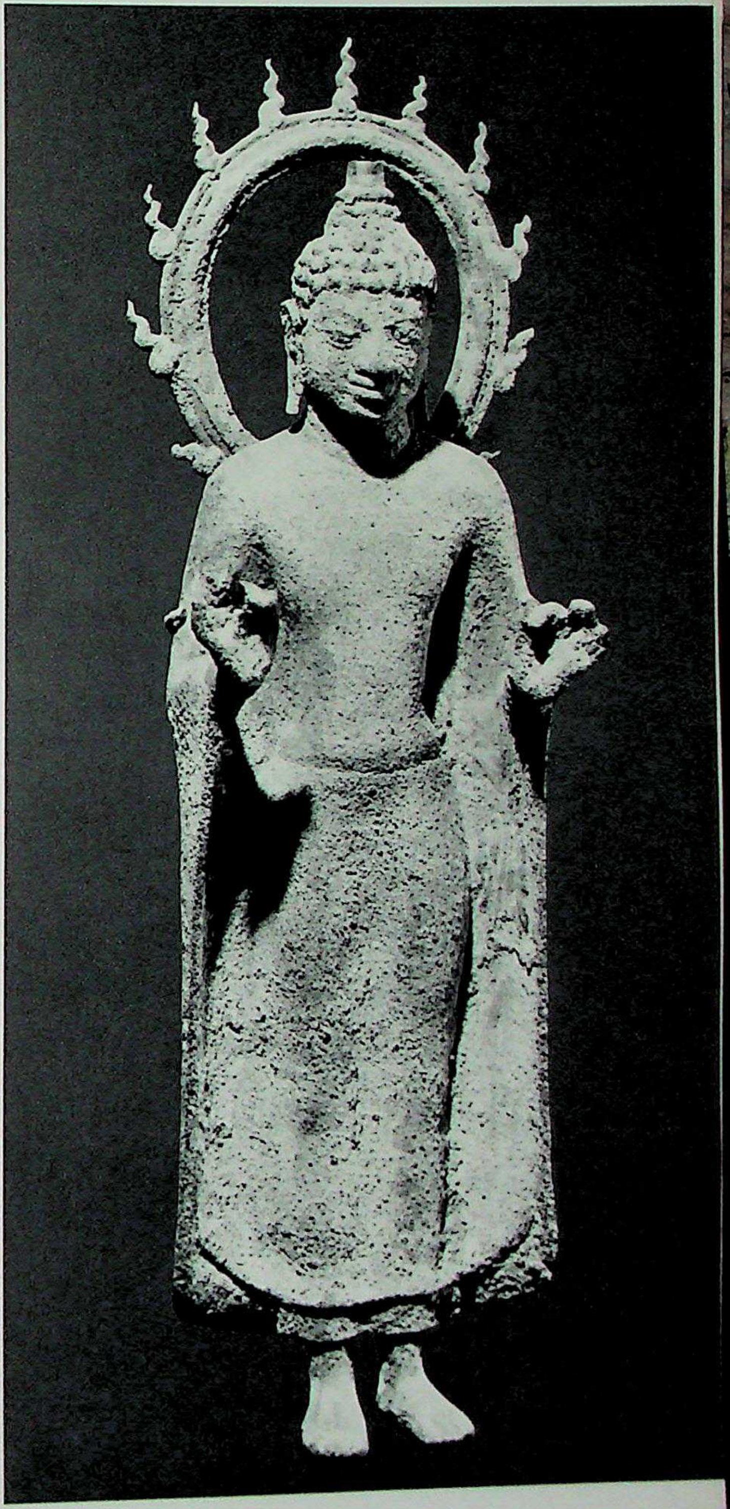
As noted above, although the kingdom of Dvāravatī fell under the sway of Śrīvijaya in about the eighth or ninth century, its art was not markedly changed. The Buddha image retained the iconography that had been developed earlier, and temporary Mahāyāna and Brahmanic influences seemed to disappear with the slackening of Śrīvijaya missionary activity, which everywhere had accompanied the territorial expansion. Ultimately, Mahāyāna and the Brahmanic cults survived only in a few sites in the East which were later taken into the Khmer sphere of influence. The impact of Śrīvijaya on Dvāravatī art seems to have fluctuated, in a kind of ebb and flow movement: after a brilliantly creative phase, corresponding to the implantation of Śrīvijaya in the main cultural centers, there was a gradual return to tradition, carried in many places to the point of a very marked decline. Doubtless related to the political disorga-


Mekong
R. Nan
R. Yom
R. Pasak
Tak
R. Ping
That Phanom
Kalasin
Müang Fa Dèt
Khon Kèn
R. Chi
Phetchabun
Si Tep
Nakhon Sawan
Ban Bon
Uthai Thani
Chainat
Chan Sèn
Sab Champa
R. Mun
Ubon
Inburi
Ban Ku Müang
Singburi
Nakhon Ratchasima
Buriram
Lopburi
Don Chedi
Ban Rai Rot
Ban Ta Kiem
Ang-Thong
Saraburi
Suphanburi
U-Thong
Ayuthya
Kanchanaburi
D. Lakhon
Prachinburi
Dong Si Maha Pot
Pong Tük
Müang Prat Rot (I)
Nakhon Pathom
BANGKOK
Aranya Prathet
Khao Fa Tho
Khao Ngu
Ratburi
Panas Nikom
Müang Prat Rot (II)
Ku Bua
Cholburi
Angkor
Battambang
Phetburi
Pranburi
Ha-tien
Chaiya
Surat Thani
Ko Kho Khao
Ta Kua Pa
Wieng Sa
Nakhon Si Thammarat
Tale Sap
Sating Pra
Songkla
Narathivat
50 0 50 100 150 km

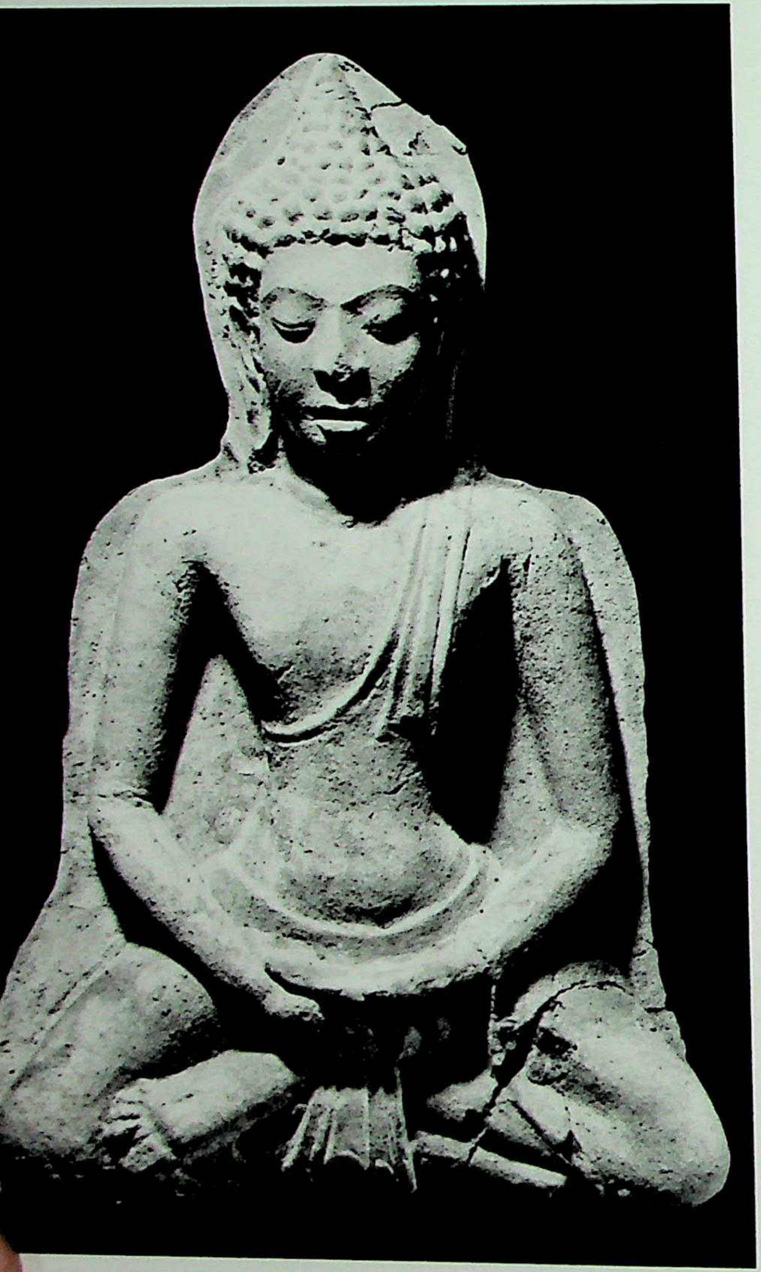
Map II: Principal Sites of the Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya Schools nization of the country as the influence of Śrīvijaya waned, this deterioration affected most of the major centers of artistic activity, such as Nakhon Pathom and U Thong, and some workshops (Ku Bua, for example) collapsed altogether. The decline seems to have continued until the early eleventh century, when the Khmer occupation put an end to the Dvāravatī tradition in most of the sites of the Menam Plain. In a few places, Nakhon Pathom for example, it may have lingered on until the time of the mighty Khmer ruler Jayavarman VII. With his accession to power in 1181 and with the temporary annexation of the greater part of present-day Thailand, the traditional activity of the last remaining centers of Dvāravatī art came to an end. As shall be demonstrated later in Chapter VI, however, the small Mōn kingdom of Haripuñjaya in the north managed to maintain something of the Dvāravatī tradition even beyond the late-thirteenth century when it was annexed by the Thai kingdom of Lan Na.

The Buddha Image Identified by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and George Coedès at the very outset of art historical studies in Thailand, the characteristics of the Dvāravatī Buddha image have been worked out in detail in the research of Pierre Dupont on the Nakhom Pathom excavations of 1939-40. It is his work that marks the true beginning of the study of Dvāravatī art.[12]

With the progress of research, accurate dating of the Dvāravatī Buddha has gradually become possible. While earlier students proposed to date its appearance to the fifth century or the early sixth at the latest, Pierre Dupont came down firmly for the sixth century. Even this approximation now appears too early, and only a seventh-century dating would seem to account for all the stylistic peculiarities of the standing statues. As Dupont pointed out, the standing Buddha image (Plates 33, 41) may be regarded as most characteristic of the Dvāravatī school and as the one whose influence proved to be most enduring and most widespread. The initial uncertainty and the tendency to fix too early a date were due largely to the search for analogies in Gupta art alone. Actually, the statues concerned show only approximate and superficial similarities which, if pressed too far, would mean that the evolution toward a peculiarly Dvāravatī type occurred locally, without any new influence coming into play. One would thus have to conclude, surprisingly enough, that the Dvāravatī sculptors finally reinvented a type of drapery closely similar to that favored



41 *Standing Buddha, National Museum, U Thong*



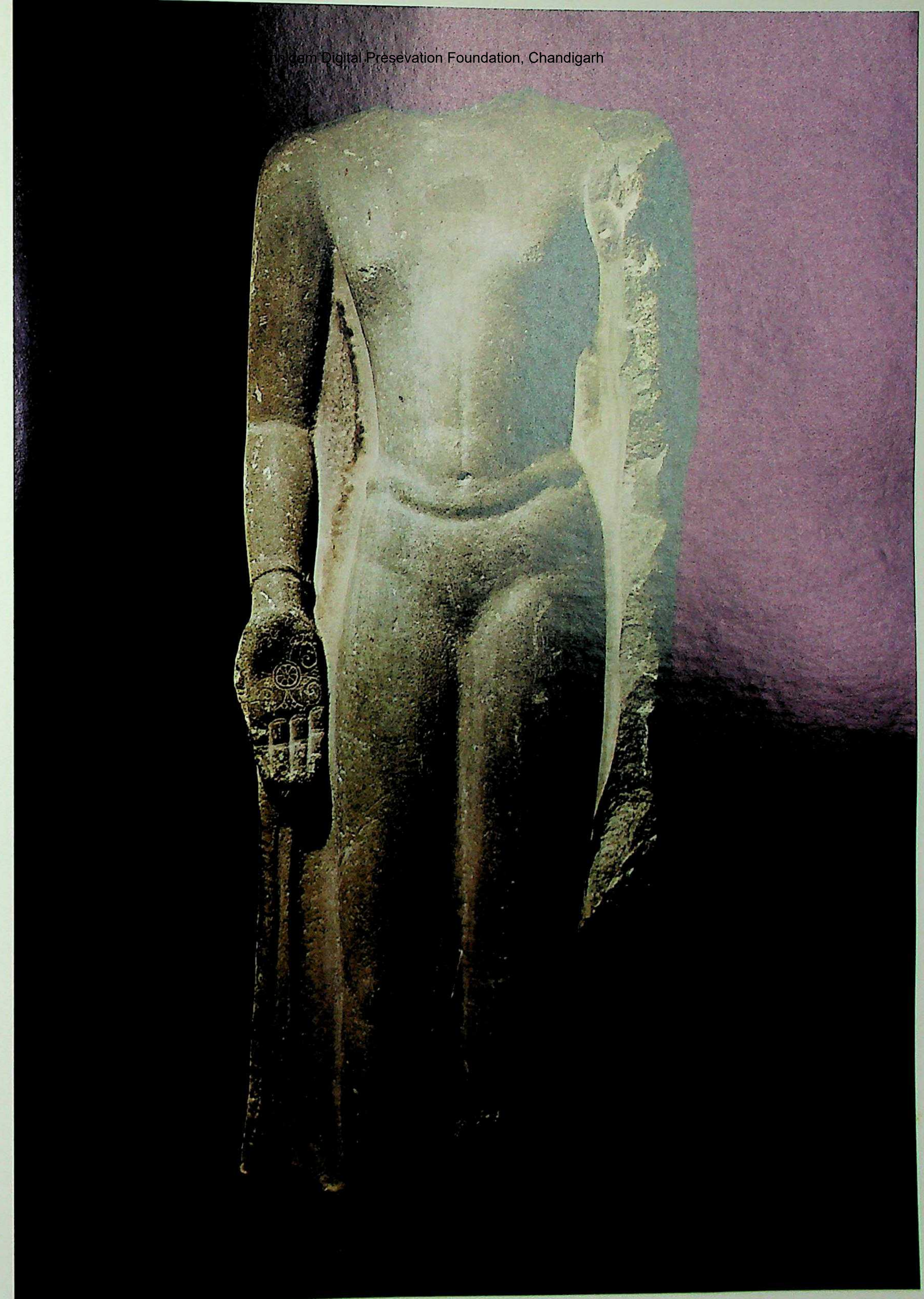
42 Buddha in Meditation, Nai Thieb Vatanakrai Collection, U Thong

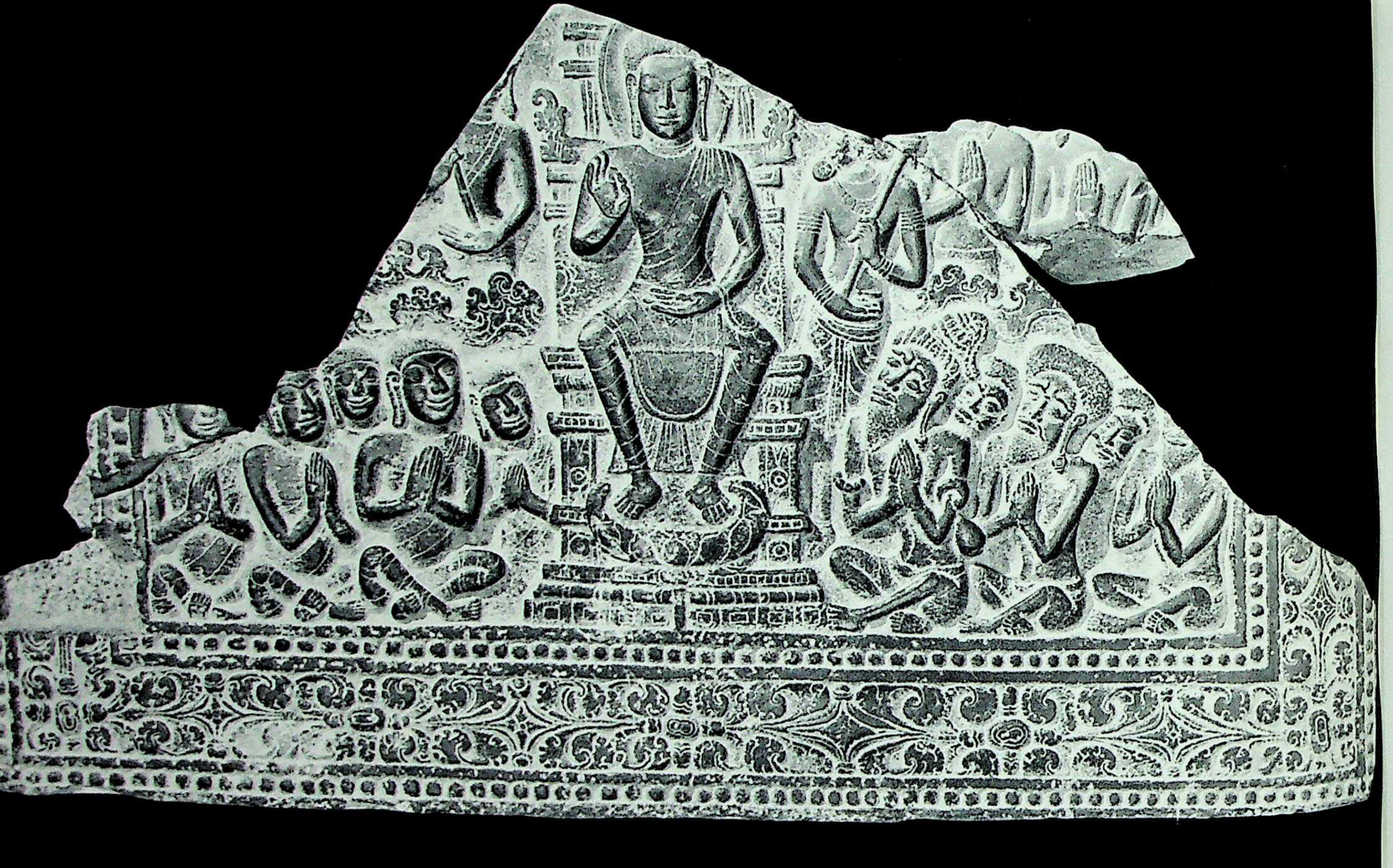
in the Pāla sculptural tradition. Actually, it seems more reasonable to assume that the standing Buddha of the Dvāravatī school was influenced by a post-Gupta school from which the Pāla iconography also derived; this is the only way of accounting for the similarities and differences between Dvāvaratī and Pāla art. It has been shown that a more authentically Gupta tradition was also present in the Menam Plain, but it obviously had no greater effect upon the genesis of classic Dvāravatī iconography than the various types referred to in the previous chapter.

From a limited number of statues that derived from the Gupta tradition and should be classified between the previous group and the Dvāravatī group proper, two may be selected as characteristic. Although unquestionably of local origin, these large-scale images nonetheless exerted no real influence on the Dvāravatī school. The first, found at U Thong, is a Buddha seated in the attitude of *samādhi* or meditation; executed in high relief and badly eroded, it is a rare example of the *vajrāsana* or adamantine posture and is especially noteworthy for the inclusion on its base of the characteristic Gupta composition: a Wheel of the Law set on its edge and flanked by two deer, symbolizing the First Sermon, preached in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. All that remains of the second image, preserved in a monastery near Chainat, is the lower half of what must originally have been a large standing statue; although broken at hip level, the slight sway of the body can still be discerned. The robe, covering both shoulders, must have been held in the left hand and is characteristic of the Gupta style, with its smooth flow and asymmetrical bunching of the folds formed by the flaps of the *uttarāsanga* stole and the side parts of the *antaravāsaka* skirt. Very rare in the art of the Menam Plain, such features recall the sculpture of the later cave temples of Ajantā (Cave XIX in particular) and seem to be the product of a tradition that stands roughly midway between the heterogeneous group formed by the small Wieng Sa stele (Plate 39) and the bronzes of Nakhon Pathom and Pong Tuk, on the one hand, and the Dvāravatī style, on the other.

It is often difficult to distinguish those images which were made during the seventh century from those of the period of the expansion of Śrīvijaya. Nonetheless, the standing Buddha image shows, despite variations in certain details, a whole series of characteristic features well enough marked to have attracted the attention of art historians almost from the outset of the systematic study of sculpture in Thailand. Independent of the particular features connected with stone workmanship, to which reference was made in our earlier analysis of techniques, these images are defined principally by their posture, gesture, and drapery. All are distinguished by their perfect frontality, the raising of both hands to the level of the chest, and the stylization of face and dress. Among earlier images the discreet sway

43 Body of a Standing Buddha, National Museum, Lopburi

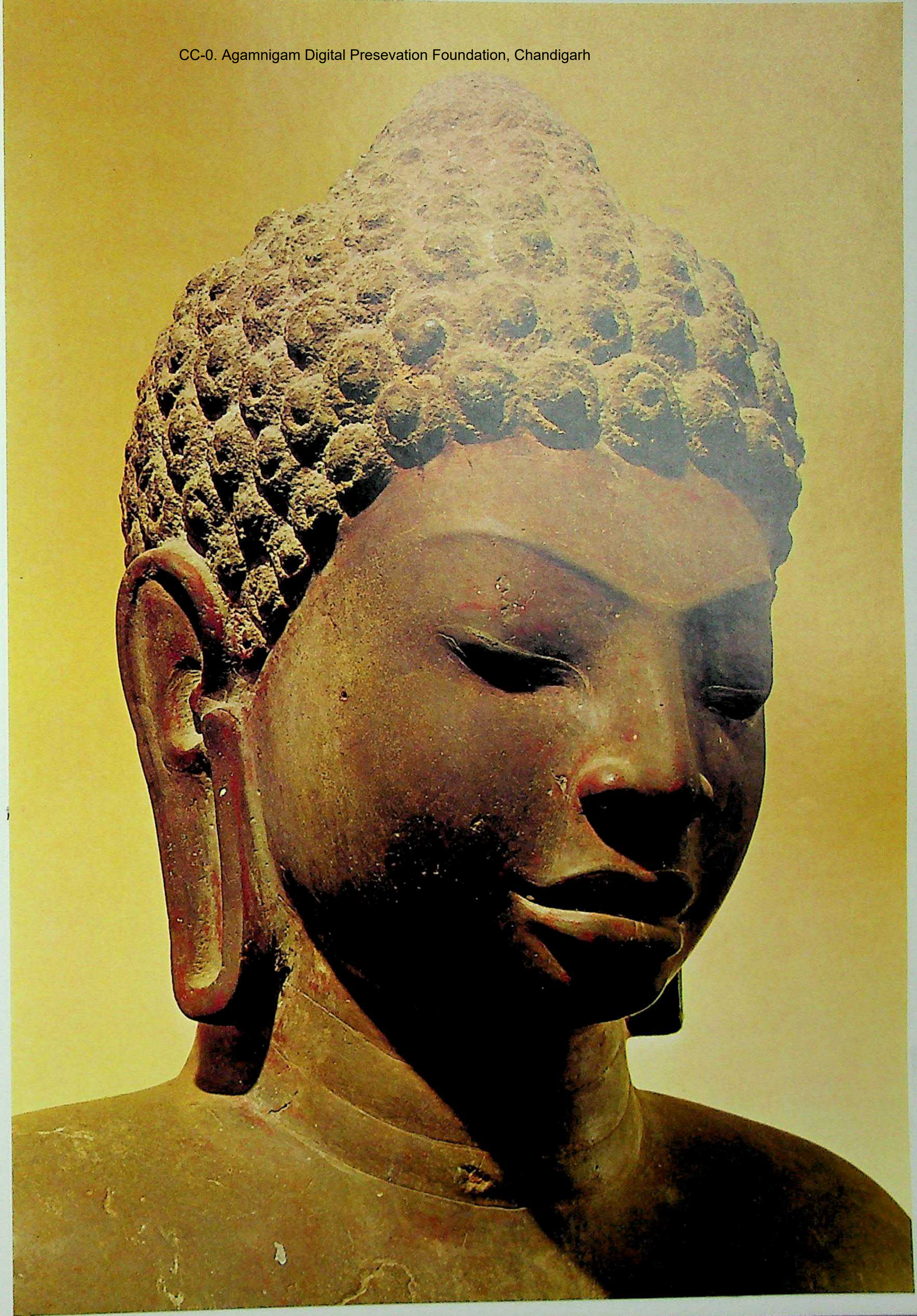




44 *The First Sermon, National Museum, Nakhon Pathom*

45 *Buddha (detail of the head), National Museum, Bangkok* ▶

of the hips seems to have been restricted to statues demonstrating a rather unusual gesture, such as the *vara mudrā* symbolizing charity (Plate 43). The most characteristic gesture of the standing Dvāravatī Buddha is the *vitarka mudrā* (Plate 41) signifying argumentation or exposition (hand prone, palm up, thumb and forefinger joined), performed in like manner by both hands. This two-handed gesture has no known precedent in India, where the two hands always perform different gestures. Aesthetically, too, the Dvāravatī Buddha is very different from the image of any of the Indian schools. The asexual quality of the bodies was fairly widespread during the period in question and may be explained by Buddhist texts. The faces, however, have an original stylization of the features which, nearly always, makes a Dvāravatī image instantly recognizable. Despite certain exaggerations, which grew increasingly uglier and in later images verge on caricature, this stylization probably derived from the Gupta tradition, naturally modified by local ideals of physical beauty: a rather broad face with flat nose and thick lips, elongated eyes, sometimes with full, curving lids, and clearly defined eyebrows joined in a sharp ridge forming an arc with a triple curve



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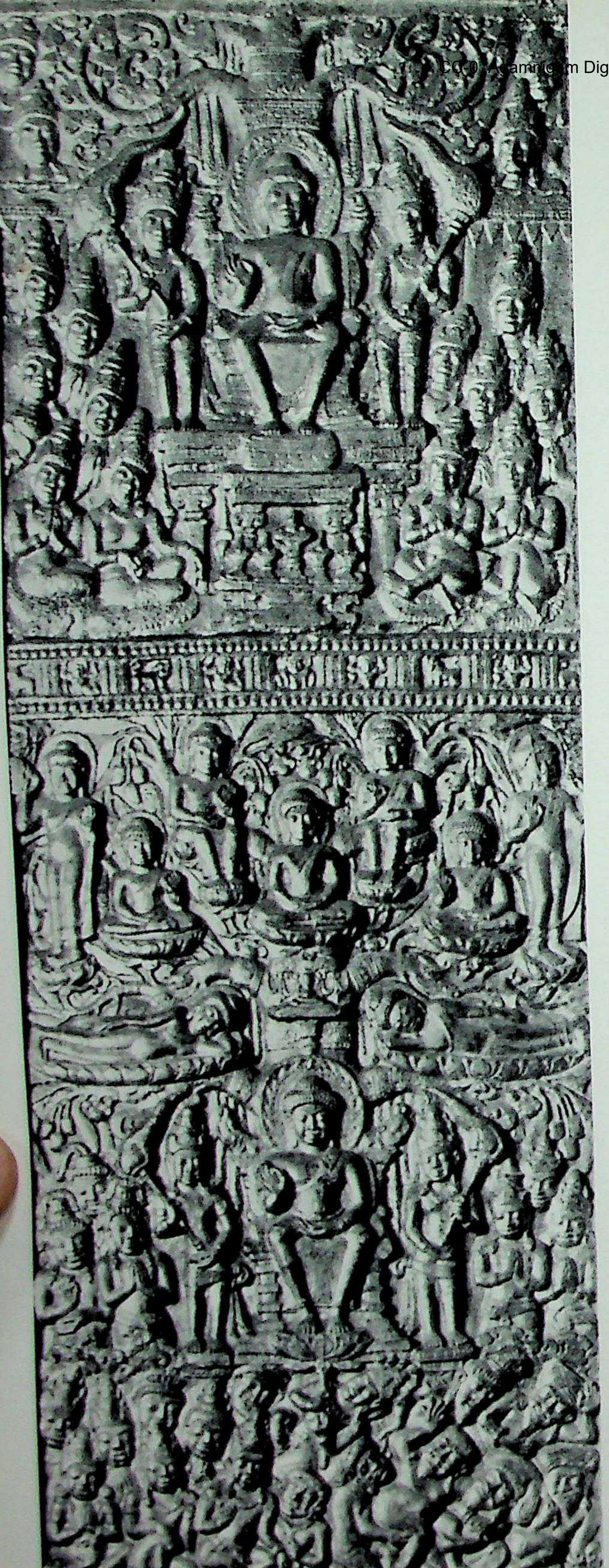
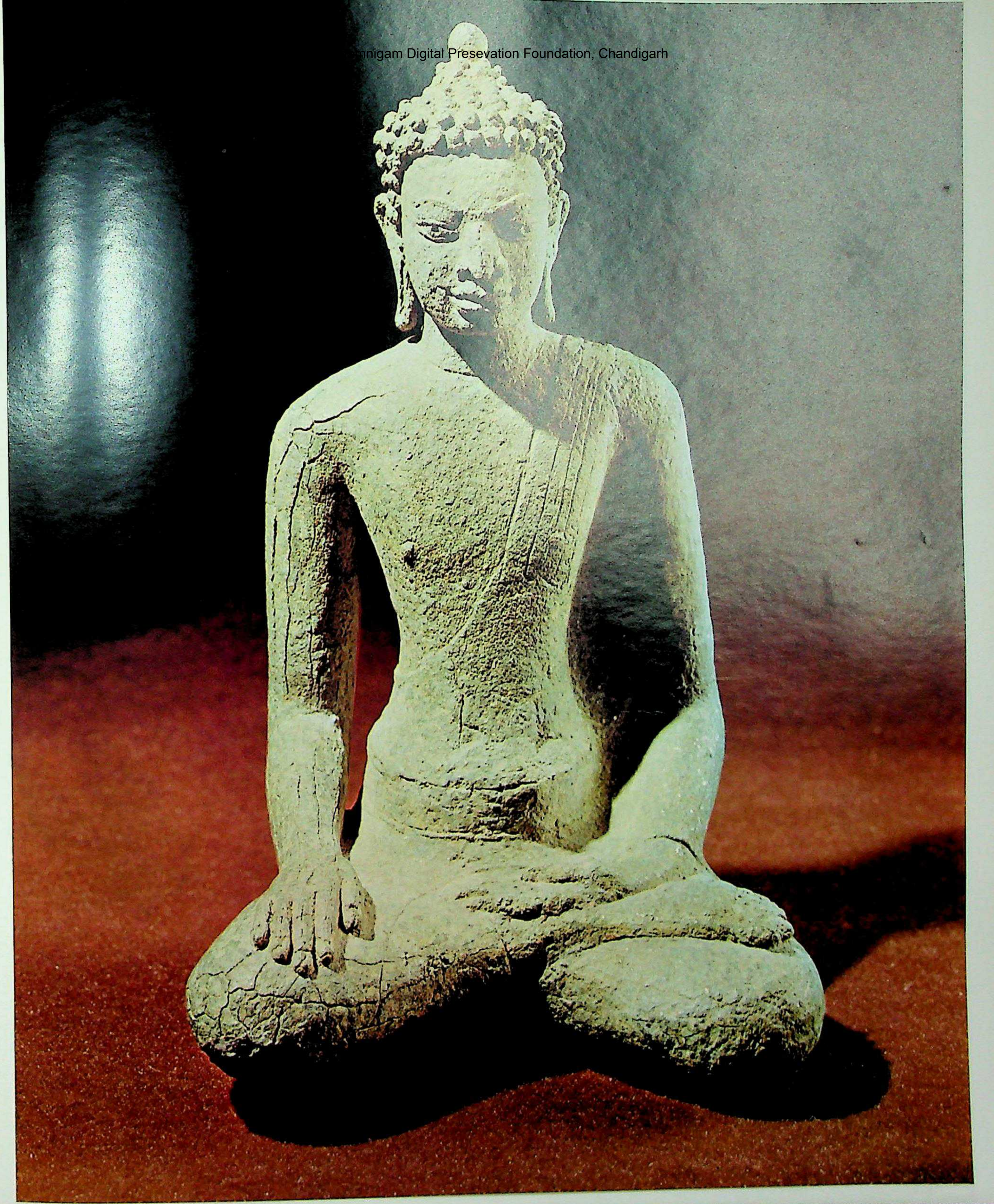
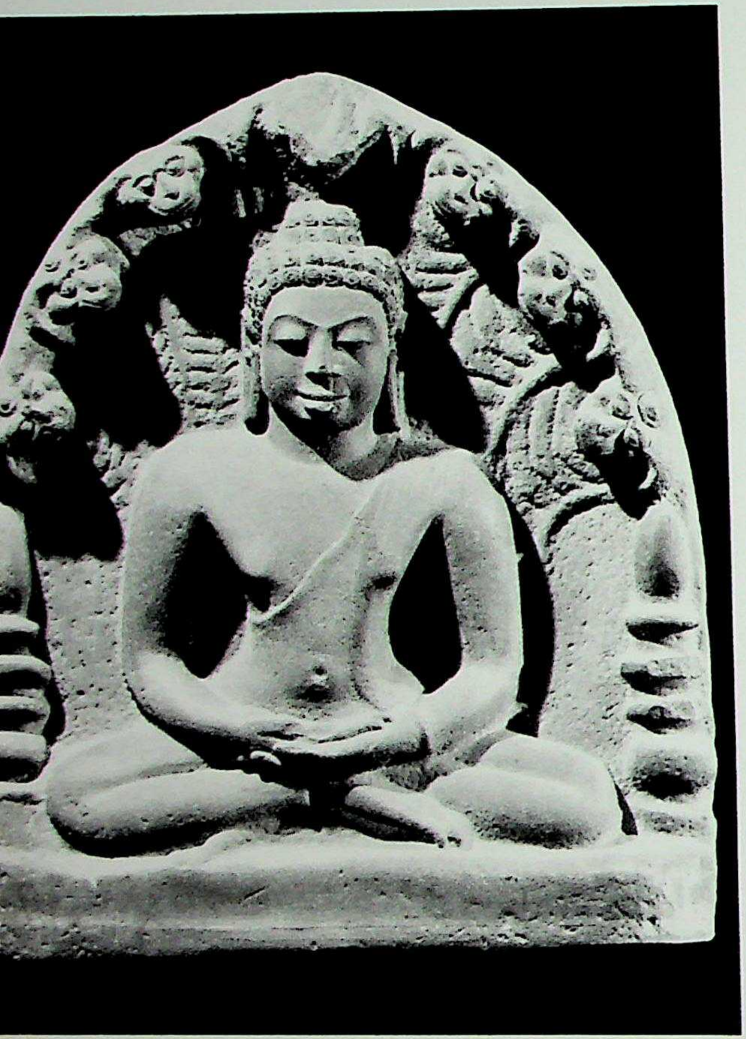


region of Saraburi Province. In the latter relief, the Buddha is represented seated on a throne as he preaches to various gods, including Śiva and Vishnu; he grasps the edge of his robe with his left hand, which is held at roughly the same level as the right. For the most part, the bronze statuettes of the Buddha seated in the European manner do little more than copy the gesture and dress of the large quartzite works.

Buddha images seated cross-legged in the Indian manner form a much less homogeneous group, among which is included only a limited number of stone statues. As mentioned already, the limestones employed had a tendency to split, causing numerous problems for the sculptor. It is little wonder, then, that limestone was used far more often for works of high relief rather than for statues in the round. Carving in relief, while insuring the solidity of the work also made it possible to set the central figure in a tableau or background illustrating an incident in his life or one of his miraculous acts. Favorite subjects for such settings were the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment or the many-headed *nāga* snake suggesting the protection provided the Buddha by the *nāga*-king Mucalinda (e.g., Plate 50). Both the high-relief technique and the sculptors' diffidence regarding the solidity of the limestone often led them to neglect the volume of the legs, which tend to retreat into the vertical plane, and to depart further and further from anatomical verisimilitude. All the seated images of the Dvāravatī group are in the *vīrāsana* or heroic posture, with legs folded over each other and the knees spread far apart; although there are rare exceptions (e.g., Plate 42), the right leg almost always lies on top of the left. Usually, but also not invariably, the flap of the robe draped over the left shoulder is indicated with regular folds; in some instances, a few folds appear over the left arm. The gestures are varied. The most common, with both hands lying in the lap, corresponds to the attitude of *samādhi* or meditation. Similar to the gesture of the large statues seated in the European manner, the *vitarka mudrā* frequently appears on bronze statuettes. The gesture of taking the Earth to witness (*bhumisparśa mudrā*), symbolizing the *māravijaya* or victory over Māra the Evil One, begins to appear in late works of the Dvāravatī school (Plate 49); it later came to enjoy great favor from the thirteenth century on. Among all the seated images,

48 *Two Episodes in the Life of the Buddha, Wat Suthat, Bangkok*
49 *Buddha Subduing Mara, Dr. Viroj Kanasut Collection, Bangkok*





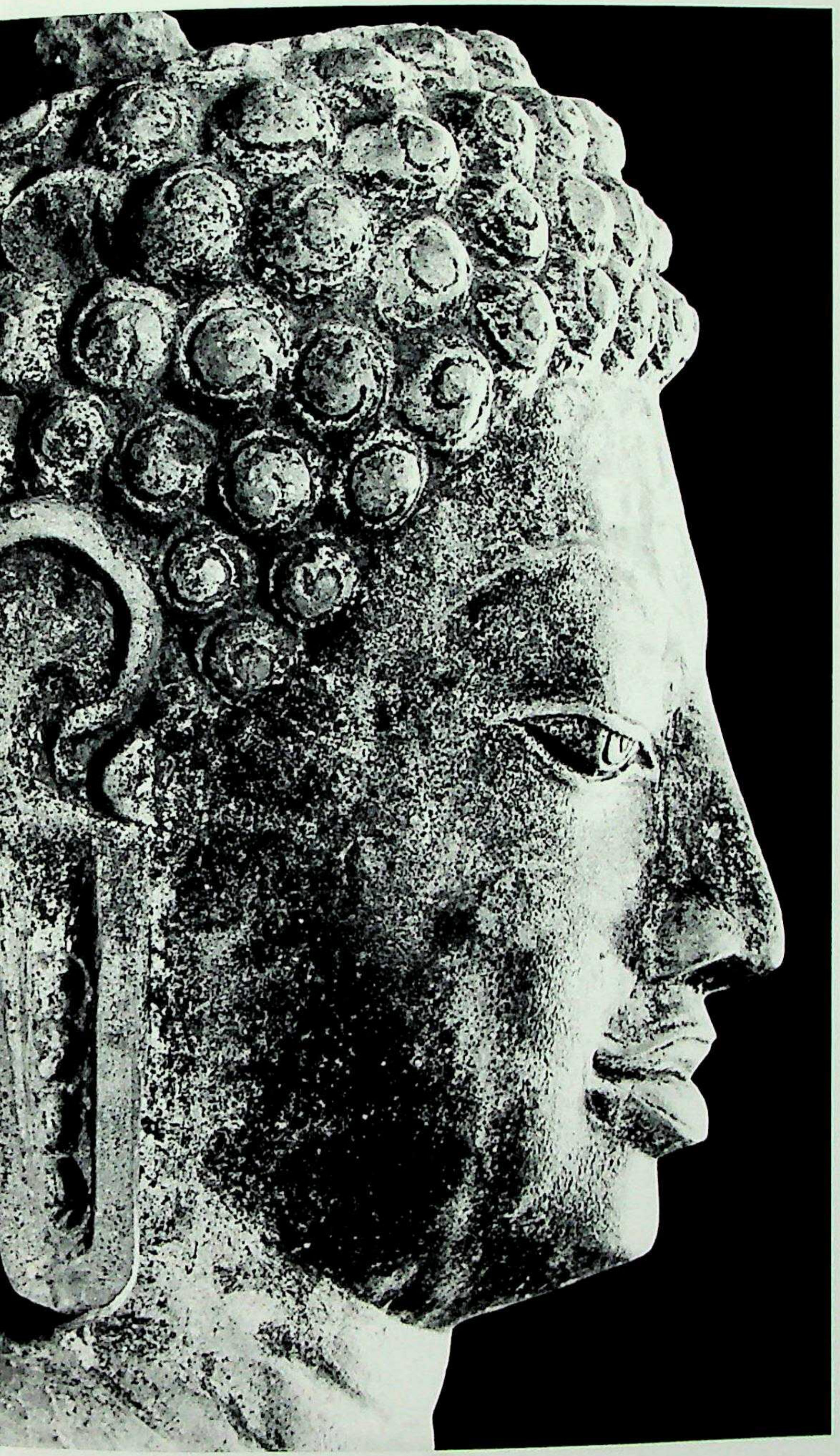
50 *Buddha Sheltered by the Nāga, National Museum, Bangkok*

those representing the Buddha protected by Mucalinda, the *nāga*-king, are perhaps the most remarkable (Plate 50), for though they generally follow the iconography of the Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura schools, they may be considered the first representations of a theme that was destined to become very popular in the Indochina Peninsula, especially in the art of Angkorian Cambodia.

Representations of the reclining Buddha (*Mahāparinirvāna Buddha* or "Buddha entering Nirvāna") are very rare; as in the Ajantā tradition, however, this type of image attained colossal proportions. Witness to this fact are the rock reliefs discovered in 1966 at Tham Fa Tho in Ratburi Province and the remains of the gigantic statue at Müang Sima in Nakhon Rajasima Province, whose face alone is 5½ feet long.

Although the standing image, with both shoulders draped and both hands raised in the *vitarka mudrā,* enjoyed a popularity that spread well beyond any limits that can be estimated for the kingdom of Dvāravatī, local workshops in outlying regions were sometimes responsible for the appearance of variant iconographical features. Among these local workshops, that of Wang Palat, in Buriram Province—a region where the Lopburi school prevailed—produced statuary with features of a less distinctly Dvāravatī stamp: an *ushnīsha* much reduced in size and perhaps covered originally with precious ornaments (Plate 51), and a marked distortion of the legs of seated figures. At Müang Fa Dèt in Kalasin Province, on the contrary, the stele reliefs which originated at this vast site depict figures that are very close to the orthodox Dvāravatī aesthetic; their lower extremities are unfortunately exaggerated, however, and the Buddha images wear an *uttarāsanga* that is abnormally short in front, whether or not it covers both shoulders.

In the case of the Buddha images, there is little need to dwell on such differences in style as may have resulted from the use of different materials of such different techniques as bas-relief, high-relief, or sculpture in-the-round. But while the Buddha images remained truly characteristic of the school, which—by common agreement—may be labeled "Dvāravatī," it would be a mistake to neglect certain bas-reliefs and the various other sculptural figures whose importance has been revealed by recent excavations and clearings. The bas-relief compositions carved in stone are unfortunately few in number, even if one includes the Müang Fa Dèt steles and the large rock reliefs recently discovered in Ratburi Province, some of which combine carving with work in stucco. All such reliefs, whatever the scale of the figures in them, testify to a close knowledge of the religious texts and to a vivid sense of life; scenes of the Buddha's life and illustrations of the *Jātaka* stories are rendered with tenderness and affection. Presented in these reliefs with an opportunity to deviate from specific iconographical rules, Dvāravatī sculptors turned readily toward naturalism; their work reveals a gentle ease of manner and a desire to imitate nature closely, tendencies that contrast strongly with the hieratic and unbending grandeur of the major statuary. The limited subject matter of the carved reliefs has fortunately been extended and enriched by the discovery of stucco and terra-cotta compositions used to decorate the surfaces of monuments (e.g., Plate 21). To the few scattered fragments available less than a quarter of a



century ago, whose purpose could only be guessed at, may now be added whole groups of works revealing a variety of subjects and the same diversity of influences as seen in the Buddha images. The scenes are not always readily identifiable, but along with *Jātaka* illustrations one can recognize the stock mythological beings, a procession of human figures of various origins, gods, and all the myriad creatures that haunt the multiple worlds known to Buddhists (e.g., Plate 53). The importance attached to this pantheon should not be considered a Dvāravatī innovation, for similar figures (especially, as *kinnaris*) are known to have adorned monuments at U Thong built well before the rise of the Dvāravatī kingdom. This type of figuration, moreover, is well known in India, existing there from the earliest eras of Buddhist art. The importance it assumed during the Dvāravatī period must have been due chiefly to intense building activity, requiring elaborate architectural decorations.

As already noted in the discussion of sculptural techniques, terra-cotta was employed only on a limited scale, owing to the difficulties involved in its fabrication. The most extensive remains known at present come from Ku Bua, from sites No. 39 and No. 40 in particular, where they apparently formed part of several structures, but were deliberately gathered together at an undetermined later date and buried at the base of the monument where they were discovered. Since the figures were not found *in situ*, one can only speculate on the exact nature of the compositions to which they originally belonged. They probably were elements in processions of Buddha worshippers, for various Buddha images—also of terra-cotta and represented standing or seated in the "European" manner—were found among them. Presumably, they served as guardian divinities (some are as large as eight feet high), offering bearers, nature spirits, and mythical or symbolic animals like the fabulous Garuda and lions; some of these figures are quite realistic, others are astonishingly stylized. Among the worshippers, the most remarkable are some fine Bodhisattva images (Plate 55), appearing rather unexpectedly in this period, and human figures—probably representing foreigners—of markedly Semitic facial features, wearing long tunics, boots, and conical hats. These works curiously evoke, in their diversity if not in their dating and style, the Buddhist art traditions of northwestern India and Afghanistan (Hadda). No more can be said here about this extraordinary group of terra-cottas from Ku Bua, for

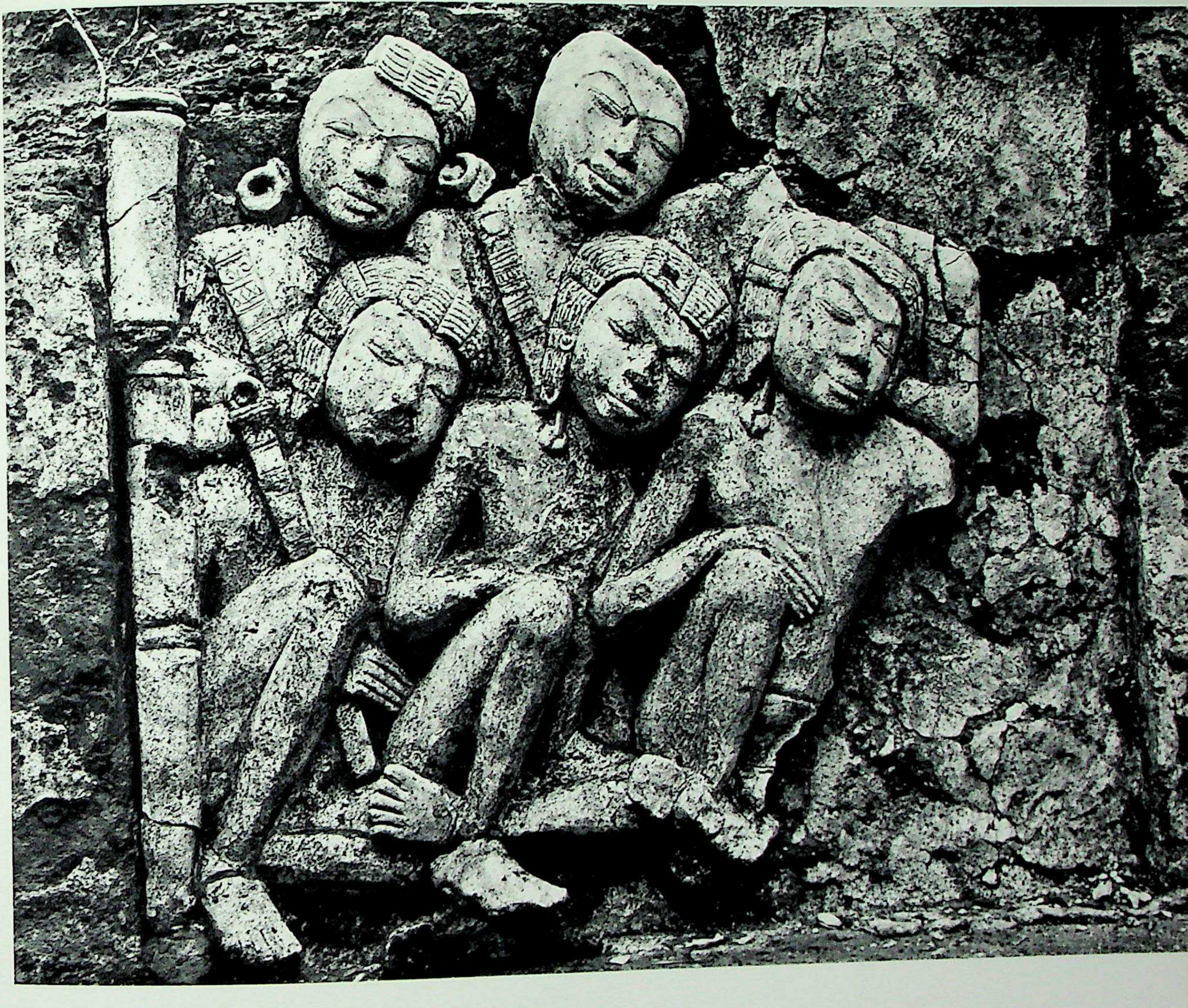
51 *Buddha Subduing Māra (detail), National Museum, Bangkok*

to deal adequately with the quality of the images and the originality of the iconography would require very lengthy investigation and complex analysis.

The stuccos are both more abundant and better known than the terra-cottas. Those from U Thong, some of remarkable interest, are too fragmentary to be studied thoroughly.[13] Fortunately, three other sites have yielded more instructive compositions: Ku Bua again, Nakhon Pathom, and Kok Mai Den in Nakhon Savan Province. All possess an originality derived largely from the influence of local traditions. From site No. 10 of Ku Bua come fine figures of female worshippers, offering bearers, and musicians (Plate 21), all noteworthy for their simplicity of design and realistic execution. At Nakhon Pathom, the most extensive and most interesting group of stuccos were discovered at the *stūpa* of Wat Chula Paton, also known as Wat Pra Paton. The clearing of the *stūpa* was begun in 1939-40 by Pierre Dupont and yielded only a small number of stuccos *in situ*; the work was resumed in 1968 by the present writer in conjunction with the Fine Arts Department of Thailand, and the entire complex was cleared and removed to museums to insure its preservation.[14] At the base of the *stūpa* were found some stucco panels, each about thirty-one inches high, numbering eighteen panels on each side. Decorating the panels were bas-relief compositions (Plate 53), all different, following each other without any decipherable order. Most were *Jātaka* scenes depicted with great verve and forthright vigor. Associated with them were a few Bodhisattvas, some highly naturalistic elephants, some rather stylized lions (Plate 52), and a host of mythical beings deriving from a very different tradition from those of Ku Bua: Garudas with a less human aspect, lion-headed men, curious elephant-headed birds, *kinnari*, and *gandharvas* with oddly teasing expressions. The stuccos of Kok Mai Den were rougher in workmanship and demonstrate still another tradition, while maintaining a bestiary fairly similar to those of Nakhon Pathom and Ku Bua. Here the emphasis is often laid on movement, even rather violent movement with contorted postures and leering, caricatured faces.[15] To be sure, caricatures and grimacing overwrought features are everywhere present in Dvāravatī art and invite comparison with the grotesques of Gandhāra and Afghanistan. It is a great pity that these strange characters, including a curious figure from site No. 3 who seems to be throttling himself with a twisted rope, should have been preserved divorced from their original context and in mutilated condition.

Finally, in the category of large-scale sculpture, there remain two types of compositions which seem to be peculiar to Dvāravatī art; no other example of them is known for the period in question outside the limits of present-day Thailand, neither in Southeast Asia nor anywhere else in the Buddhist world. These are the reliefs traditionally

52 *Lion (detail), National Museum, Nakhon Pathom*



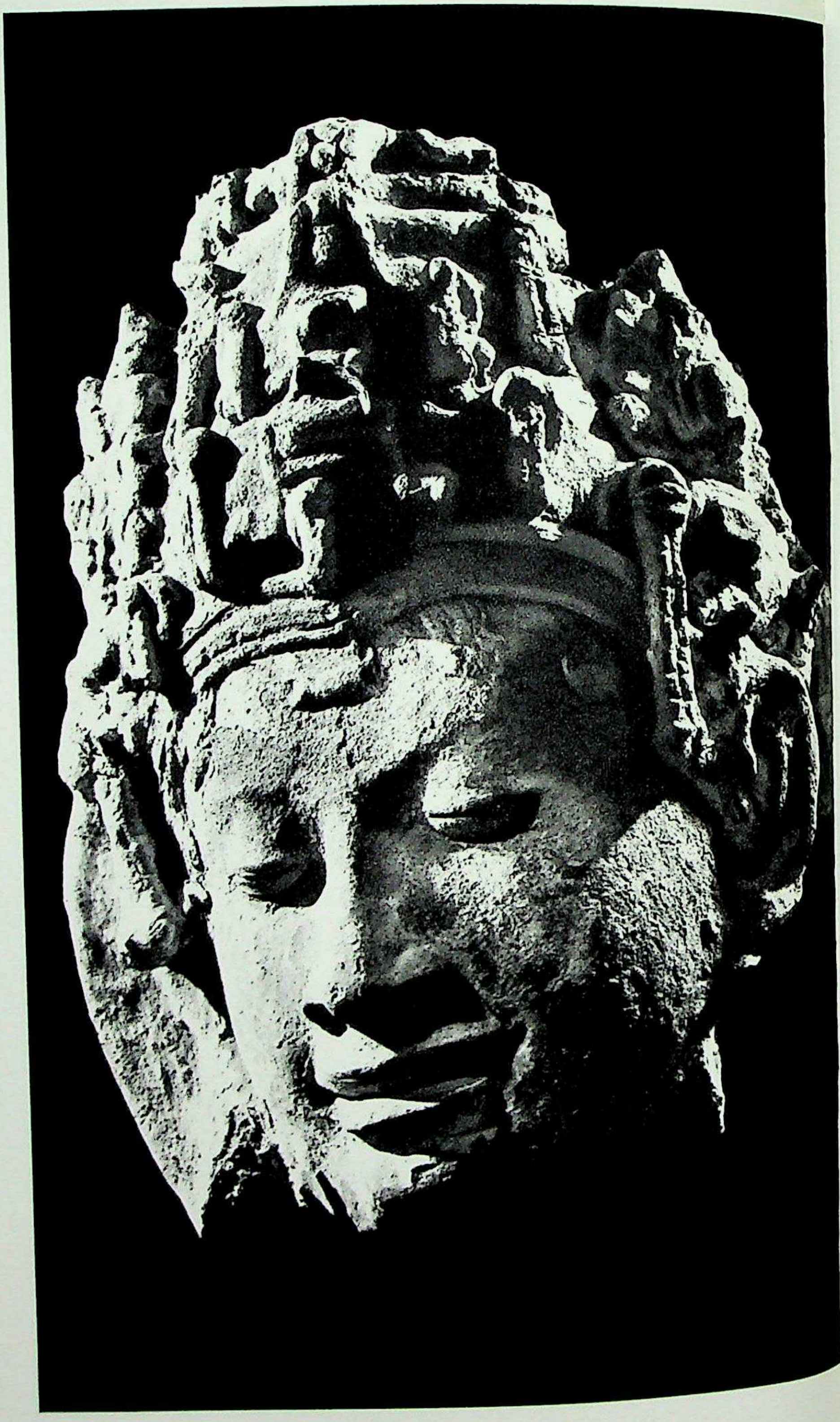
53 Fragment of a Bas-relief, National Museum, U Thong

called " Buddha on Panasbati" and the Wheels of the Law or *Dharmacakra*.

The Panasbati scenes (Plate 56-57) represent the Buddha mounted on a fabulous bird, surrounded by a great flaming aureole, and nearly always accompanied by two attendants holding ceremonial whisks; these two are generally assumed to represent Indra and Brahmā. The significance and purpose of these reliefs have yet to be fully elucidated.

At one time this scene was thought to represent the Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three, when the Buddha, after going up to preach the Doctrine to his mother (who had been reborn in the Tushita Heaven and had come to hear him among the other gods presided over by Indra), redescended to Earth at Sāmkāśya. This interpretation is based upon two considerations: first, that the Buddha is usually accompanied by two gods, and secondly, that he is nearly always shown standing, with both hands in the gesture of exposition and argumentation. All the texts agree in stating that Indra and Brahmā accompanied the Buddha on his return to Sāmkāśya, and the Thai tradition, it has been proposed, equated the standing Buddha making the gesture of argumentation—a common attitude among Dvāravatī images—with the Buddha descending from the Tāvatimsa Heaven. There are significant flaws in this interpretation of the enigmatic reliefs, however. First of all, it is questionable whether the two attendants, who are sometimes omitted, can be identified as Indra and Brahmā and not simply two Bodhisattvas. Further, it is far from certain that the gesture performed by the Buddha is actually characteristic of the Descent from Heaven. It is important to note, finally, that according to all the texts and in the earliest Indian imagery at Bharhut and Sānchī, the Buddha descends from Heaven by way of the central part of a triple stairway, whose lateral sections are used by Indra and Brahmā. Nowhere is there any reference to a fabulous bird; indeed, to be borne by a bird would seem to suggest ascending flight rather than descent. This "bird" called Panasbati or Vanaspati (literally, "the lord of the forest", a designation more often applied to a tree than to a bird) is a hybrid being; having its origin in a remote Indian tradition and fairly well represented in Andhra art, it seems to be a composite of features drawn from a number of fantastic creatures. In the Kok Mai Den stuccos (site No. 1), it is a winged lion with the head of a bird of prey; on the present reliefs, it still possesses bent horns and flourishes with a strikingly stylized mane (Plate 57). What meaning can be read into a scene with so many unexplained elements? All that may be considered beyond question is that the Buddha is being extolled as a great teacher.

The function of these reliefs is as mysterious as the narrative they depict. All of them were equipped with a tenon on their back surface, and a hole running through the figure enabled them to be fixed to a support. But it is

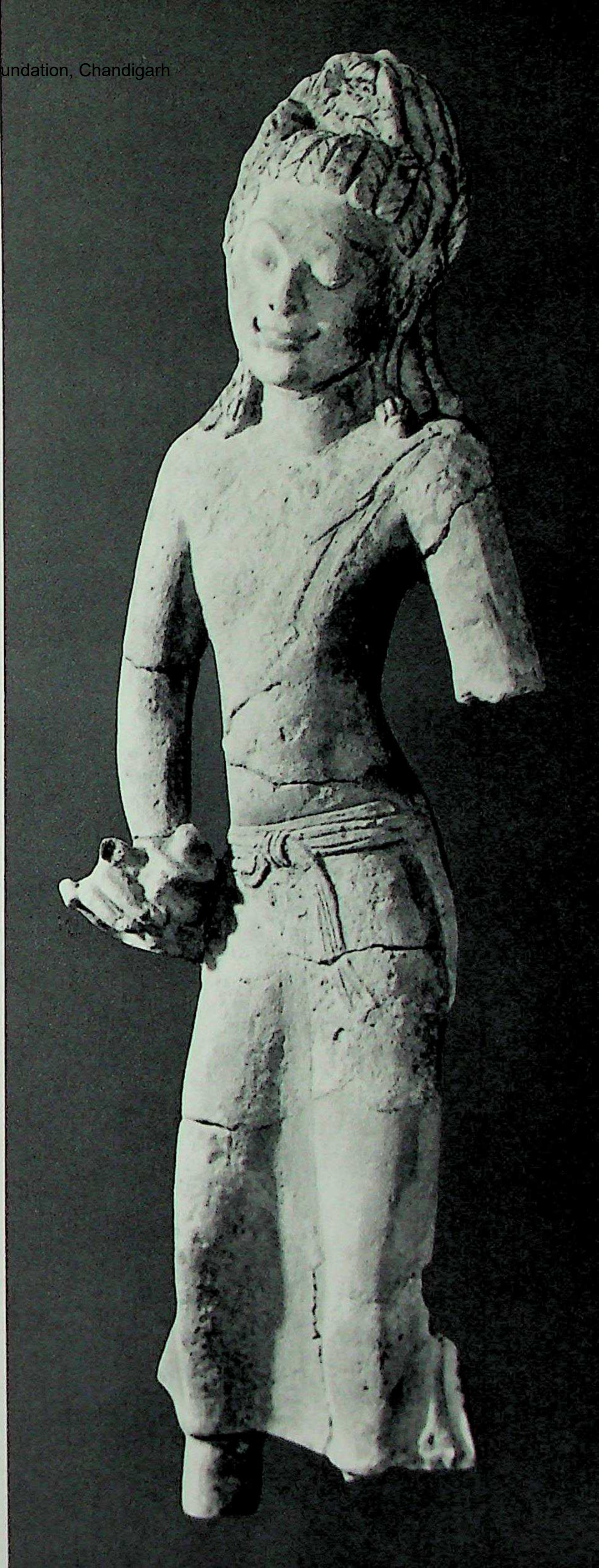


54 *Head of an Adorned Divinity, National Museum, Bangkok*

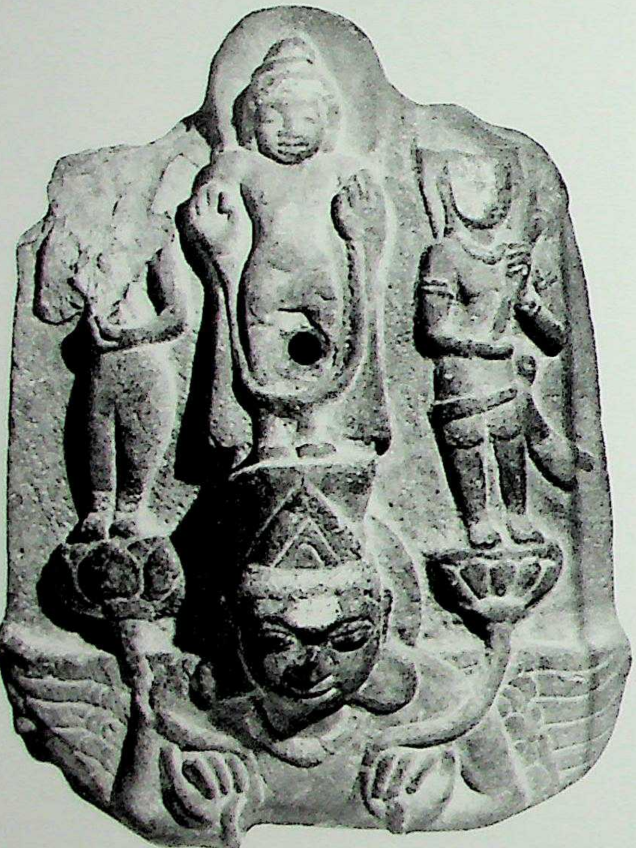
difficult to imagine any setting in which the composition could fit comfortably unless possibly as the central motif of some large pediment. Since some stucco examples have also been discovered, one might assume that the stone reliefs were the finest of a series executed more often in the more easily worked stucco. It should be noted that although most of the extant reliefs, found dispersed over a wide area, are of rather mediocre workmanship, implying a late dating, there exist some pieces—either complete (from Panas Nikhom) or fragmentary (from Phitsanulok, Lopburi)—which are extremely well made. The possibility cannot be ruled out that, in some cases at least, the Buddha's acolytes may represent Bodhisattvas.

The Wheels of the Law or *Dharmacakra* (Plate 58) assume a particular significance in the art of Thailand. It would not be an exaggeration to say that they characterize the Dvāravatī period every bit as much as the standing Buddha image itself. Furthermore, in view of their limited scope in space and time, they may perhaps be considered the most authentic tokens of the cultural if not the political expansion of Dvāravatī.

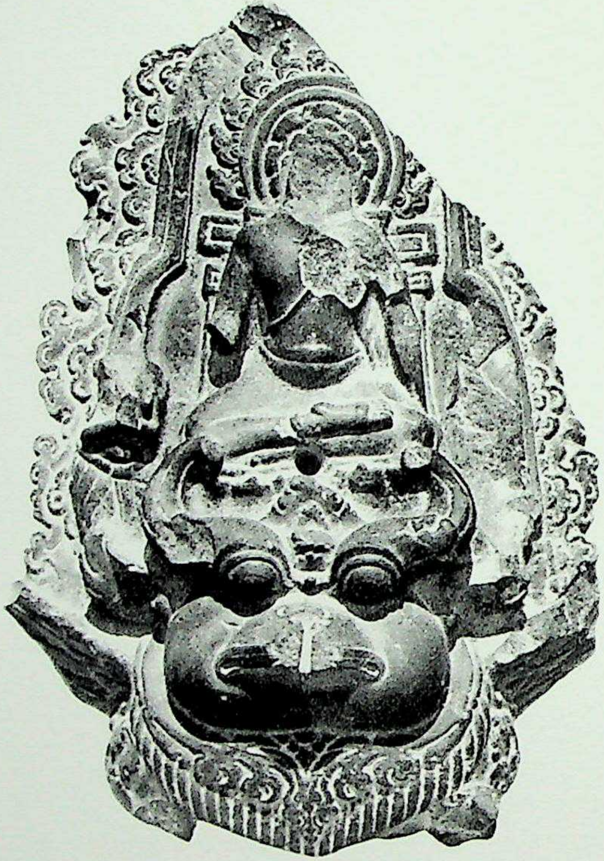
The religious function of these Wheels was not realized until a number of them had been discovered; more than thirty complete or fragmentary examples are now known. Attention was first called to them by Fournereau in 1895, but it was not until 1956, with the publication by George Coedès of the inscription on one such Wheel from Nakhon Pathom, that they were definitely proved to be the Buddhist *Dharmacakra*. And then it was not until seven years later, when a complete unit was discovered at U Thong (site No. 11), that it became possible to determine the composition of which the Wheels were but a part.[16] Actually, throughout these decades of speculation, doubts as to the function of Wheels existed only in the minds of European scholars; Buddhists had never hesitated to see in the Wheel the supreme symbol of the Law of the Buddha and, more specifically, the symbol of the First Sermon. The connection was clearly demonstrated by the fact that the Wheels were often found together with images of a reclining deer, inevitably suggesting the Deer Park at Sārnāth, the sacred spot where the historical Buddha delivered the First Sermon and where all Buddhas first preached or first will preach. Yet since the Wheel of the Law had been so widespread in ancient India, where it appeared as a symbol of the religion long before the anthropomorphic Buddha image was developed, there persisted the tendency to



55 Bodhisattva, National Museum, Bangkok consider them as the earliest tokens of the propagation of Buddhism in the Menam Plain and to give them an accordingly early date. But in view of the decoration on all the known Wheels, on their rims in particular, and of its close kinship with Khmer and Cham motifs of fairly well ascertained date, they cannot be attributed to any earlier period than the seventh century. They seem to have been made throughout the Dvāravatī period, and later examples show an obvious stylistic decline.



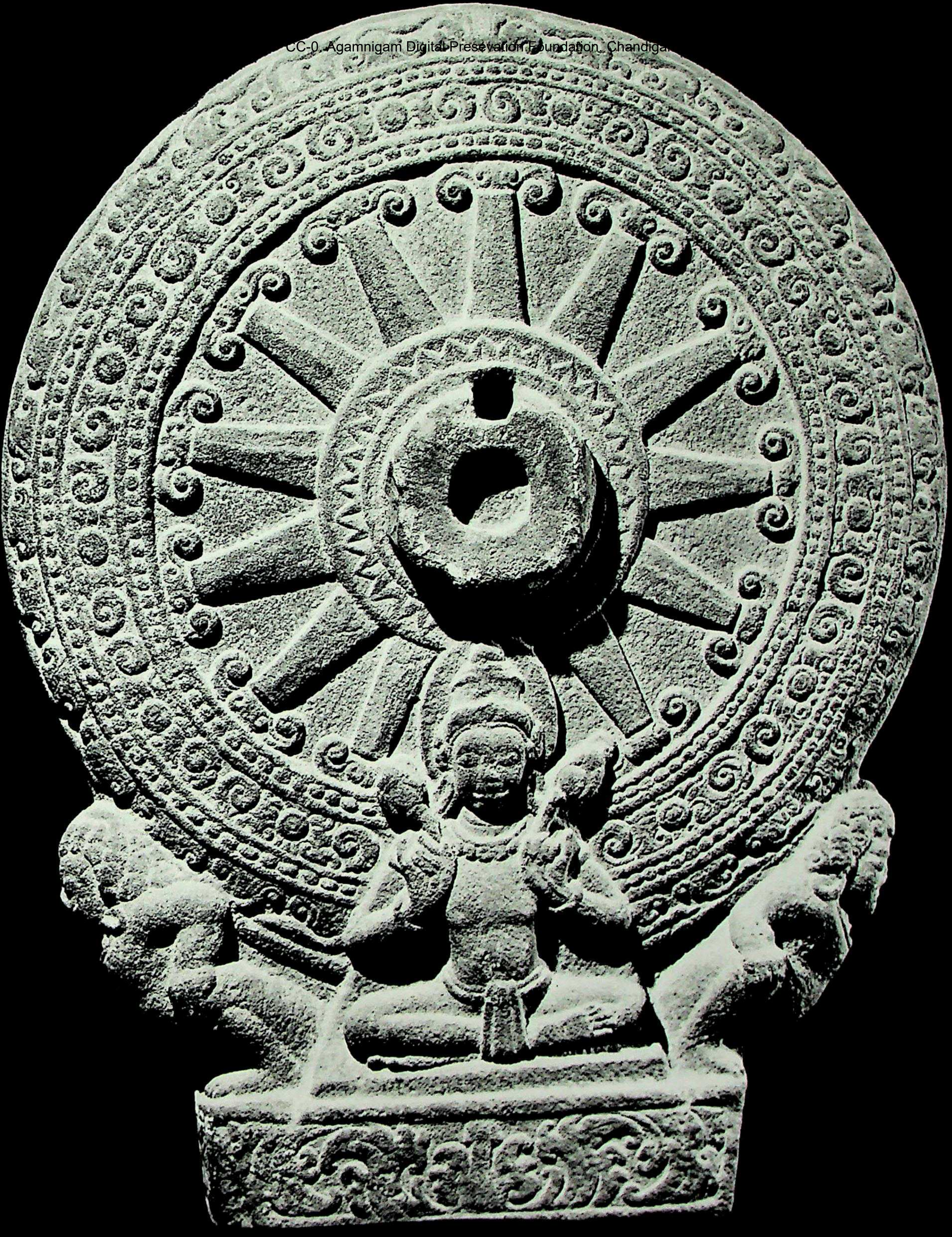
56 *Buddha Standing on a Mythical Creature, National Museum, Nakhon Pathom*



57 *Buddha Seated on a Mythical Creature, National Museum, Bangkok*

Putting an end to all conjecture as to their purpose, the discovery of a Wheel at site No. 11 at U Thong made it clear that they were part of a much larger composition that had been directly inspired by the Indian tradition. Very large in size (ordinarily at least 3 feet in diameter with some examples nearly 6½ feet in diameter), the Dvāravatī Wheels appear to have been set at the top of a pillar on an abacus that was treated as an independent piece of sculpture (see Appendices, p. 205). Thus, they served as the essential element of a *cakrastambha* or "wheel column," a type of monument that figures prominently in Indian iconography from the reign of Aśoka (third century B.C.) to at least the end of the Andhra period. The discovery at U Thong has thus clarified the purpose of many columns and rectangular pedestals found with figures carved in low relief on their sides and a broad mortise traversing their upper surfaces. At the top of these pedestals stood four deer statuettes, one positioned in each corner in such a way that the Wheel

58 *Wheel of the Law, National Museum, Bangkok*



appeared to be flanked by two deer regardless of the angle from which the *cakrastambha* was viewed. The Wheel itself was carved on both sides, usually in high relief but sometimes fully in the round. A broad flat area of stone was always left in reserve at its base. This was necessary to lower the Wheel's center of gravity and thereby insure its stability. It also provided a place for adding a symbolic figure whose presence would reinforce the pre-eminence of the Wheel: the sun god Sūrya, Śrī the goddess of prosperity, the *kīrtimukha* ("face of glory"), or simply a lotus in full bloom standing alone or serving as a base for one of the other figures. Cut into most of the Wheels was a round or square mortise into which, as suggested by the reliefs of the Amarāvatī school, was presumably fitted a lavishly carved hub-cap. This cap was secured by a pin running through the Wheel, thus accounting for the round hole usually found in the upper part of the hub.

For all the fascination of the Wheels of the Law and the high quality of the major statuary, no survey of Dvāravatī sculpture should overlook the small-scale pieces produced in great variety and with a high level of artistry. The iconographical implications of these pieces requires far more extensive comment than is possible here, but one may note in passing that the various forms of small, non-monumental sculpture described in the preceding chapter remained important to Dvāravatī artists and enjoyed fresh, creative innovations. To the earlier terra-cotta figurines were added many new types: *yakshinīs,* sometimes accompanied by a small female attendant; the sacred Bodhi tree; and a variety of animals (chiefly lions and elephants) that seem to have been modeled directly from life. The votive tablets (*Pra Pim*) grew increasingly diversified and were sometimes treated naturalistically as lifelike tableaux, which themselves are worthy of further study and lengthy description. Related to them, and characteristic of the Dvāravatī period, are many representations of the fabled anointment (*abhisheka*) of the goddess Śrī by two elephants; the vogue of this scene seems to have developed only during the eighth century, but it continued for some time afterward. Adorned with the image of Śrī and other auspicious symbols, cupped trays also preserve all their importance from the earlier period. With the exception of the votive tablets, however, none of these less-than-monumental art forms seem to have survived the Dvāravatī period.

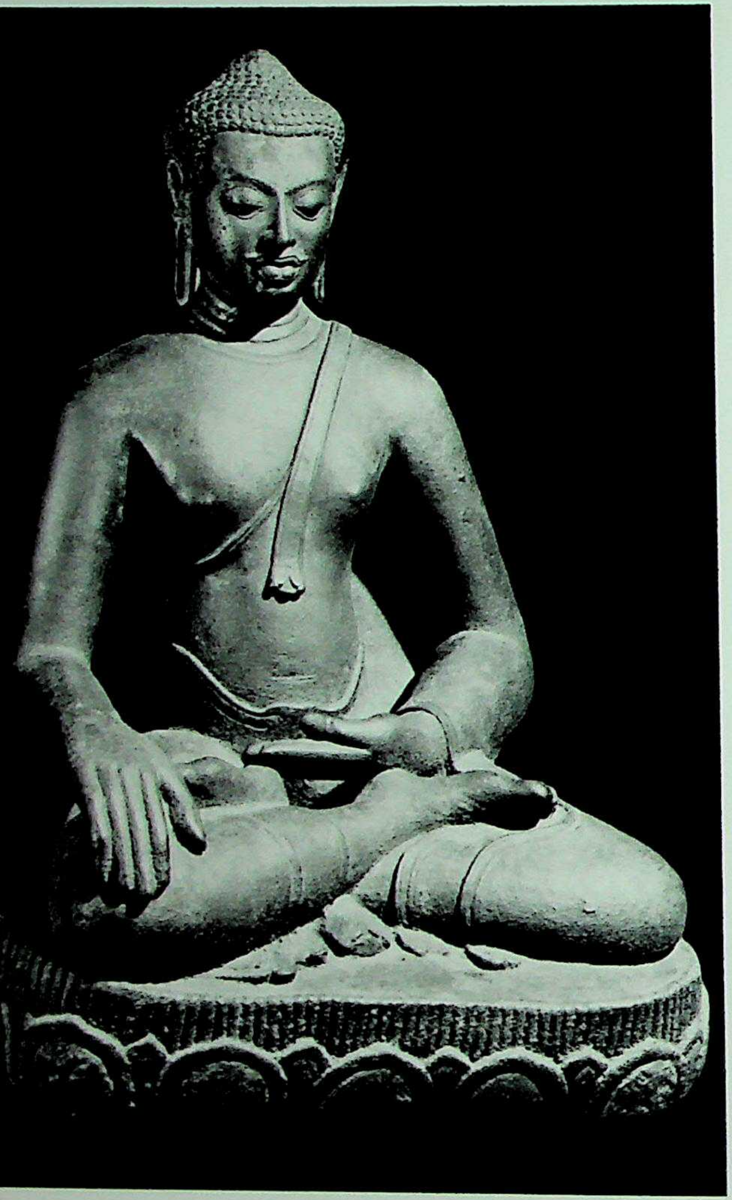
V THE ŚRĪVIJAYA SCHOOL

In the art history of Thailand, the so-called Śrīvijaya school raises greater problems of definition than any other. That this school had both a geographical and a stylistic significance certainly cannot be denied, but, paradoxically, there seems to have been little distinct connection between them.

As a regional art, the school traditionally known as Śrīvijaya developed in the peninsular part of Thailand between roughly the eighth and the thirteenth centuries. Following several successive waves of Indian influence, to which reference was made in Chapter I, Śrīvijaya reflected, first and foremost, the Indonesian colonization of the Malay Peninsula that began in the eighth century, and its destiny remained inextricably linked to that of the principalities that came into the Indonesian orbit. Receiving Pallava influences during the first half of the ninth century, it underwent a progressive weakening and degeneration. The decline of Śrīvijaya gathered momentum toward the end of the twelfth century, due first to the encroachments of Khmer art during the period of Cambodian expansionism under King Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218) and later to the warfare that pitted this region against South India and Ceylon. Śrīvijaya came to an end in the last decades of the thirteenth century, when the region passed into the control of Rāma Kamhèng, to whom the kingdom of Sukhothai owed its greatness. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the expansion of Islam in the Malay Peninsula had the effect of strengthening the Thai kingdoms implanted in the Isthmus of Kra. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the decline and disappearance of traditions closely similar to those of Indonesia and strongly influenced by Indian contacts put an end to any local originality. On the contrary, for a long time to come, until nearly the end of the nineteenth century, the workshops of the southern provinces maintained both in architecture and in sculpture a rich set of traditions peculiar to themselves.

Stylistically, it is even more difficult to define the characteristics of the Śrīvijaya school, for its homogeneity was far from complete and its impact was more considerable in space than in time. This school arose during the eighth century in the regions around the Isthmus of Kra, but it never achieved any real unity. The area had always been a critical transit point, with cultural currents and cross-currents from all directions swirling around it; as it had throughout the course of earlier centuries, the area remained continuously subjected to art influences as various as the religions inspiring them. While Dvāravatī art derived inspiration primarily from Theravāda Buddhism, that of Śrīvijaya was as much Brahmanic as Buddhist. Although the form the Buddhism practiced was essentially Mahāyāna, the iconographical traditions illustrated in religious art were highly diverse. The generally predominant Indonesian cultural influence does not in itself suffice to explain the originality of much Śrīvijaya statuary. In Brahmanic imagery, both in the Śiva sects and those of Vishnu, the impact of Indonesia seems even less marked, and the variety of influences (whose origins are often difficult to trace) even greater than for Buddhism. As is normal for religions having their own separate workshops, the several artistic styles which may be subsumed under the general rubric of Śrīvijaya reveal hardly any direct kinship, even though they were roughly contemporaneous. Most of them came to be widely diffused in the Menam Plain and the eastern provinces. Following the age-old lines of communication, they mark the cultural—if not always political—progress of Śrīvijaya in continental Thailand. Lacking any fresh influx, however, this remote influence seems to have weakened fairly rapidly in the area where Dvāravatī culture remained strongly entrenched. Finally, at the beginning of the eleventh century, it was dealt a fatal blow in the few sites of the Prachinburi region where it still lingered by the westward expansion of Cambodia under King Sūryavarman I.

In view of the peculiar features and the complexity of the Śrīvijaya school, it may be best to distinguish the various artistic styles on the basis of their religious affiliations, the influences they reveal, their impact, and their

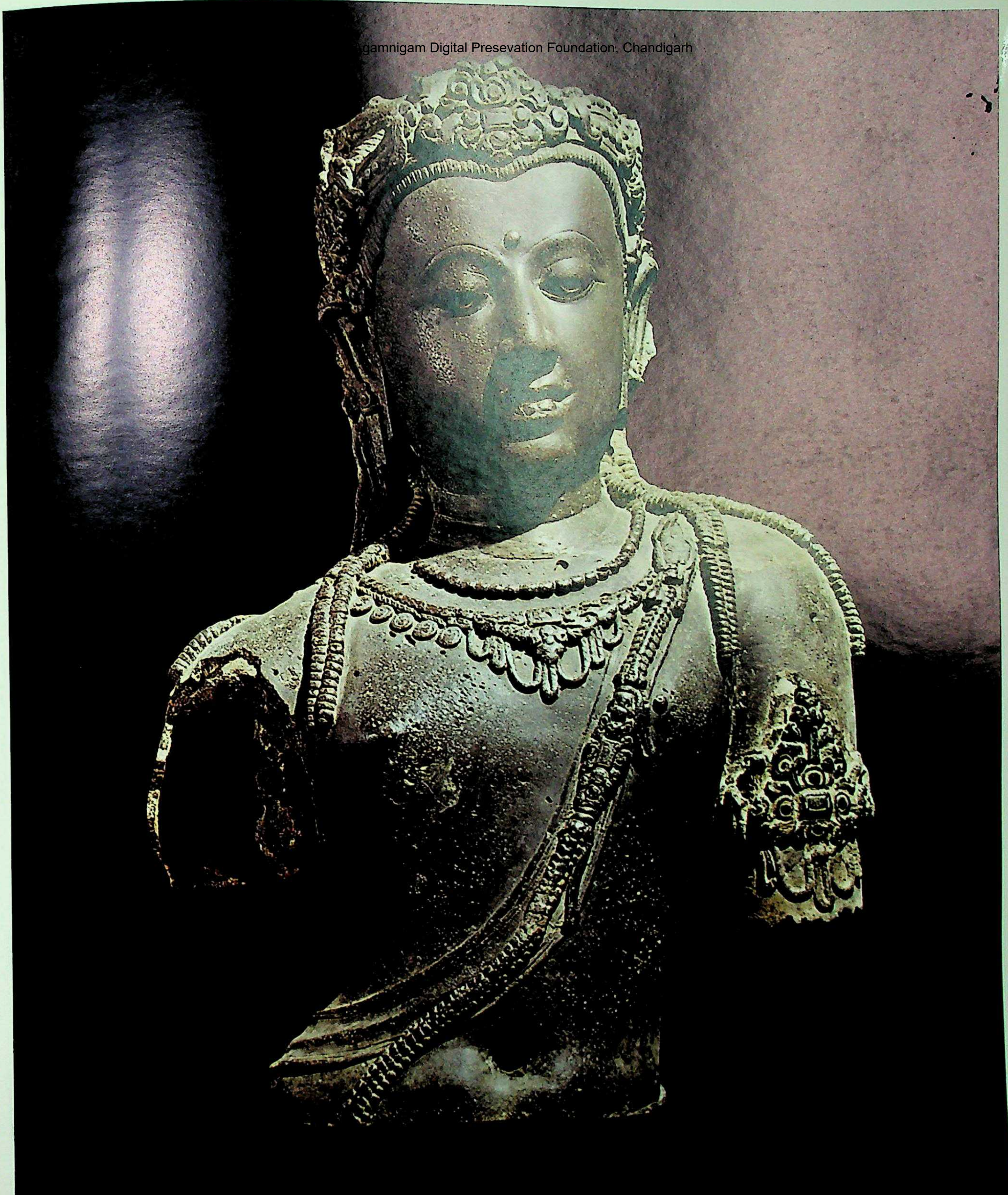


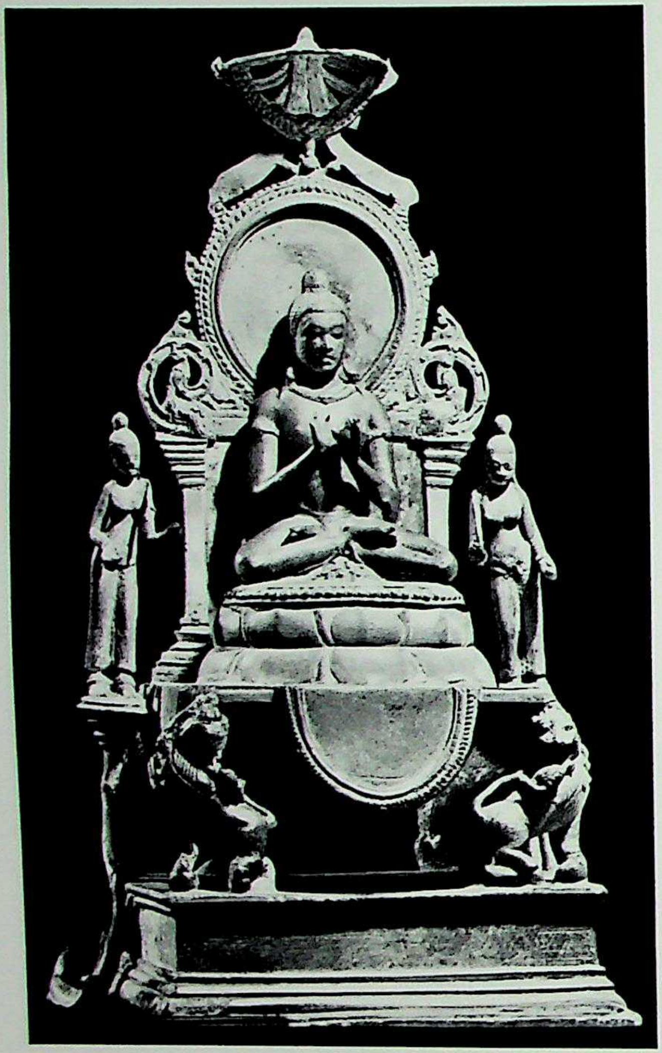
59 Buddha Subduing Mara, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

chronological position. The Buddha images found in the peninsula, like the monuments, reflect the Dvāravatī traditions only rarely. Moreover, they are rather few in number. Usually in the form of small bronze statuettes, they appear to have been most strongly influenced by Indonesian iconography of the so-called Central Java period (mid-eighth to late-ninth century), which itself was the heir to the Indian school of Nālandā. Many of the statuettes were imported from Indonesia, and iconographically they differ radically from Dvāravatī images.[17] While no standing Buddha can yet be attributed with absolute certainty to the Śrīvijaya school, the seated images (Plates 59, 61) are all in the adamantine posture (*vajrāsana*,) with legs tightly crossed and the soles of both feet turned upward; the torso, instead of being strictly vertical, often appears tilted back. The gesture is usually the *dharmacakra mudrā* (setting in motion the Wheel of the Law) and not the traditional *vitarka mudrā* most commonly seen on Dvāravatī figures. The *ushnīsha* seems more developed than in Dvāravatī art and the nose is sometimes definitely aquiline. The backframe of some of these images is also in the tradition of Central Java. Though very few bronze Buddhas seated in *vajrāsana* exist in the Dvāravatī domain, there is reason to believe that a good many of the standing statuettes with both hands in the *vitarka mudrā,* particularly those with a flaming annular nimbus, betray the influence of the Śrīvijaya school even while keeping to the traditional iconography (e.g., Plate 41). The same is true of the bronzes with the right shoulder uncovered, whose rather unusual features have already been noted. It is unfortunate that the absence of similar images in the peninsula deprives us of objects of comparison.

The Bodhisattva images, most of them of Avalokiteśvara (e.g., Plates 60, 62), are much more numerous than those of the Buddha, are generally of finer quality, and reflect several distinct iconographical traditions. Made of stone or bronze, and often large in size, it is these figures that best illustrate the originality, beauty, and complexity of Śrīvijaya. Thanks to them and to their evident popularity in the eighth and ninth centuries, we are made more aware of the impact of the school in continental Thailand and the influence it exerted there. Generally speaking, the stone idols differ markedly from most of the bronzes in one notable respect: as a rule, the adornment of the former—apart from the antelope hide draped over the left shoulder—is reduced to a minimum, while the latter are, for the most part, lavishly ornamented. Aside from the fact that Avalokiteśvara might always be represented in two ways, either as a young ascetic (Plate 62) or as a prince (Plate 63), it is very likely that the stone statues may have been decorated with gold or separate articles of jewelry. In any case, the stone statues show a technical virtuosity that can hardly be overemphasized. Contrasted to the cautious handling of most Dvāravatī statuary, this virtuosity is even

60 Torso of Avalokiteśvara, National Museum, Bangkok





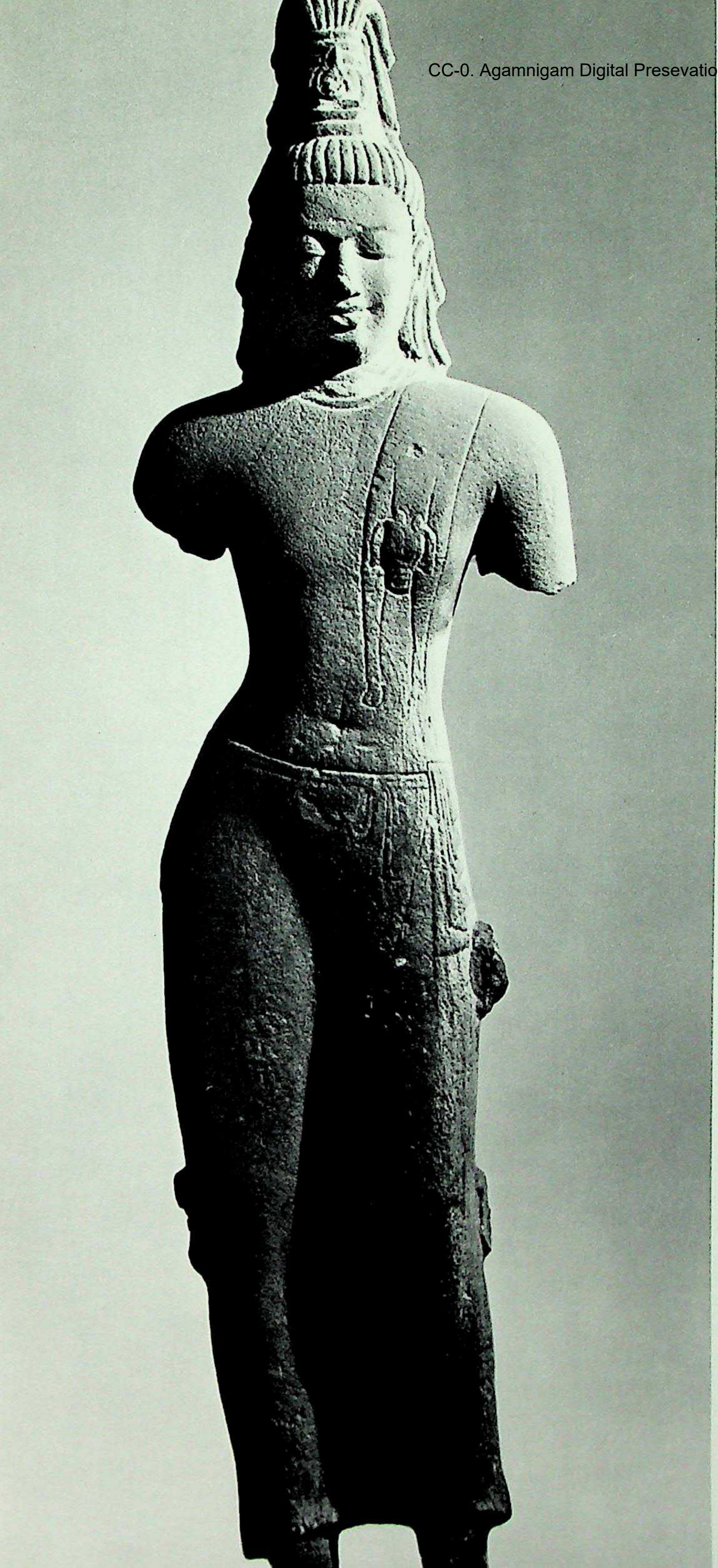
61 *Adorned Buddha Teaching, National Museum, Bangkok*

more pronounced in Brahmanic imagery, especially the statues of Vishnu. Although the Śrīvijaya school represented only the two-armed Avalokiteśvara in stone (Plates 32, 62), it must be credited with treating them entirely in-the-round, with fully sculpted arms and ankles, without resorting to an intricate system of reinforcements and props. Such supports seem to appear only once, in a sandstone statue from Chaiya, now preserved in the National Museum of Bangkok; in its dress, carved adornments, and in the unusual treatment of the hair, this image is an aberrant type.[18] In such features as the arrangement of the high knot of hair, most stone statues and many bronzes owe much more to early Pallava art, particularly that of the Krishnā Valley, than to Central Java (Plate 26).

It is actually the bronzes that reveal the greatest variety, not only in iconography but also in sculptural style. Hieratic and upright or lissome and swaying, always clad in a long *paridhāna* to which is often added a tiger skin attached at the waist, some of them derive directly from the art of Central Java. One group, characterized by a *paridhāna* forming a median bunch of folds, with a small fan-shaped flap folded over the belt, is particularly interesting for its very wide diffusion; examples have been found from Indonesia to Yunnan in southwest China and in numerous sites in the Menam Plain, in southern Cambodia, and in Champa. The most justly famous images of peninsular Thailand come from Chaiya, but all do not belong to one and the same tradition. The large, hieratic, eight-armed Avalokiteśvara illustrated in Plate 63 is very close stylistically to the art of Central Java. The fine, swaying four-armed torso of Plate 60, however, is strongly reminiscent of Pallava iconography of the eighth and ninth centuries in the details of its adornments and the arrangement of its hair.

As compared with the images of Avalokiteśvara, the other Bodhisattvas and the various divinities of the Mahāyāna pantheon play a much lesser part in Śrīvijaya art. Still, certain small bronzes, particularly a group from the region of Sating Pra preserved in the Songkhla Museum, point to the existence of a great variety of images. Usually seated, and for the most part imported, they are representative of the art of Central Java as inspired by that of Nālandā. Among these statuettes, those of Kuvera (also known as Vaiśravana), a fat young god with a purse in his hand, seated on a throne in front of which are placed seven bags containing the traditional Seven Treasures, seem to have been especially popular. He was venerated as the god of wealth, and was often associated with Śrī, the goddess of prosperity and fortune, who was honored both by Buddhists and Brahmanists. Many terra-cotta figurines, of the types referred to at the end of the preceding chapter, bear on one side a scene showing the anointment of Śrī and on the other the image of Kuvera. These figurines are related to the iconographically important votive tablets (*Pra Pim*) of the Śrīvijaya school. The wide diffusion of the tablets testifies, even better than does that of the idols, to the far-reaching influence of the school. Made often of unbaked clay and bearing religious formulas stamped or etched in Sanskrit in the characters of North India or in Old Javanese script, the Śrīvijaya votive tablets form a group very different from the *Pra Pim* produced by other schools.[19] They also reveal a wealth of Mahāyāna iconography unmatched by contemporary statuary.

Among Brahmanic statues, bronze was a much less

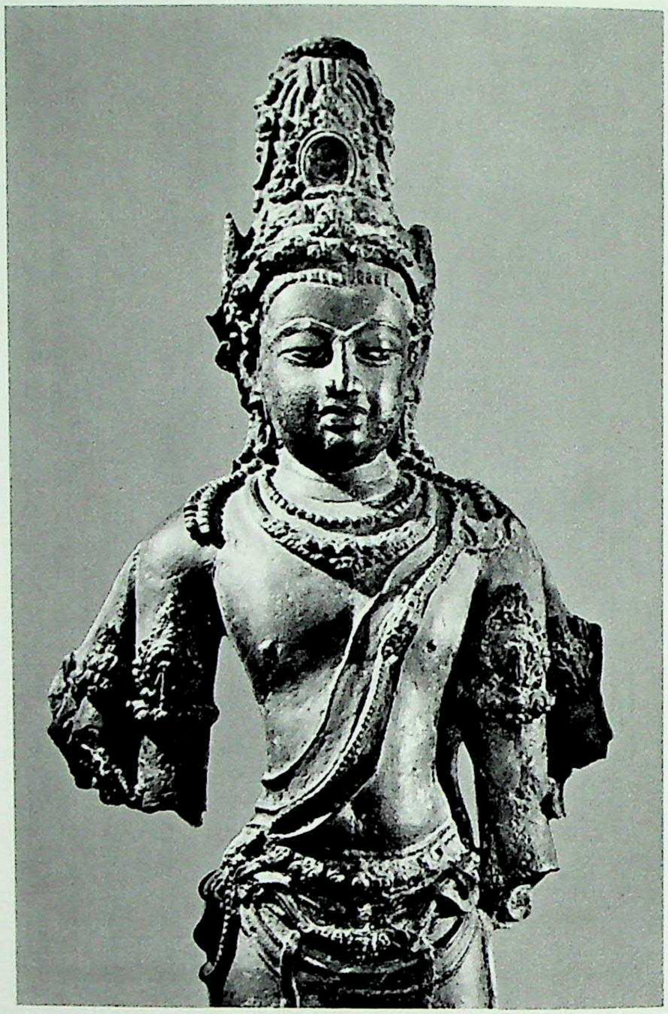


common medium than for Buddhist sculpture. The images made in stone, however, reveal a high level of technical skill and a fine aesthetic sensibility. Sandstone was preferred to the more brittle limestones and clearly seems to have prompted a freer and more daring execution on the part of the sculptors. The Brahmanic art of Śrīvijaya spread into the Menam Plain, although to a lesser extent than Mahāyāna-inspired art, and it left enduring remains in only a few spots in the Prachinburi area (the sites of Dong Si Maha Pot and Dong Lakhon). Except for the bronzes (Plate 68), which are few in number and reveal the same Indonesian kinship as the Mahāyāna statuettes, the technical and iconographical influence of the art of Central Java is far less apparent than for the Buddhist images. It has usually seemed advisable to look rather to the India of the Pallavas for stylistic parallels. These are, however, more apparent than real and in the present state of research one must allow for the possibility that the school of Brahmanic statuary may have been largely a local phenomenon, evolving independently of any new influences. Its originality can be paralleled, after all, by that of the styles of Angkorian Cambodia and Central Java, and it seems unnecessary to insist on seeking antecedents in some outside tradition.

The essential features of the Brahmanic statuary of Śrīvijaya are extremely well illustrated by the statues of Vishnu (Plates 64-66), whose beauty of form and boldness of execution very early attracted the attention and admiration of Western scholars. In his *Le domaine archéologique du Siam*, published in 1909, Lunet de Lajonquière wrote of the famous Vishnu from Ta Kua Pa (Plate 64): "Of all the statues that I have recorded in this group [the group he designated as 'non-Cambodian Hindu'], this is certainly the one that shows the greatest purity in its form and the greatest art in its modeling." It is indeed the quality of the modeling that first distinguishes these images from so many other styles that aim, as in India, at representing spiritualized rather than lifelike forms.

The four-armed Vishnu images of the Peninsula, despite numerous variations in details, form a large and relatively homogenous group.[20] They were obviously spread over a wide area and certainly influenced pre-Angkorian statuary to some degree. Like the archaic Vishnu from Chaiya (Plate 40), the god is always clad in a long *paridhāna* that forms tightly bunched folds over the belly and falls between the slightly spread legs down to the base. This dress is actually the only unvarying feature. The belt or belts that hold the *paridhāna* and often suggest an added adornment

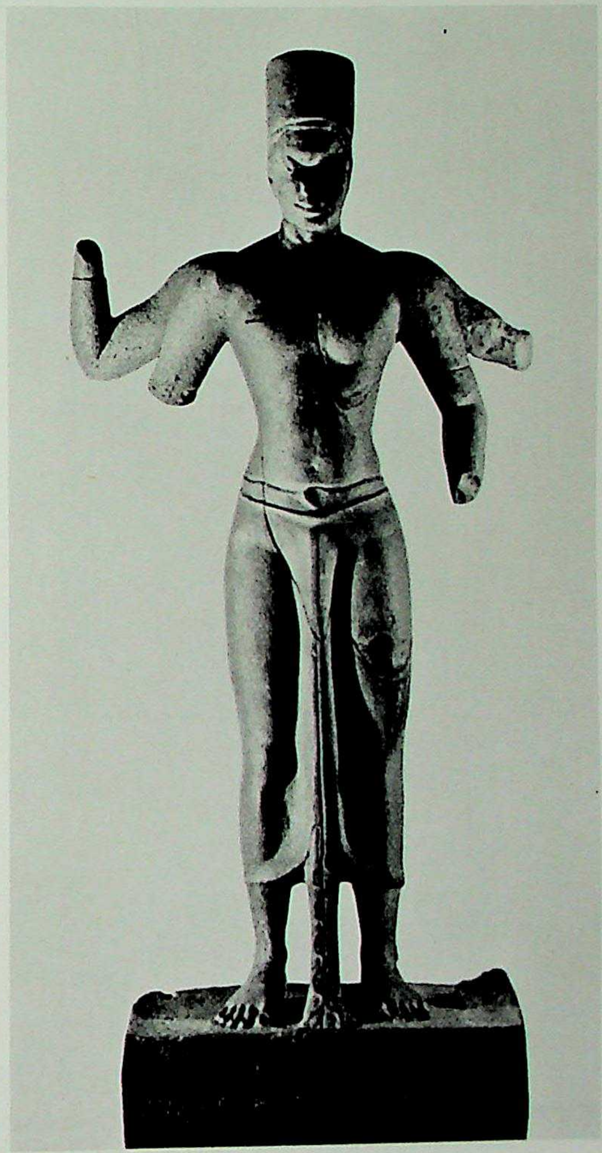
62 Avalokiteśvara, National Museum, Bangkok of twisted cloth tend to vary considerably. Variable, too, is the headdress, a miter that is normally quite smooth but whose shape and size differ constantly from one statue to another; sometimes perfectly cylindrical, sometimes shaped like a truncated cone, either widening out or narrowing at the top, or sometimes with a flat or stepped top. A similar diversity, though less pronounced, can also be seen in the technique of execution. An image from Wieng Sa, remarkable for its modeling, is backed by a large rectangular stele and is treated entirely as a high relief. An unusual statue from Sating Pra (often wrongly described as coming from Dong Si Maha Pot) is carved in limestone, its circular nimbus connected with the attributes held in the upper hands to insure against breakage. Most of the other Vishnu statues, however, are handled in generally similar manner. The lower hands rest on the hips in most cases but are sometimes held free; the left may rest on the club and the right—holding a sphere representing the Earth—on an actual prop or, more often, on the knot of the cloth belt that has been deliberately extended to afford additional support. Supported thus at five points, it must have seemed to the sculptors that there was no need to reinforce the statue's heels. Their confidence was not justified, as it turned out: stability being insured only along the frontal plane, most of these statues have come down to us with their feet broken off at the ankles. For the upper arms, whose treatment constitutes the most original innovation of this group, the sculptors' confidence in their technical prowess again proved to be rash. Omitting the supporting arch and the crosspiece connecting headdress and upper hands, two elements commonly employed in pre-Angkorian stone sculpture, the sculptors of the Peninsula and their emulators at Dong Si Maha Pot chose to carve fully in the round. As a result, the upper arms of virtually all the known statues have broken off. Aesthetically, this group of Vishnu figures differs as much from the Buddha images of the Dvāravatī period as it does from the less homogeneous group of Śrīvijaya Avalokiteśvaras described above. For sheer beauty of modeling and for the discreet but remarkably well observed rendering of the musculature of the torso and shoulders, these images stand apart from all the works inspired by the Indian sculptural traditions. Even the style of Prasat Andèt in Cambodia, as represented by the famous Harihara in the Phnom Penh Museum, attributed to the latter half of the seventh century, fails to attain a comparable lifelikeness. The treatment of the four arms on the Vishnu images and the modeling of the neck are equally noteworthy. The arms are distinct from the shoulder joint, instead of merging as they did for so long in pre-Angkorian statuary; they are rendered, moreover, with a skill and sense of proportion that makes their duplication seem normal and aesthetically acceptable. The relief cutting of the collarbones is understated in the Indian manner, but the shaping of the neck is highly naturalistic: sometimes even the Adam's apple, so rarely figured in male sculptures, is indicated. The expression on the faces of these Vishnus is generally serene; occasionally the god seems to be smiling with the merest touch of disdain. In rendering the faces, the sculptors owed nothing to any contemporary schools of Southeast Asia. Modeled with great delicacy, the rather broad and full (but not overly rounded) cheeks, softly curving brows, straight nose, and finely chiseled lips and eyes confer on the facial expressions a supremely classical beauty.



63 Torso of Avalokiteśvara, National Museum, Bangkok

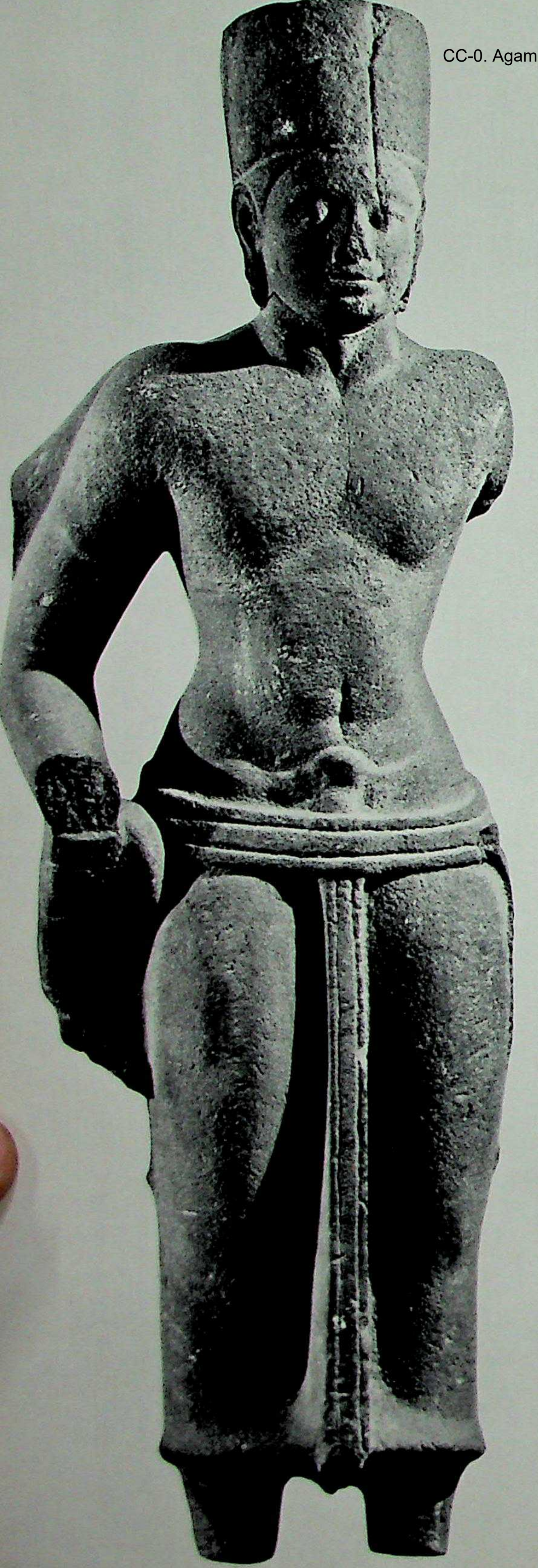
It is difficult to propose a reliable chronology for this group of Vishnu images, whether they be those from the Peninsula or those—very similar in form—from Dong Si Maha Pot. On the strength of comparisons with Indian and pre-Angkorian figures, they were initially dated to a period ranging from the early-eighth to the mid-ninth century. Today, it seems possible to establish a slightly earlier dating, by perhaps fifty years or so, but it remains as difficult as ever to determine the respective chronological positions of the images within the group. One of them, found at Phetburi, preserves in its attire something of the tradition of the archaic Vishnu from Chaiya; but in its iconography, its attitude, and its headdress, it differs sufficiently from the other that the slight similarity must be attributed to reminiscence rather than to any direct connection. It seems equally difficult to draw any conclusions as to chronology from the differences of the belts and miters of the other statues. A few figures of smaller size and less careful modeling, however, clearly betray a decline from the great tradition; into this category falls a Vishnu statue from Sichon with a median bunch of folds that does not extend below the lower edge of the *paridhāna,* and also one of the idols from Ban Hua Khao whose ankles are sculpted in unusually high relief. Still another example of the decline is an unfinished statue from Phetburi, characterized by a moustache, wearing a miter shaped like a truncated cone, and holding its attributes in a most unusual manner. These aberrant images lead quite naturally to the consideration of an unusually fine, small statue (Plate 66) that also stands apart from the main group. Although the shoulders are too broad in relation to the waist, this work shares the classical ideal and the grandeur of the best of the Vishnu figures. Its originality lies primarily in its sculptured adornments: necklace, ear-drops, and patterned miter. Similar features recur in other Brahmanic divinities more or less directly related to the Śrīvijaya school; no doubt they were merely intended to copy, as faithfully as possible, the detachable articles of jewelry normally lavished upon such idols.

The workshops where the Vishnus of the Peninsula were made apparently spread as far as Dong Si Maha Pot, which remained, possibly even until the eleventh century, an important art center at which the Brahmanic cults inspired by the Śrīvijaya tradition coexisted with a form of Buddhism deriving from that of Dvāravatī. But those workshops appear to have been much less successful west of the Menam River. The mediocre *San Chao* Vishnu images from Suphanburi and U Thong, backed against steles and with their mitered heads circled by a large nimbus, represent a compromise blending all the tendencies of the group in the Peninsula.



64 Vishnu, National Museum, Bangkok

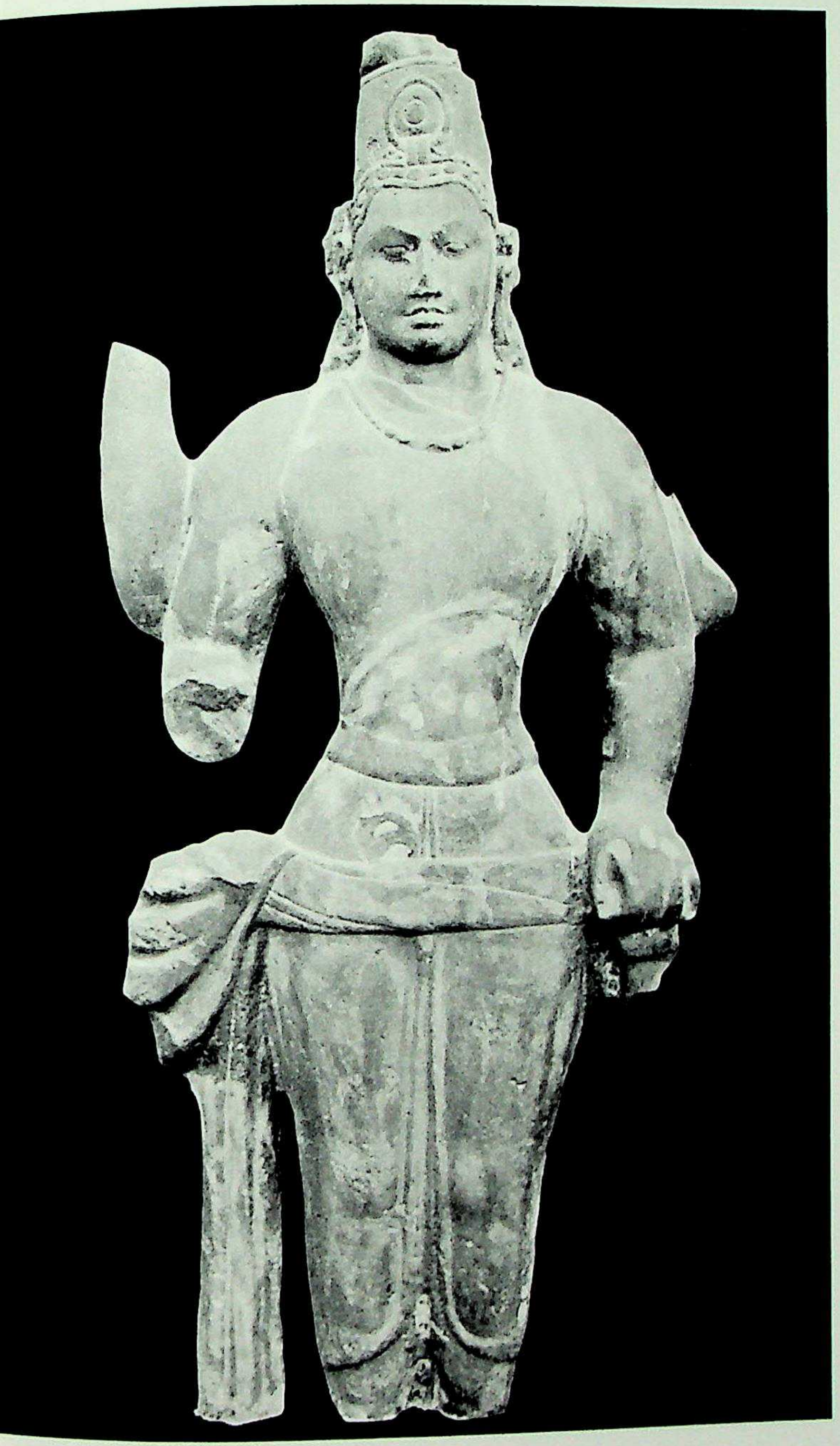
Other Brahmanic images having some relation to the art of the Śrīvijaya period, inferior to the Vishnus in quality and rather few in number, are of much less importance. The worship of Śiva is attested only by a few *linga,* undoubtedly ancient but nearly impossible to date accurately. One fine example, found at Chaiya and now in the National



Museum of Bangkok, is adorned with a large face of Śiva and appears to evoke a Gupta tradition while also showing some kinship with certain pre-Angkorian *mukhalinga*.[21] With only such meager data as this, it is difficult to attempt a precise dating, but the work may be loosely attributed to the sixth or seventh century. Only one other *mukhalinga* seems to be known, the one discovered south of U Thong in 1966 and now preserved in the U Thong Museum; certain of its attributes allow of no earlier dating than the eighth or ninth century. Apart from a few small bronzes in the Songkhlà Museum, including a fine Śiva in the Indonesian style from Sating Pra (Plate 68), there exist only a few statues of Brahmanic divinities. Most of them were found, in fact, not in the Peninsula itself but in the region of Dong Si Maha Pot, a site whose importance in the history of Thai sculpture cannot be overemphasized. A large image of Skanda astride his customary peacock, now in the Ayuthya Museum, is said by Lunet de Lajonquière to have originated in the Peninsula, but there is no firm evidence for its provenance. Doubtless the finest of all the Skanda images from Southeast Asia, this remarkable statue wears the same long garment as the Vishnus described above; unfortunately, the trunk of the figure is broken. Though now but a single, isolated example, the existence of this Skanda suggests that there may have developed a genuine Brahmanic style not limited to the depiction of Vishnu alone.

To conclude this survey of Brahmanic idols of the Śrīvijaya period, mention should be made of three more images from the region of Dong Si Maha Pot. A very large Ganeśa, recently discovered and still unpublished, is exceptional both for its size and its rarity at the time under consideration. Unfortunately shattered into many pieces, it will prove exceedingly difficult to study. Together with a small statue in the seated *lalitāsana* position, now in the Songkhlà Museum, it is one of the very few representations of the god that can be assigned definitely to this period. A large, very hieratic Mahishāsuramardini seems to be the work of a provincial atelier. Standing on the head of a buffalo demon, she wears a robe that evokes those of the images from the Peninsula, and the iconography appears rather disconcerting: no doubt as a precaution against breakage the attributes held in the upper hands were connected to the headdress. The bust of an unidentified female figure with a round face presumably belongs to the same series.[22]

65 Vishnu, National Museum, Bangkok

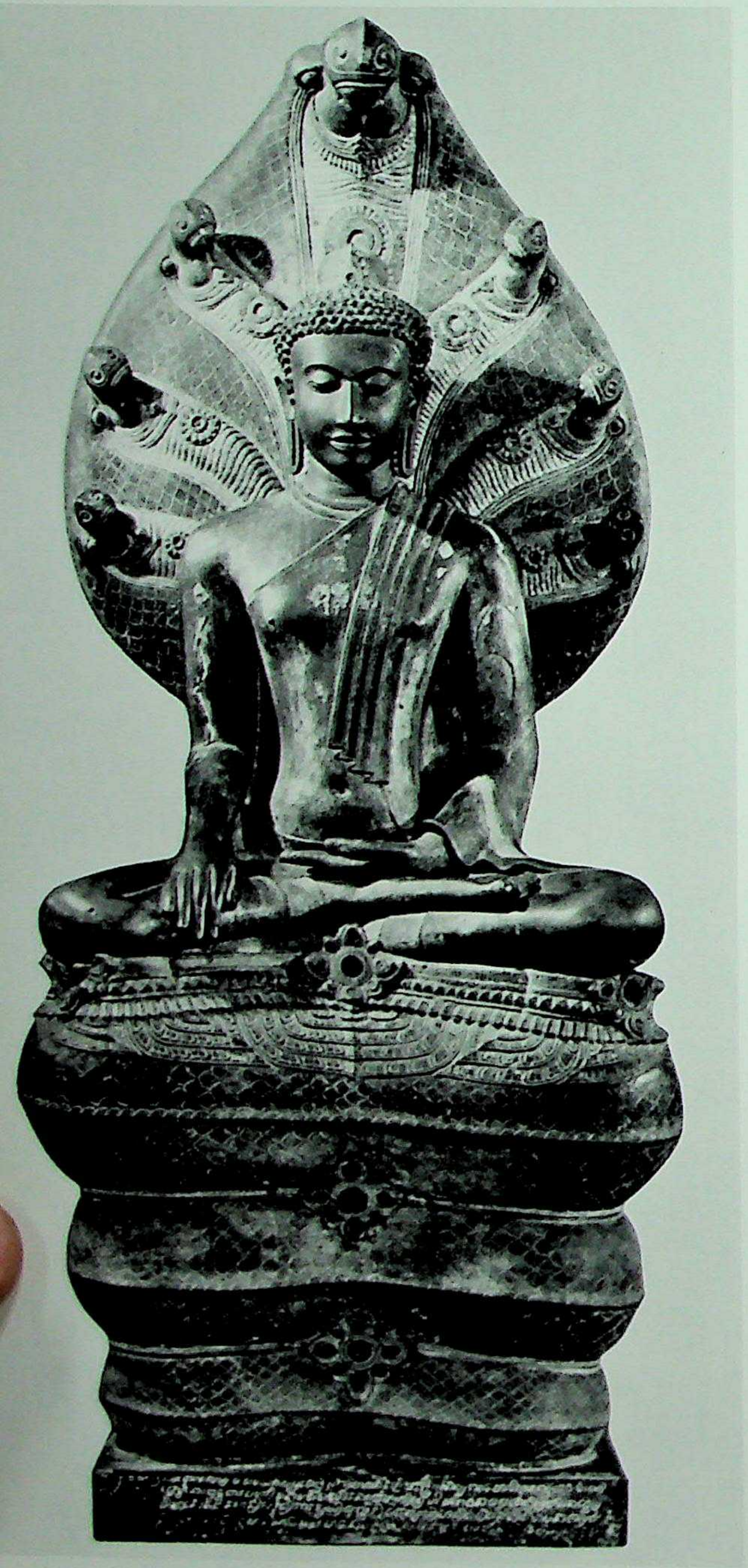


This brief analysis of the Brahmanic images that derived directly or indirectly from the art of the Peninsula during the Śrīvijaya period cannot be concluded without reference to an Indian school of sculpture present at Ta Kua Pa, Wieng Sa, and Chaiya. It is represented by a small number of small idols, forming a pendant, as it were, to the Śrīvijaya works of predominantly Indonesian influence. These idols, undoubtedly produced locally, are helpful in providing a clearer idea of the originality and value of the indigenous workshops. The Indian school of the Peninsula is not homogeneous but falls into two groups: sculpture in the Pallava tradition, on the one hand, and in the Chola tradition, on the other. Thus, it testifies less to a genuine continuity than to distinct contributions from abroad and, above all, to the existence of Dravidian workshops in the Isthmus of Kra.

The first of the two groups is represented by three famous images from the Khao Pra Narai hill at Ta Kua Pa, where each was discovered enveloped by treetrunks that had grown around them. Reported by European travelers as early as 1902,[23] they were the object of an active local cult until quite recently. Having been decapitated by looters, the statues had to be removed for safekeeping to the Museum of Nakhon Si Thammarat. The three images, one female and two male, resist positive identification and interpretation. Scholars agree, however, that they are purely Indian in character and belong to the tradition of Pallava sculpture; the composition of their adornments, especially the belts, suggests that they may have been made during the eighth or ninth century. Related to the Chola tradition are three small statues of much inferior workmanship, two found at Wieng Sa, the other at Chaiya, and all three now in the National Museum of Bangkok. Executed more in high relief than fully in-the-round, but rendered unskilfully with heavy proportions, these images are of greater interest to the archaeologist than to the art lover. The Wieng Sa statues are a Vishnu, with no attributes held in the lower hands, and a Vatuka-Bhairava (Śiva in one of his terrible aspects) represented nude, four-armed, and with bristling hair, a terrifying figure leaning on a dog which he is supposed to mount. The statue from Chaiya is a Sūrya; as clumsy and ill-proportioned as the Wieng Sa statues but with a smiling face, it comes presumably from another workshop, although the same dating (tenth or eleventh century) seems reasonable for all three.

During the tenth or eleventh century, artistic activity in

66 Vishnu, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalermpol Dighamvara, Bangkok

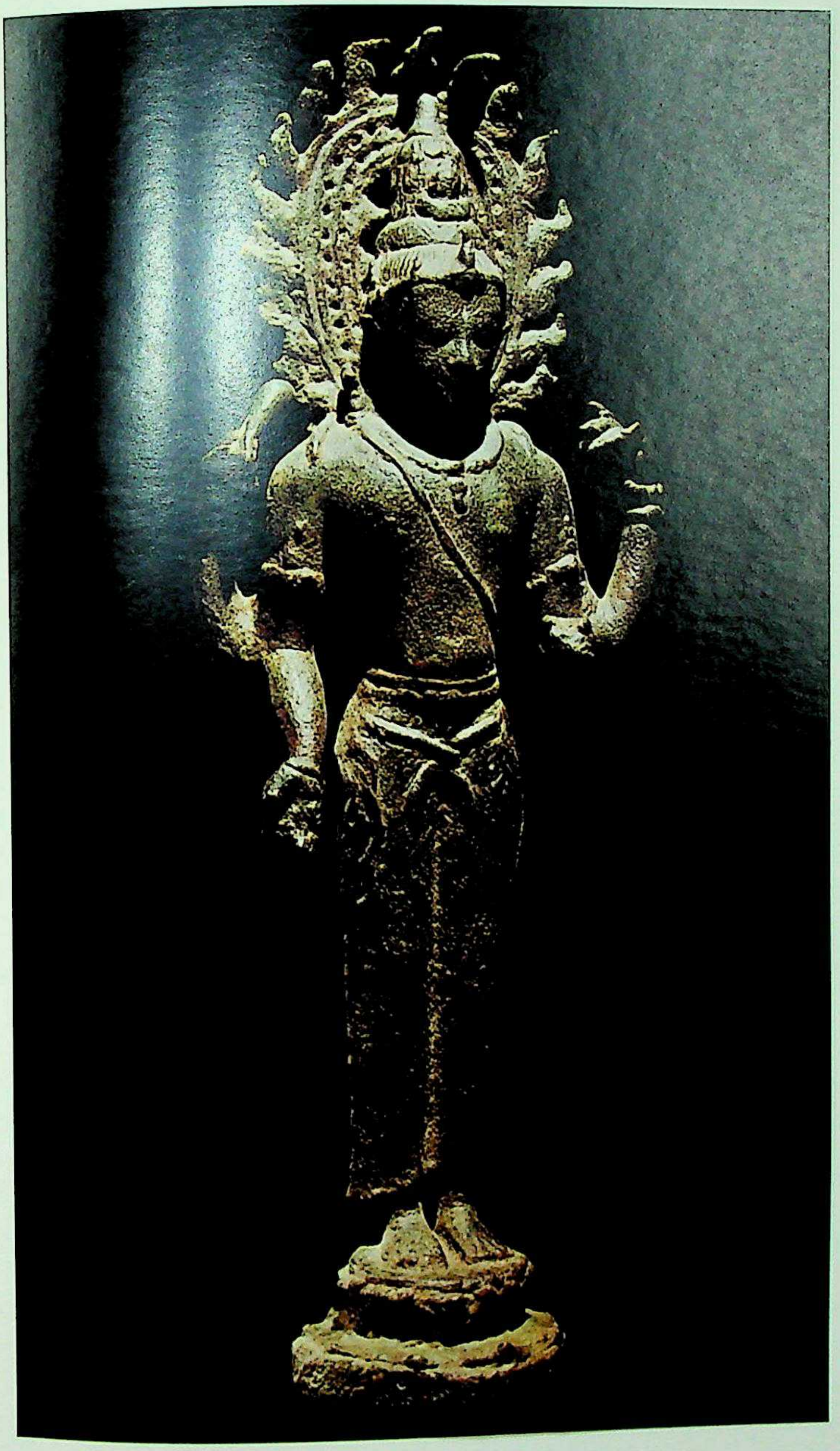


67 *The Buddha of Grahi, National Museum, Bangkok*

the Peninsula seems to have slackened. Although it has been suggested that some of the Mahāyāna bronzes may date from after the ninth century, even as late as the thirteenth century in some cases, there is no sound evidence for this view. Since none of the known bronzes shows any real kinship with the art of the East Java period, one would have to assume an exceptional fidelity to the early iconography, especially for the bronzes executed by the *cire-perdue* process, as well as a survival of Mahāyāna Buddhism of which, in fact, nothing is known; both assumptions seem highly improbable. Finally, it must be acknowledged that there remains almost no further evidence of artistic activity down to the time when traces of Khmer art (a few bronzes on the Bayon style) appeared in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. To roughly the same period can be attributed the famous and beautiful Buddha of Grahi (Plate 67), a large bronze image of the Buddha sheltered by the *nāga* Mucilinda, generally dated to 1183 on the strength of an inscription on the work itself.[24] But recent research suggests a date of about a century later that seems more satisfactory on stylistic grounds as well. Not only is the *Nāga* inspired by the Khmer style and interpreted with great latitude, but the Buddha, also, is cast in the victorious *Māravijaya* posture, which was never used in Cambodia although it appears frequently in Thai sculpture. The drapery is rendered in a very peculiar manner that became prevalent only with sculpture of the early Sukhothai school. The treatment of the hair is even more unusual, with the conical curls and the hemispherical *ushnīsha* quite smooth and enhanced with a flame-fringed ornament at its base. Similar features occur on a head from Chaiya, subsequently retouched, and on some small bronzes from the same region representing the standing Buddha. But their very different attire and their conical, well-developed *ushnīsha* do not warrant the grouping of such dissimilar pieces in a "Chaiya school," as was at one time proposed.

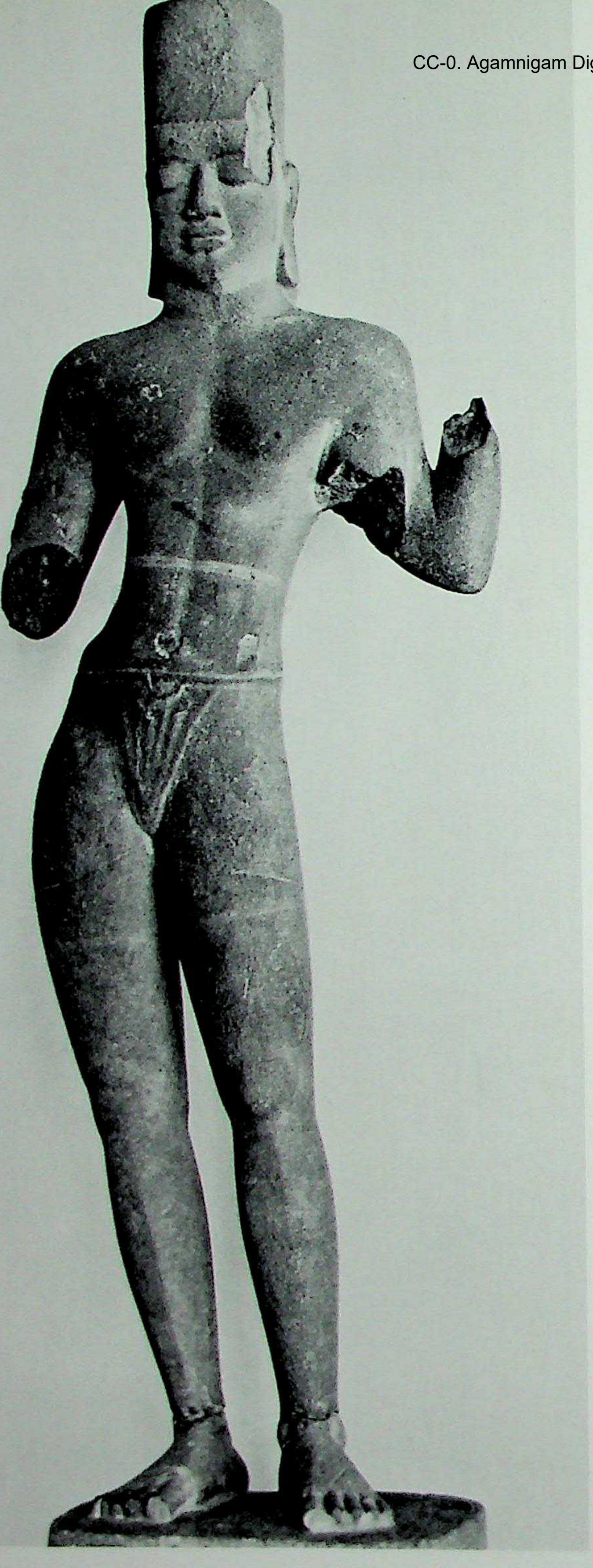
THE SCHOOL OF NAKHON SI THAMMARAT

There are better grounds, however, for distinguishing a school centered at Nakhon Si Thammarat, which acted as a repository of forms, preserving a substantial part of the iconographical and architectural traditions of the Peninsula. Bound up with the rise of the city and the decline of Mahāyāna in favor of Theravāda Buddhism following the



68 *Brahmanic Divinity, Songkhlā Museum*

collapse and disappearance of Śrīvijaya during the thirteenth century, this school stands at the opposite pole from the tendencies illustrated by the Grahi Buddha. While the latter seems to consummate the disruption of the tradition, the school of Nakhon Si Thammarat tends to link up with it again. The famous Pra Sihing, the most venerated image of Nakhon Si Thammarat and peninsular Thailand, is a bronze of only modest dimensions. Curiously akin to the most characteristic style of Lan Na, it calls for comparison also with the art of Central Java. The image has a broad face and a slightly hooked nose; the *ushnīsha* is covered with hair curls and is topped by a smooth conical ornament. It is seated in the posture of *Māravijaya,* with the legs crossed in *vajrāsana,* the soles of both feet turned upward and the heels placed very close to the groin. As to dress, the right shoulder is uncovered while over the left lies a short flap with a broad spread of pleats. This flap, very different from the one adopted by all the other schools of Thai sculpture, characterizes the Pra Sihing image and the many copies of it, which modern Thai scholars designate "Khanom Thom" (Plate 9). The style, attitude, and particularly the attire of such statues hark back over an interval of several centuries to the Indonesian tradition, particularly that of Chandi Sewu. The "Khanom Thom" type, so representative of the school of Nakhon Si Thammarat, does not in itself suffice to define it. Many other Buddha images, standing or seated, show a real fidelity—intent rather on the spirit than the form—to the arts of Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya, particularly in the design of the pedestals and back-frames. In the mid-eighteenth century, during the restoration carried out by King Boromakot (Mahā Dhammarāja II), the sculptures and bas-reliefs added to Wat Pra Mahathat preserved something of the Dvāravatī tradition while introducing a very lavish decorative scheme that was derived from various other sources.[25] Among scenes illustrating the Great Departure and the Dream of Queen Māyādevī, there appear some guardian divinities whose iconography, although somewhat ambiguous, combines traces of Śrīvijaya, South India, and the art of Ayuthya. It is also worth pointing out that many bronzes were inspired by the Brahmanic cults practiced, almost to the present day, at Nakhon Si Thammarat and Phathalung. Influenced in some cases by the Dravidian tradition, in others by the art of Ayuthya, these works are by no means the least original manifestations of the art of peninsular Thailand.



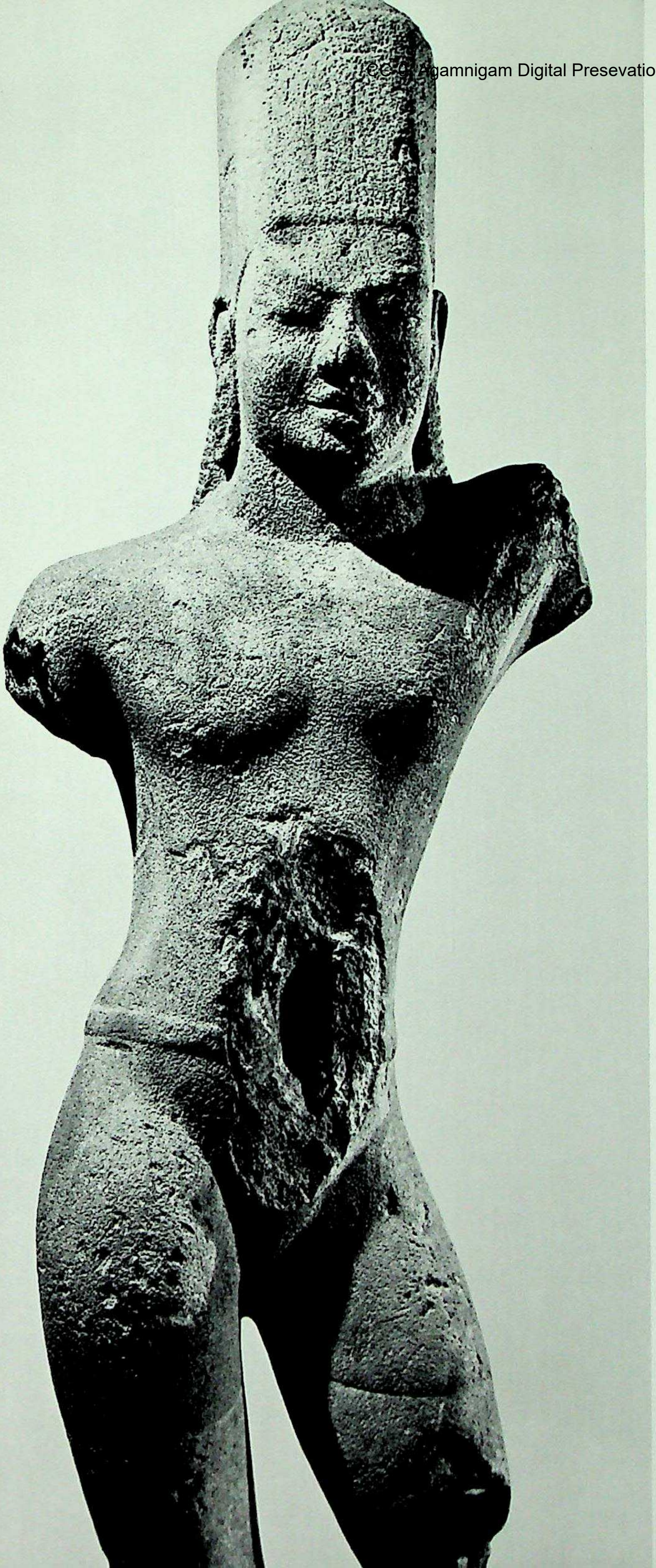
THE SCHOOL OF SI TEP

It may seem surprising that the art of Si Tep should appear in a chapter devoted to the Śrīvijaya school. It has been included here for the following reason: Brahmanic and Mahāyāna images recently discovered on the site seem to indicate that, quite apart from its undeniable originality, the school of Si Tep achieved a kind of synthesis of the sculptural styles of Dvāravatī, Śrīvijaya, and Lopburi. For the purposes of this book, Si Tep thus provides an admirable transition to the examination of the Lopburi school, which follows in the next chapter.

Located near Phetchabun on the Pa Sak River, Si Tep is far away from all the sites where the penetration of Śrīvijaya has been detected. It is known chiefly from inscriptions, which seem to identify it as a dependency of the very first rulers of Cambodia. The brick sanctuaries at Si Tep, although obviously Khmer, can no longer be dated to the pre-Angkorian period, as formerly believed, but rather to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The statuary found there is essentially Brahmanic, and there is no longer any reason to suppose that it might be contemporaneous with the earliest inscriptions. On both stylistic and technical grounds, it does not appear to be earlier than the eighth or ninth century.[26] Without venturing here into a discussion of the Khmer works of the twelfth century, one may note that the Brahmanic workshops at Si Tep must have been very active, for they have left a great quantity of images inspired both by Śivaism and Vishnuism; unfortunately, almost none of them remains intact. Images associated with Vishnu cults are the more numerous and give the Si Tep school its greatest distinction. Only sandstone was used for these statues, and they were cut both with an extraordinary virtuosity and with an excessive confidence in the solidity and durability of the stone.

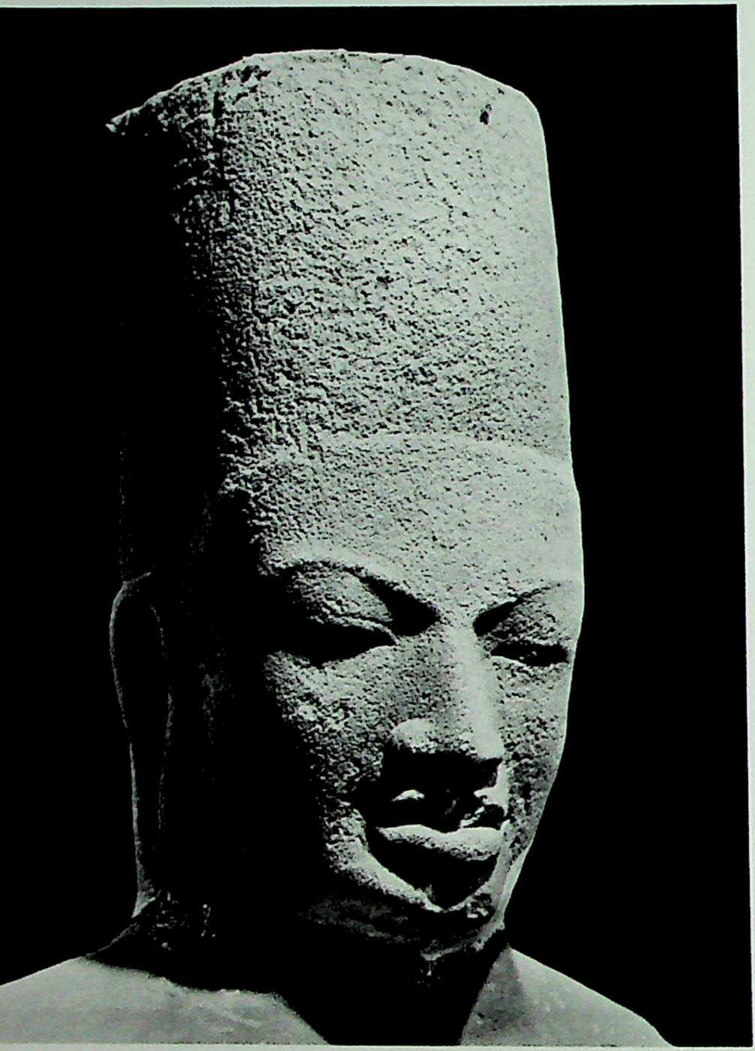
The Vishnu idols of Si Tep (Plates 69-70), most of them life-size or larger, may be regarded as the most remarkable achievement in all the sculpture of Southeast Asia, finer even than the Vishnus of the Peninsula and Dong Si Maha Pot by virtue of their exceptional freedom of movement and the boldness of their execution. At no other time did the sculptors of the region achieve in stone such perfectly proportioned free-standing works. The originality and the aesthetic merit of these images profoundly impressed Lajonquière and Coedès, the first Western scholars to encounter them, both of whom studied them at length and

69 Vishnu, National Museum, Bangkok



were quick to distinguish them from the art of pre-Angkorian Cambodia. The Vishnus of Si Tep wear a smooth, cylindrical (or, occasionally, polygonal) miter (Plates 70-71), not unlike certain types of headpieces seen on the Vishnu figures of the Peninsula and in pre-Angkorian statuary. Their hair, often in ringlets falling over the nape of the neck, is likewise familiar from other pre-Angkorian works. Radically different from the works of other schools, however, is the drapery. Presumably representing only the undercloth, it consists merely of a short loincloth that clings to the thigh and hips; a front flap, forming a bunch of pleats at belt level, runs between the thighs and is knotted behind, the loose end falling freely. More remarkable than this scanty costume is the attitude of the statues. While little need be said about the modeling, which is excellent but always sober and lacking something of the vitality that enlivened the Vishnus of the peninsular school, the posture is absolutely unique. The Vishnus of Si Tep are the only stone statues that display the famous triple flexion (*tribhanga*), a classic feature of Dravidian bronzes, without resorting to any support or prop. The four arms are executed with a similar boldness that seems in defiance of the solidity of the stone: no supporting device whatever—no arch or crosspiece—was used to insure the solidity of the arms and shoulders. The rashness of the sculptors has not withstood time, however, and the arms of most such statues have long since broken away; lacking the lower arms, all questions as to gestures or the particular attributes held in the hands must remain unanswerable. The Si Tep sculptors' confidence in their mastery over stone did, however, have its limits: instead of separating the arms at the shoulder joint, as in the Peninsula style, they prudently allowed them to remain joined, as in pre-Angkorian statuary, almost down to the elbow. In one statue wearing a polygonal miter (Plate 70), their foolhardy confidence seems to surge unbounded: a still more pronounced flexion balances the movement of the arms, which cease to perform symmetrical gestures, the left being swung upward in an exaggerated movement reminiscent of some of the finest bronzes of the Pallava and Chola schools. Not surprisingly, such temerity spelled ruin for most of these statues. Badly damaged in the usual way is the beautiful image of Krishna raising the Govardhana mountain, illustrated from behind in Plate 8; originally mistakenly identified as a *yakshinī*, this statue shows the same supple flexion as that of Plate 70. The same Krishna figure also occurs in

70 Standing Divinity (Krishna?), National Museum, Bangkok



71 Bust of Vishnu (detail), National Museum Bangkok

pre-Angkorian statuary, but there it is treated with far less technical freedom and with closer adherence to iconographical requisites.

The cult of Śiva at Si Tep is attested to almost solely by *linga,* several of which are undoubtedly Angkorian, by a large fragment of a fine big *triśūla,* the trident-like attribute of Śiva, and by a fragment of a statue of Nandin, the bull that accompanies Śiva everywhere. Unfortunately, this last piece is too damaged to be studied profitably.

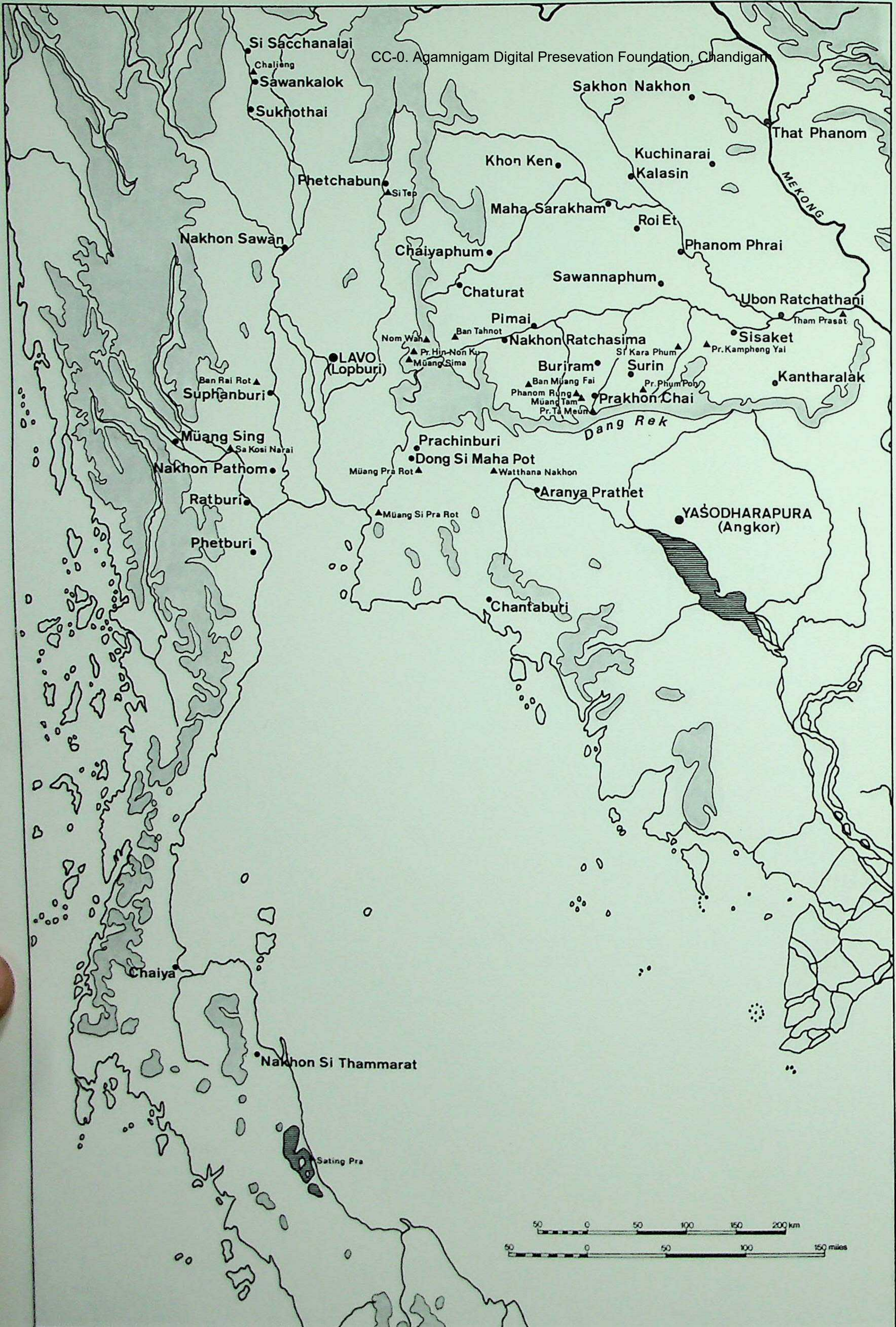
In addition to a badly damaged statue (possibly a Ganeśa image, massive and thick-set, seated in the European manner) that contrasts sharply with the usual Si Tep style, several images of Sūrya call for mention. Compared with the Vishnus, they show an unexpected cautiousness in the technical execution. Represented by bust figures and one nearly complete statue with arms carved in high relief and clad in a garment of medium length, these Sūryas all wear a polygonal miter with elaborately wrought ornamentation and a large round nimbus. Facial expressions vary: some of the images display a flattened, overly heavy cast, but others are imbued with an aristocratic air of distinction comparable to that of the finest Vishnus. The eyes are sometimes hollowed out for the insertion of an inlaid stone. Stylistic differences, such as they are, should be imputed to the chronology of the images or simply to the diversity of workshops.

Though less abundantly represented than Brahmanic deities at Si Tep, Buddhist figures of both lines, Theravāda and Mahāyāna, were produced there, thus confirming the diversity of influences at work at this site. The only Theravāda image found there is a Buddha in *samādhi,* headless and broken into two parts. Bearing an inscription in Pāli, it evokes the Dvāravatī style. For Mahāyāna, the cave of Khao Thammarat near Si Tep has yielded a group of three large rock images of the standing Buddha in the gesture of argumentation, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. In style, attire, and headdress, they closely resemble the Lopburi bronzes of the eighth and ninth centuries discovered during the past few decades in the Buriram region.

VI THE LOPBURI SCHOOL

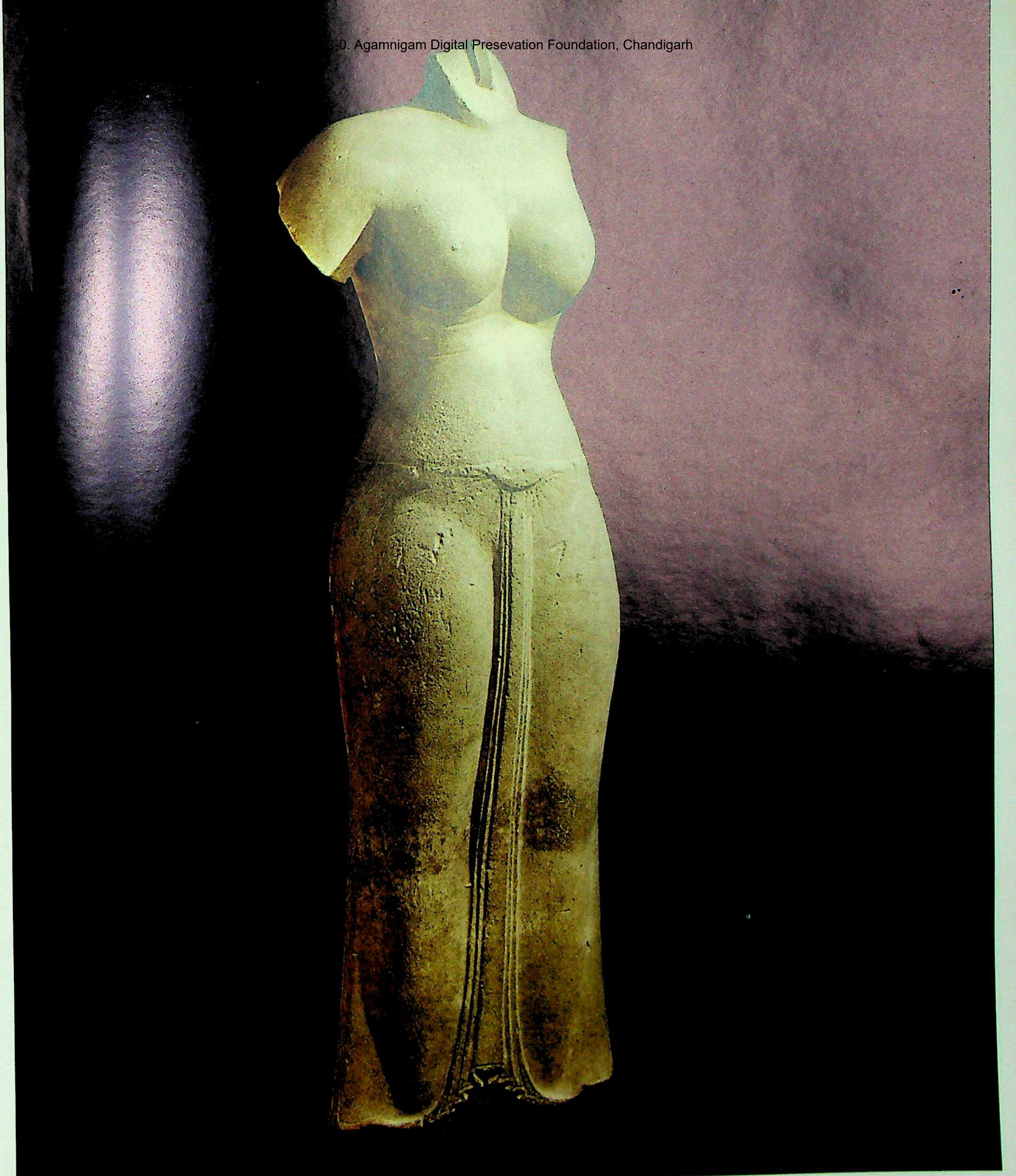
Although Lopburi is a site that was active from prehistoric times and that took over the artistic traditions of the Dvāravatī school before falling under the sway of Angkorian Cambodia, the name is generally used, following Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, by scholars to designate the Khmer or Khmer-inspired art of Thailand. The choice of this name was prompted by three closely related facts: most of the Khmer-type images were discovered in the Lopburi region; the region came under Khmer domination in the eleventh century; and the Buddhist tradition, both Theravāda and Mahāyāna, occupied a much more prominent position there than in contemporary Khmer art. Established through usage, the name "Lopburi" has assumed a more conventional character in the light of later discoveries, which have shown that the Khmer-inspired art of Thailand does not belong exclusively to the period of the Cambodian occupation of Lopburi from the eleventh century to the thirteenth. Traces of Khmer art appear much earlier and also considerably later, and they now seem less narrowly localized. While the earliest extant tokens of Lopburi art may be assigned to the seventh century, it must be realized that long after the end of the Khmer occupation—and probably even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century—the eastern provinces of Thailand continued to act as a repository of the Angkorian artistic traditions and iconography. It cannot be denied that many works found in the Lopburi region are not of the finest quality, and their mediocrity is often explained by the lateness of their date or by the fact that they are the work of mere artisans. Still, it would be both unjust and seriously inaccurate to see the Lopburi school simply as a provincial Khmer school. Its achievements in both architectural decoration and statuary are remarkable not only for their beauty but also for their stylistic independence from the art of Angkor.

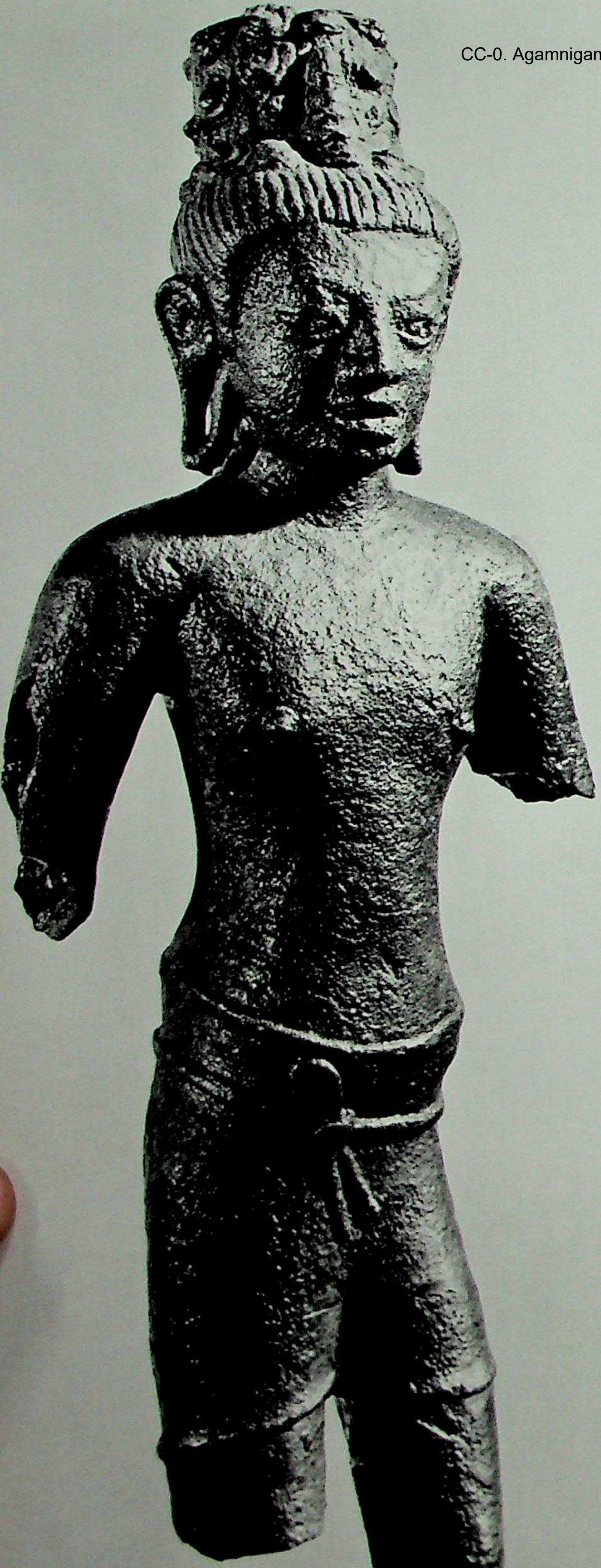
No narrow geographical significance should be attached to the term "Lopburi": it covers a shifting, complex reality and includes sculptures that are genuinely Khmer and others that are original and unique. The former (e.g., Plate 80) might take their place among the masterpieces of Cambodian art, and clearly were executed by Khmer sculptors or directly under their supervision. The latter are either local adaptations of Khmer models or copies and survivals from earlier eras (e.g., Plate 83). Most of the works belonging to the school were made in the eastern provinces, particularly the region extending from Lopburi eastward to Ubon Ratchathani and from the valley of the Mun to the Dangrek mountains. But many pre-Angkorian remains have also been found in the provinces of Chantaburi and Prachinburi, and one must bear in mind the Khmer expansion into the Sukhothai region that occurred during the reign of Sūryavarman II (1113-c. 1145) and the annexation of the greater part of the Menam Plain by Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218), accounting for the dissemination of Khmer remains as far westward as Nakhon Pathom and Muang Sing, near the Burmese frontier, and far down the Peninsula to Sating Pra. Aside from its Khmer inspiration, the school benefited from influences peculiar to it which were bound up with its essentially Buddhist orientation: the influence of Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya in the eighth and ninth centuries and a revival of the influences of Pāla-Sena art toward the thirteenth century. Allowance must also be made for the internal evolution of the Lopburi school following the region's escape from the control of Angkor; independent embassies were sent to China around the middle of the twelfth century, late in the reign of Sūryavarman II, and again at the end of the thirteenth century. Thus, the art of the Lopburi era can be divided naturally into three main periods: sculpture of the seventh to ninth centuries, more or less akin to the pre-Angkorian styles; sculpture of the tenth century to the early-thirteenth, which was most directly influenced by Khmer art; and sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most independent, with its subsequent developments. It is worth noting that, except for the last phase, each of these periods placed equal emphasis on decorative sculpture and free-standing statuary, and that bronze casting was of constantly greater importance in the


Si Sacchanalai
Chalieng
Sawankalok
Sukhothai
Sakhon Nakhon
That Phanom
Kuchinarai
Kalasin
Khon Ken
Phetchabun
Si Tep
MEKONG
Maha Sarakham
Roi Et
Nakhon Sawan
Phanom Phrai
Chaiyaphum
Sawannaphum
Chaturat
Ubon Ratchathani
Tham Prasat
Pimai
Ban Tahnot
Nom Wan
Nakhon Ratchasima
Sisaket
Pr. Hin Non Ku
Si Kara Phum
Pr. Kampheng Yai
LAVO
(Lopburi)
Müang Sima
Buriram
Surin
Kantharalak
Ban Rai Rot
Ban Müang Fai
Pr. Phum Pon
Suphanburi
Phanom Rung
Müang Tam
Prakhon Chai
Pr. Ta Meun
Dang Rek
Müang Sing
Sa Kosi Narai
Prachinburi
Dong Si Maha Pot
Nakhon Pathom
Müang Pra Rot
Watthana Nakhon
Aranya Prathet
Ratburi
YASODHARAPURA
(Angkor)
Müang Si Pra Rot
Phetburi
Chantaburi
Chaiya
Nakhon Si Thammarat
Sating Pra
50 0 50 100 150 200 km
50 0 50 100 150 miles

*Map III:
Principal Sites
of the Lopburi School*

72 *Body of a Female Divinity, Collection of H.R.H. Princess Chumbhot of Nagara Svarga, Bangkok* ►





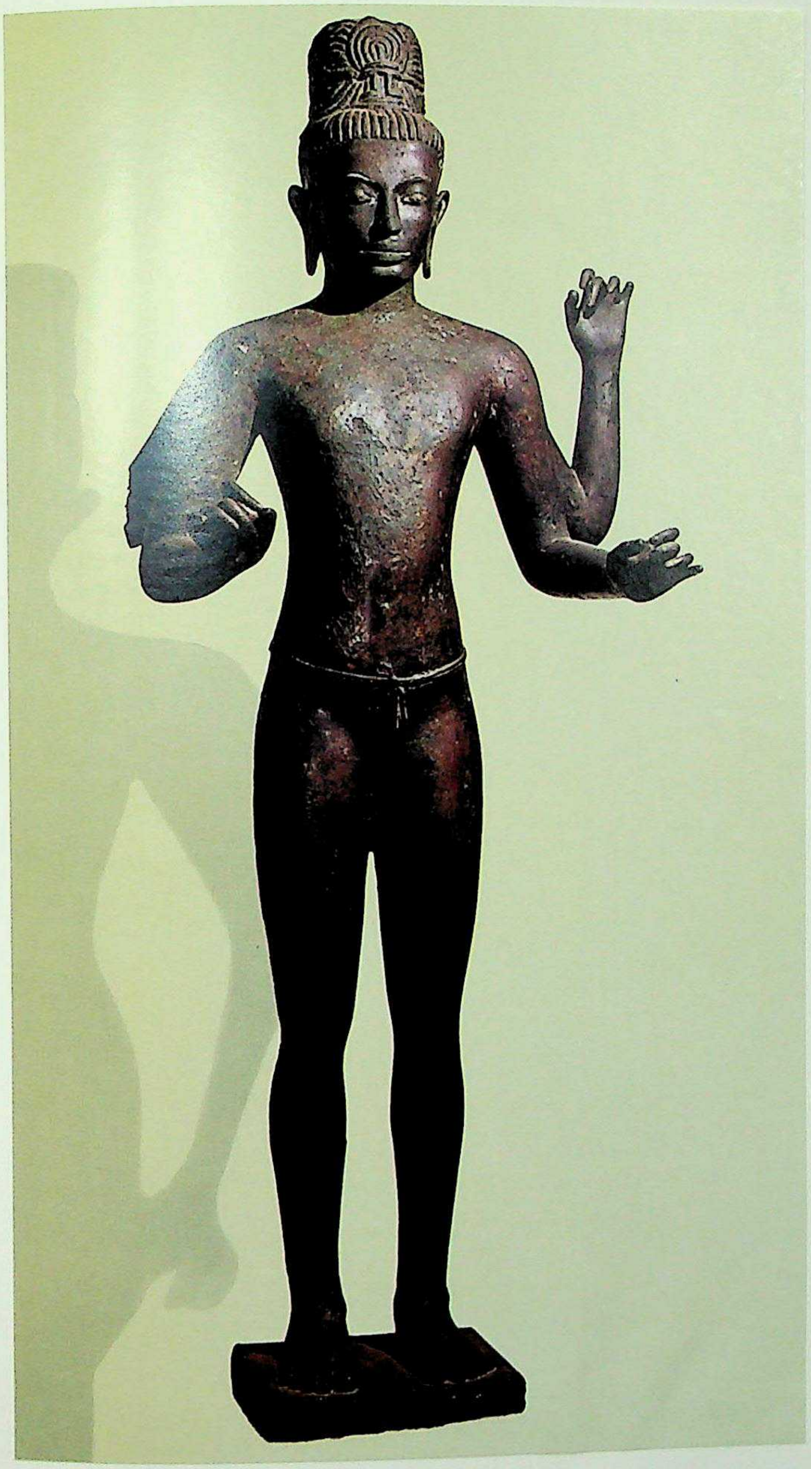
73 *Maitreya, National Museum, Bangkok*

Lopburi school than in Khmer art. Likewise, and especially when Khmer influence was at its height during the twelfth century and early thirteenth, one must note the part played by stucco sculptural decorations; their importance was obviously due to the mode of construction traditionally practiced in the region.

SCULPTURE OF THE SEVENTH TO NINTH CENTURIES

The oldest piece of Khmer or Khmer-type sculpture in Thailand is probably the large lintel fragment from the Chantaburi region, now preserved in the National Museum at Bangkok. This so-called lintel "with *makaras*" appears to be the most archaic variant of all the known lintels of this type,[27] probably even antedating those of Cambodia; one is tempted to connect it to the inscriptions of Iśānavarman I (in which the dates of 616-17 and 627 are met with) found in the same region. Comparable with it, though probably slightly later in date, are a lintel with similar features, now preserved in one of the Ubon monasteries, and another at Prasat Khao Noi in the region of Aranya Prathet. Presumably to the same period, at any rate to the first half of the seventh century, must be attributed the beautiful female figure (Plate 72) from the same region, now in the collection of Princess Chumbhot of Nagara Svarga, which we published not long ago, emphasizing its close kinship with the so-called "Sambor style" of pre-Angkorian art.[28]

Three other remarkable lintels may probably be assigned to the eighth century. With these, however, the dissimilarities between native Lopburi workshops and those of Cambodia proper become more apparent. The first two lintels belong, in their design, to the pre-Angkorian style of "Prei Kmeng", which arose about the middle of the seventh century and doubtless lasted throughout the eighth.[29] The earliest of these lintels seems to be the one from the Prachinburi region, whose outer consoles were adorned with crested *hamsas,* bird figures that are not to be found on contemporary Khmer lintels. The second comes from Prasat Phum Pon in Surin Province; it is now in the Archaeological Depository at Pimai, having recently been smashed with a hammer. It was a superb piece of sculpture, one of the finest pre-Angkorian lintels known; its leogryphs, facing one another at the extremities of an arch



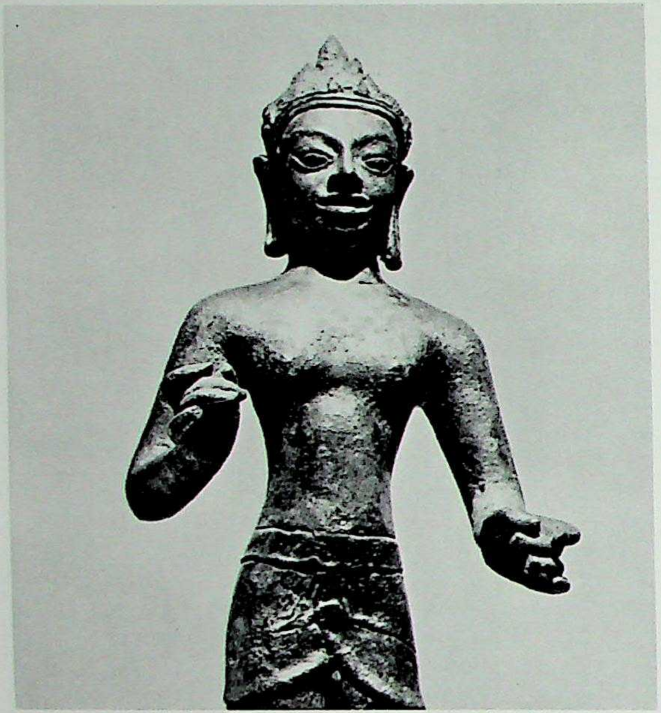
74 Bodhisattva, National Museum, Bangkok

adorned with three large medallions in high relief, are reminiscent in their iconography of those represented on the so-called " Buddha on Panasbati " stelae (cf., Plate 57). The last of these three lintels is the one re-erected at Prasat Tamnak Sai, representing Vishnu reclining amid ornamental foliage, with the birth of Brahmā depicted in the upper frieze; it differs radically from all the known Khmer compositions and would seem to be datable to the late-eighth century or the first half of the ninth.

A group of Mahāyāna bronzes, most of which were discovered during the 1960's at Ban Tahnot on the Korat Plateau and at Ban Fai and Prakon Chai in the province of Buriram, appear to take their place in a long period ranging approximately from the late-seventh to the mid-ninth century.[30] This rather large group is notably homogeneous, in spite of distinct differences in workmanship due to the long span of time over which they were made and also to their size, which ranges from about six inches to nearly eleven feet (the restored height of the Ban Tahnot Bodhisattva). In considering the origin of this group of bronzes, several recent writers have attached perhaps too much importance to a single hypothesis which we put forward when the fragments of the colossal Ban Tahnot image were discovered: the possibility of attributing it to the kingdom of Canāśa, whose activity on the Korat Plateau has been documented by several inscriptions that date from the end of the seventh century to the mid-tenth. In the present state of our knowledge, it seems risky indeed to attribute these bronzes to a kingdom of which we know extremely little; we cannot even be certain whether it ever extended to the southern part of the present-day province of Buriram, whence most of these images come. Executed in bronze or occasionally in an alloy of high silver content, they represent only the Buddha and the Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya Bodhisattvas, the latter recognizable by the *stūpa* figuring in his headdress (Plate 73), the former by the Jina Amitābha seated in the attitude of *samādhi,* also in his hair. The Buddhas, standing with both hands in the position of *vitarka mudrā,* are directly related to the Mōn tradition of Dvāravatī, as defined in Chapter IV. The Bodhisattvas, also standing, some slightly flexed, others more stiffly hieratic, represented with two or four arms, derive for the most part from pre-Angkorian art, especially from the " Kompong Prah " style (eighth century to early-ninth); they also betray a certain influence of the Śrīvijaya school.

Represented in the youthful aspect suitable to them, usually with a small moustache, nearly all these Bodhisattvas are entirely devoid of ornaments and are clad in the

77 *Buddha in Meditation, National Museum, Bangkok* ►

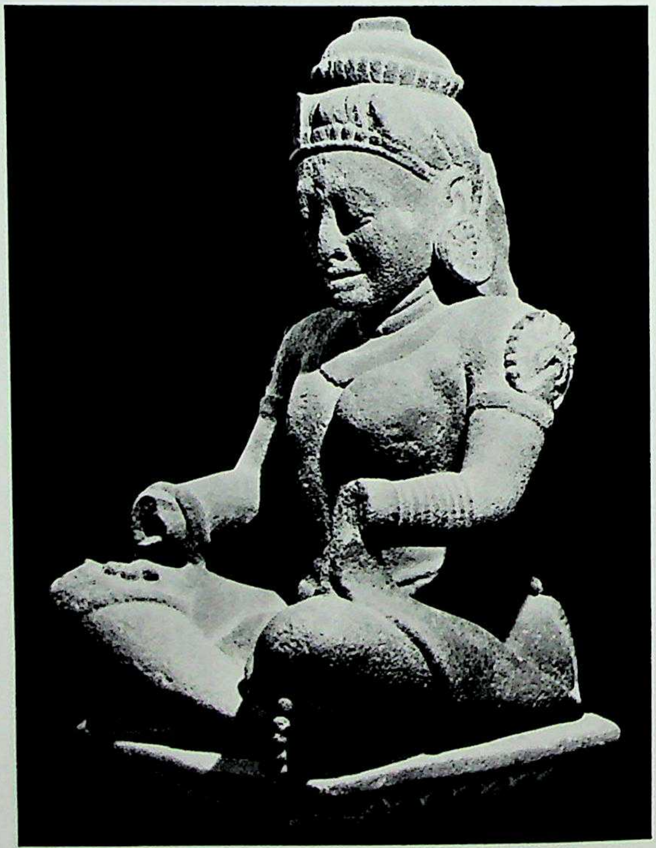


75 *Standing Male Divinity, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

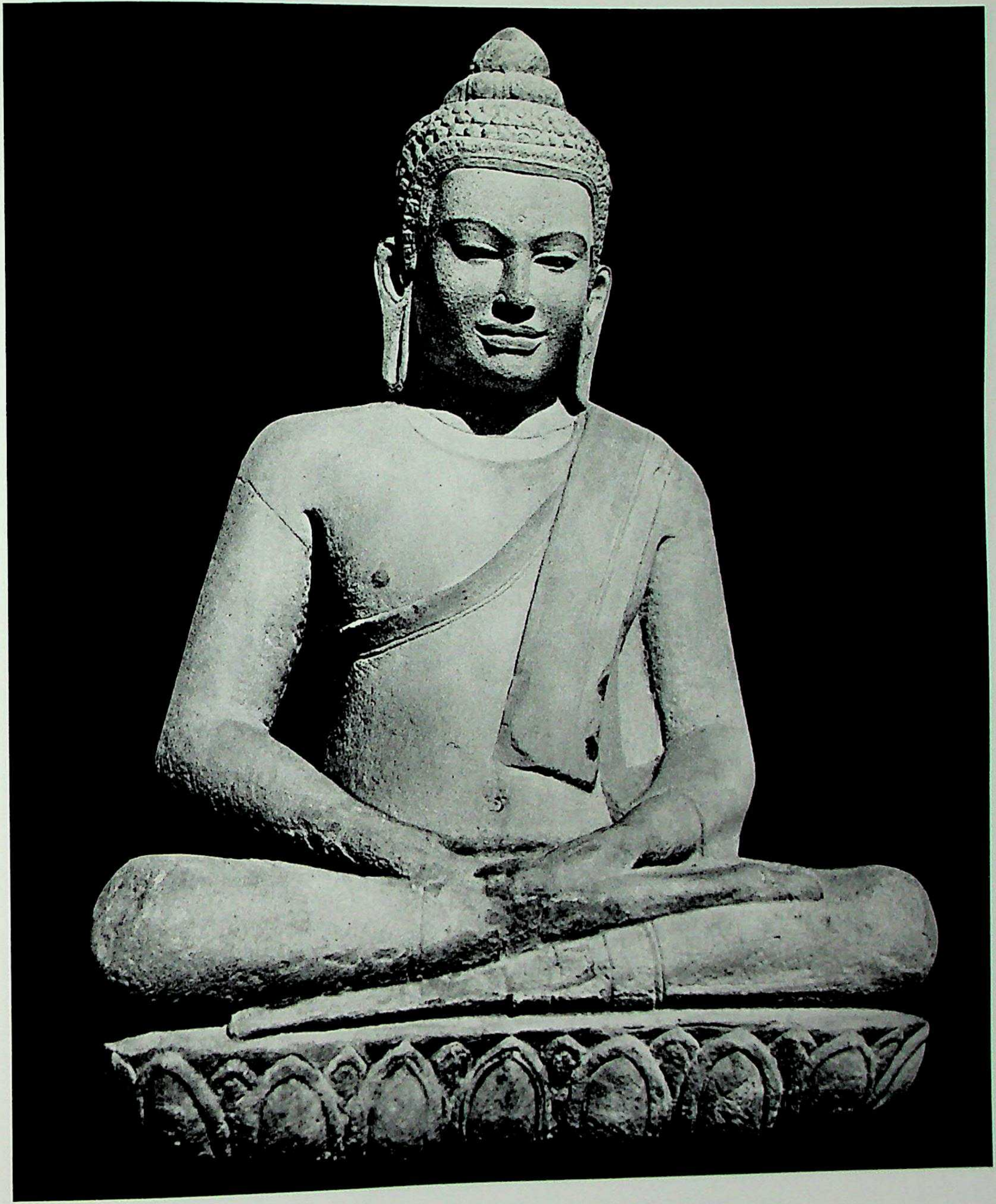
short dress of the ascetics (Plates 73-5), from whom they also borrow their voluminous chignon. We have shown previously that this hair style, made up of an elaborate scaffolding of looped and interlocking tresses, harks directly back to pre-Angkorian models and reflects an evolution leading to Angkorian forms; it also reveals the influence of the Śrīvijaya school, particularly of such images as the great eight-armed Avalokiteśvara from Chaiya (Plate 63). A few idols undoubtedly belonging to the same series wear a diadem adorned with small floral ornaments and a conical *mukuta* (Plate 75); these features, quite foreign to Khmer art, evoke even more strongly the styles of Indonesian art, particularly the tradition of central Java, and suggest a later date, possibly well into the ninth century.

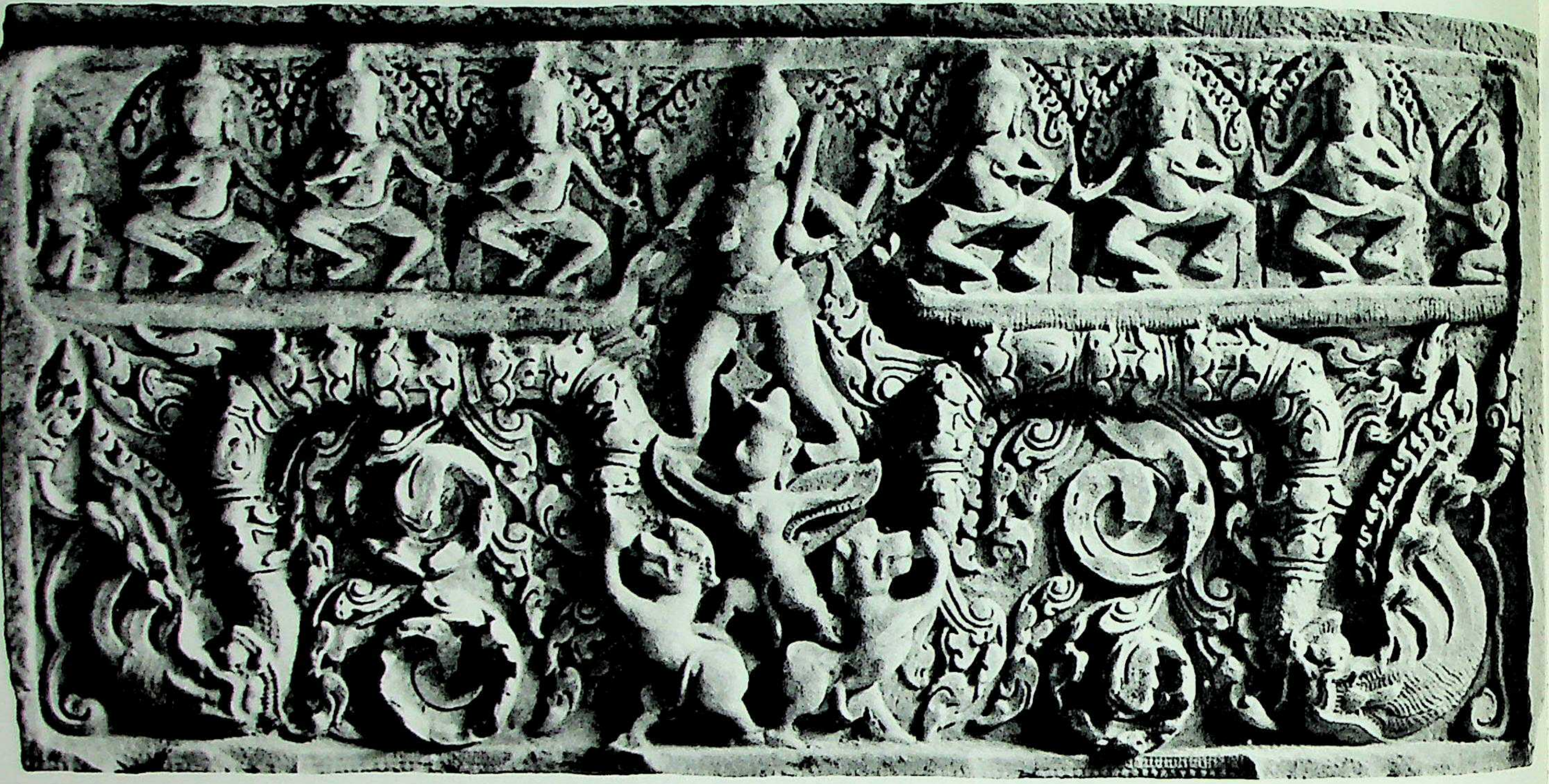
As against a group of several hundred idols with short garments, there are very few Bodhisattvas wearing a *paridhāna,* either full-length like the fine Maitreya in the Musée Guimet in Paris, or reaching to mid-calf as in several statuettes in the modest Cambodian series from Prasat Ak Yom, now in the Phnom Penh Museum. Whether or not these Mahāyāna images may be attributed to some independent kingdom, their beauty and the fine quality of the casting of many of them cannot be overlooked. Shedding new light on the importance of Mahāyāna in the central zone of Indochina prior to the tenth century and revealing close contacts between the cultures of Dvāravatī, Śrīvijaya, and pre-Angkorian Cambodia, they may be regarded as one of the most significant archaeological discoveries of the past few decades.

In contrast to this remarkable group of works, Brahmanic imagery appears to be practically nonexistent—a surprising fact in view of its prominence in the iconography of contemporary Cambodia. This would seem to imply radically different religious orientations in the two areas, borne out by the general dissimilarity between the regions north and south of the Dangrek mountains. Attributable perhaps to the art of this period is a curious statue of Ardhanārī (Plate 76), an androgynous representation of



76 *Ardhanārīśvara, National Museum, Bangkok*





78 *Decorative Lintel, Archaeological Depository, Pimai*

Śiva; discovered long ago at Ubon (?), it has been exceedingly difficult to classify as to school or tradition. The unusual posture of this figure, seated cross-legged in "tailor-fashion" occurs in a few Buddha statuettes attributed to the Dvāravatī school, and recurs sporadically in Buddha images of the third period of Lopburi. The headdress and bracelets, on the other hand, have no known parallels in Southeast Asia and render this statue something of an enigma, though it seems legitimate to attribute it to a period prior to the tenth century.

SCULPTURE OF THE TENTH TO EARLY-THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

It was during the apogee of Angkorian culture, from the tenth to the early-thirteenth centuries, that Khmer influence made itself most strongly felt on the Lopburi school. Indeed, during the reign of the Cambodian kings Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII, flourishing Khmer workshops arose in the extensive regions under their control. Political subjugation, however, never extended to the absolute subjection of Thai art to alien influences: even the most authentically Khmer monuments in Thailand reveal numerous instances where local sculptors continued to assert their originality. Since it would be impossible to cite here all works of artistic or iconographical interest that were made during the period, we shall confine ourselves to a few characteristic examples, demonstrating particular features which may distinguish them from or liken them to Angkorian sculpture.

Only a relatively small number of tenth-century works of sculpture have survived, and very little is known about the origin of many of them. It is clear from sites where the remains were found, however, that the Khmer people had been penetrating the Korat Plateau for nearly a hundred

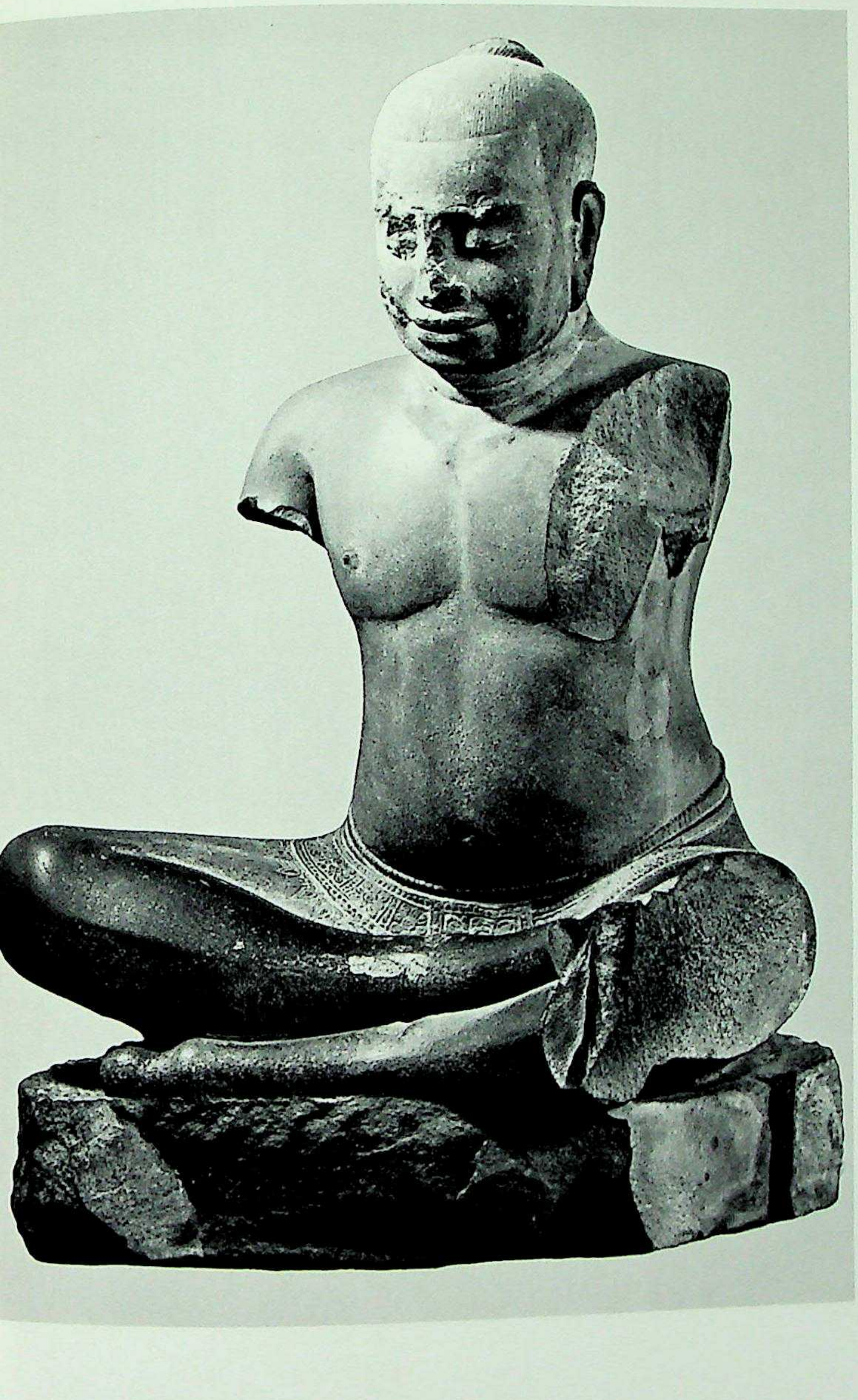
79 *Standing Adorned Buddha, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

years before the great westward expansion undertaken by Sūryavarman I during the first decades of the eleventh century.

The earliest extant Khmer piece in Thailand is doubtless a lintel recently discovered at Prasat Hin Wat Phanom Wan (or Prasat Phanom Wan), an important twelfth-century sanctuary that appears to have been built over an earlier foundation. This lintel in pink sandstone, datable from the style and attire of the figures to the early-tenth or possibly even the late-ninth century, is unusual both for its design and iconography. In the center, Vishnu sits astride a large Garuda clutching the tails of two three-headed *nāgas* whose hoods rise and spread out to the extremities of the lintel. On the undersides of their forcefully undulating bodies are the usual foliage scrolls; on their backs, dancing male figures and two curious female sphinxes. Still in the same region, the sculptures of Prasat Hin Non Ku and Prasat Hin Müang Khèk (or Khorakhapura), appear to belong to the art of the mid-tenth century and to be related to the Khmer style of Koh Ker.[31] The isolated figures, chiefly antefixes, are of rather crude workmanship; a similar clumsiness marks the carving of a pediment fragment representing Śiva and Umā riding the bull Nandin amid a procession of attendants. Prasat Hin Müang Khèk, however, has yielded several lintels of extremely fine workmanship. Akin to the Koh Ker style but treated in a different spirit, they give the same prominence to the central composition, tending to make it a lifelike tableau. Three of these lintels call for special mention. One, very close to the Koh Ker tradition, shows a large figure of Indra mounted on a three-headed elephant, rendered with great originality. Still more remarkable are the two other lintels: one represents Mahishāsuramardini overcoming the buffalo demon, the other the Three Steps of Vishnu (Trivikrama) in a well-balanced scene; the extremities of the latter lintel are occupied by the familiar Khmer motif of an elephant deity riding its own trunk, which ends in the body of a horse. To the art of the same period may also be assigned various bronzes. Some of them, like the recently published shop signs from the province of Buriram, are of interest as much for their rarity as for their beauty and technical excellence.[32]

The school of Lopburi appears at its least original in the eleventh century, perhaps simply because that was the moment when it came most directly under the influence of the official art of Angkor. Among many works evoking the Khmer style of the Baphuon, there are few of any great distinction. The most interesting and least slavish imitations of Khmer models are all too often of mediocre craftsmanship for the simple reason that they are the ones that were least affected by the Angkorian ascendancy. A few stelae from Lopburi, now in the National Museum in Bangkok, carved in limestones which, sometimes, are simply re-employed pillars of the Dvāravatī period, are more interesting for their iconography than for their workmanship. A rather large bronze statuette of Garuda brandishing two slender, single-hooded *nāgas* illustrates the same tendency. So does a rock relief at Tham Ngua Dèng in Nakhon Ratchasima Province that painstakingly but rather gracelessly represents Śiva and Umā on Nandin, accompanied by attendants and Śivaite saints or ascetics. Betraying an unmistakable decline from the Dvāravatī tradition (mentioned in Chapter IV), this relief may perhaps be attributed to the late-eleventh century. Amid a group of works often distinguishable from contemporary Khmer statuary only by their mediocrity, a bronze female torso, now in the National Museum in Bangkok, stands out for its quality and its lively, impertinent expression; more than a foot in height and broken off at hip level, the figure wears an unusual plaited coiffure and a skirt whose pleating is unknown at Angkor.[33]

Following a marked decline of originality during the eleventh century, the Lopburi school enjoyed a remarkable flowering during the reign of Sūryavarman II (1113-c. 1145). It was at this time that decorative sculpture surpassed statuary in inventiveness and technical excellence. Most of the lintels of the period corresponding to the Khmer style of Angkor Wat (first half of the twelfth century) achieve a beauty and originality, together with a richness of both decoration and iconography, which would entitle them to long and exhaustive study. As a precautionary measure, a good many of these lintels have been assembled during the past few years in the Archaeological Depository at Pimai (e.g., Plate 78). Seen together, they offer eloquent testimony to the inventiveness of the Lopburi sculptors: lintels with astonishing designs of continuous or tiered figure scenes; skillful compositions thronged with figures in lively—even violent—movement that is harmoniously choreographed; supple, delicately rhythmical processions; imposing hieratic figures; intricate plant designs that do not interfere with the central composition of the lintel, but executed with a matchless wealth of decoration. Among the finest lintels of this period are those of the temple of Pimai. The temple has been recently rebuilt in accordance with the methods used by the Administration of the Conservation of the Monuments of Angkor, and these lintels, replaced *in situ*, are most remarkable for their abundance of iconographical themes



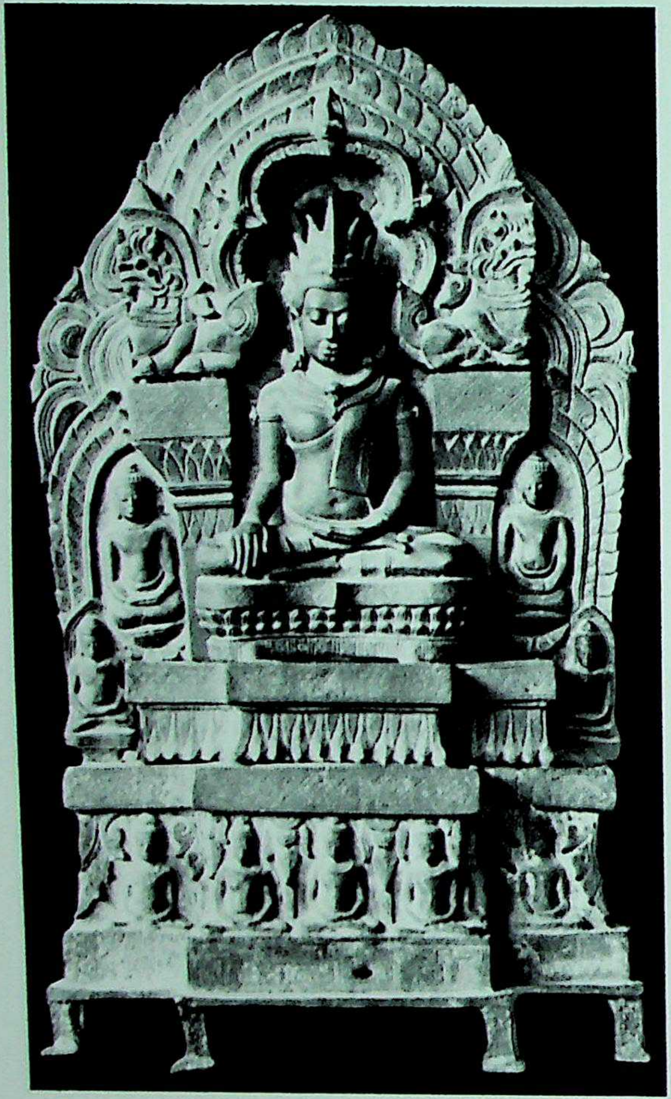
80 *Seated Figure Presumed to Portray Jayavarman VII, National Museum, Bangkok*

taken from Mahāyāna tales or from the *Rāmāyana*. Other superb examples are the lintels of Prasat Khao Phanom Rung in Buriram Province, those of Prasat Kamphèng Yai in Sisaket Province, and those of Prasat Si Khara Phum in Surin Province, perhaps the finest of the series with plant designs and a large central figure. The carved pilasters of these monuments are no less remarkable, and the compositions adorning their base at Prasat Khao Phanom Rung and Prasat Si Khara Phum merit special attention.

The statuary of the same period, remaining too close perhaps to Angkorian models, is generally of lesser quality. Later at Sukhothai, however, this same influence gave rise to images whose style, unexampled in Cambodia, happens paradoxically to be one that best expresses the art tendencies of Angkor Wat (e.g., Plate 89). About the middle of the twelfth century, the images of the Buddha sheltered by the *Nāga*—a theme which arose in the Dvāravatī period but achieved exceptional prominence in Angkorian art—acquired a serenity and mildness which may be considered the hallmark of the Lopburi school (e.g., Plate 18). At the same time appeared bronze images of the Buddha in royal attire, standing with both hands raised in the gesture of dispelling fear or *abhaya mudrā* (Plate 79). Their hieratic bearing, rich ornaments, and drapery with decorated belt and frontal flap, link them to models supplied by the Pimai lintels. Known also in Cambodia, such figures stand at the head of a long line of adorned and crowned Buddhas that continues down to the present day. Associated with these bronze statues are various items used during cult rituals (e.g., Plate 29); from the twelfth century on, such pieces assumed a real importance in Lopburi metalwork without, however, differing much from Angkorian examples.

Certain bronze figures of the same style but with some aberrant features, often distinguished by the extreme intricacy of the attire, should perhaps be attributed to the short-lived period of Lopburi independence that followed the reign of Sūryavarman II. But the various influences which, from the late-twelfth century on, impinged on the Lopburi school complicate the problem of its evolution to such an extent that it is still very difficult to chart even the main lines.

With the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-c. 1218), the Khmer hegemony over eastern Thailand was reasserted and so widely extended that almost all that still remained of local traditions disappeared before the onslaught of Angkorian influence. Indigenous workshops entered a long period of eclipse which resulted ultimately in cutting them off from their native artistic heritage. That this break was so thorough may be explained by the very nature of



81 *Maravijaya Buddha on an Altar, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok*

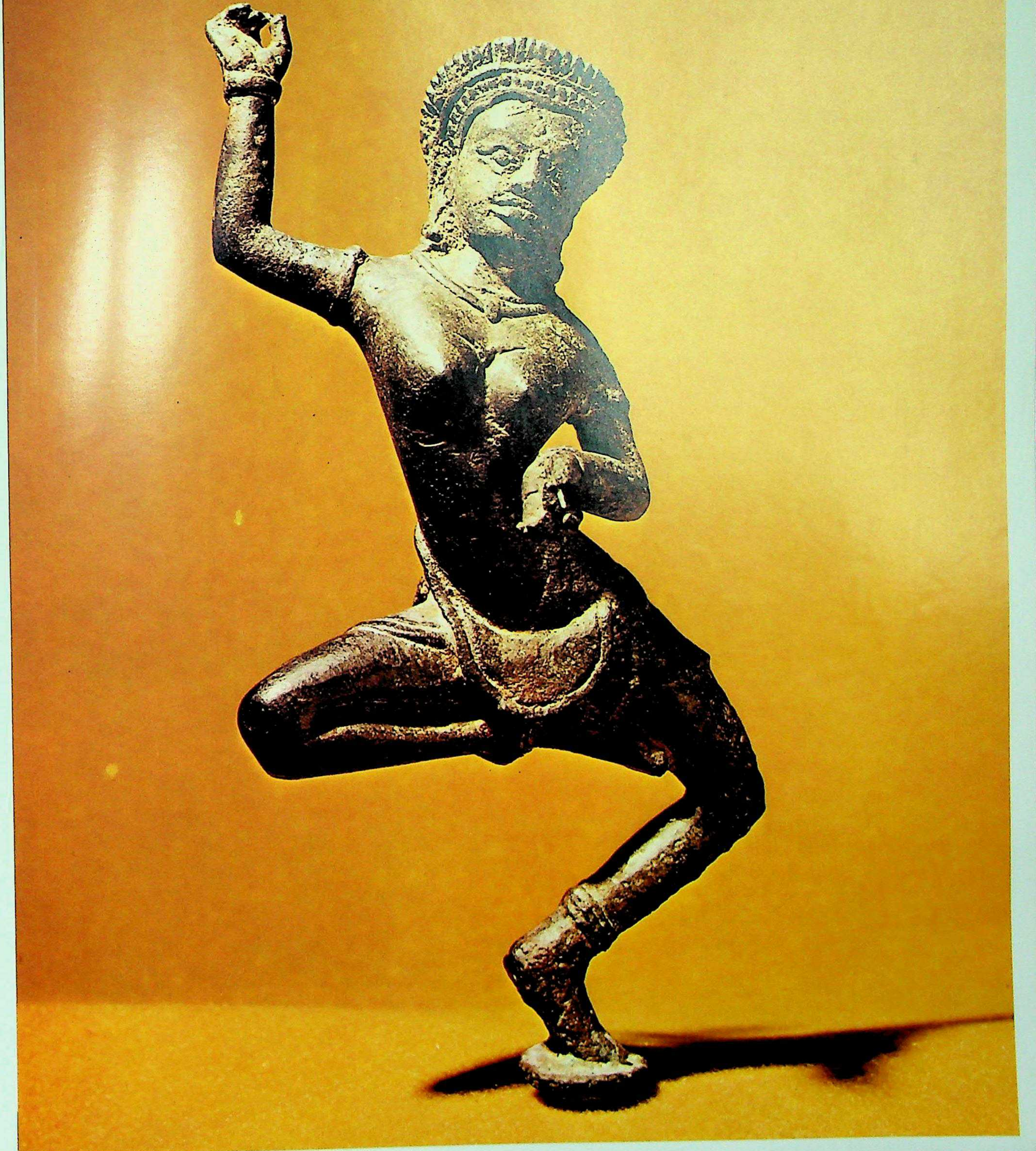
Jayavarman's enterprise, and one of its later, and indirect, effects was the ease with which the Thai schools could rise less than a century later. Its politico-religious context went to determine the aspects assumed by Khmer expansion in the regions brought under control. Inspired by the precedents of a legendary past defining the "Universal Monarch", and intent on establishing his power and authority firmly in the conquered area by basing them on good works and religious foundations, the ruler made a point, throughout the full extent of his new empire, of establishing temples, rest houses and hospitals erected on the models supplied by the metropolis.

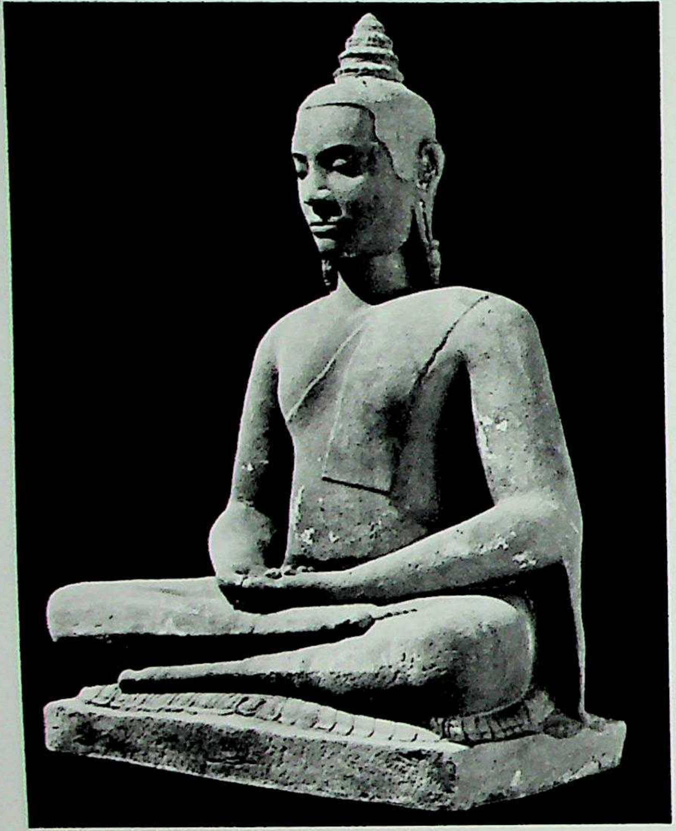
Such a program meant, of course, that official art was promoted to the detriment of local traditions. But in Thailand the change was carried out in particularly favorable circumstances. For while Brahmanism had hitherto formed the mainstay of the Angkorian monarchy, Jayavarman VII now chose to rebuild the empire on the basis of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Mahāyāna had maintained itself in certain active and important religious centers, at least in the Pimai region, and it could be implanted easily, if not always very deeply, in regions where Buddhism had developed ancient roots. Nevertheless, the art of the period corresponding to the reign of Jayavarman VII is the least original in the whole of the Lopburi school, a fact which did not, however, prevent its exerting a strong and enduring influence on the subsequent evolution of sculpture.

The statuary of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries is usually indistinguishable from that of the so-called Bayon style, which flourished at that time in Cambodia and in annexed Champa.[34] In decorative sculpture, very little remained of the qualities that had made the Lopburi school outstanding half a century earlier. Built in haste, usually in laterite, with lintels and colonettes carved from stereotyped patterns that never varied, the monuments erected during Jayavarman's reign and often left unfinished, offered no scope for sculpture of any refinement. On the other hand, the necessity of covering surfaces with a stucco coating gave the workshops of Thailand an opportunity to revive the ancient tradition of modeled stucco decorations. Very little of them survives from the time of Jayavarman VII, such decorations having been repeatedly restored or remade in the course of subsequent centuries. A few traces—far fewer now than even twenty years ago—do remain among the decorations (restored three or four times, at least) of Prasat Pra Prang Sam Yot at Lopburi, and the spirited, lively reliefs and *yaksha* masks reveal a power never again attained by later workshops.

Apart from these stuccos, now so rare, the sculpture of this period is represented only by bronze and sandstone statues and by cult furniture; highly varied and sometimes of exceptional beauty, it differs neither in style nor in iconography (Plate 29) from works of the Bayon style. The workmanship of the larger statues varies with their origin, with roughly carved works generally deemed adequate for lesser sites or secondary monuments. The finer statues,

82 *Dancing Yoginī, National Museum, Bangkok*





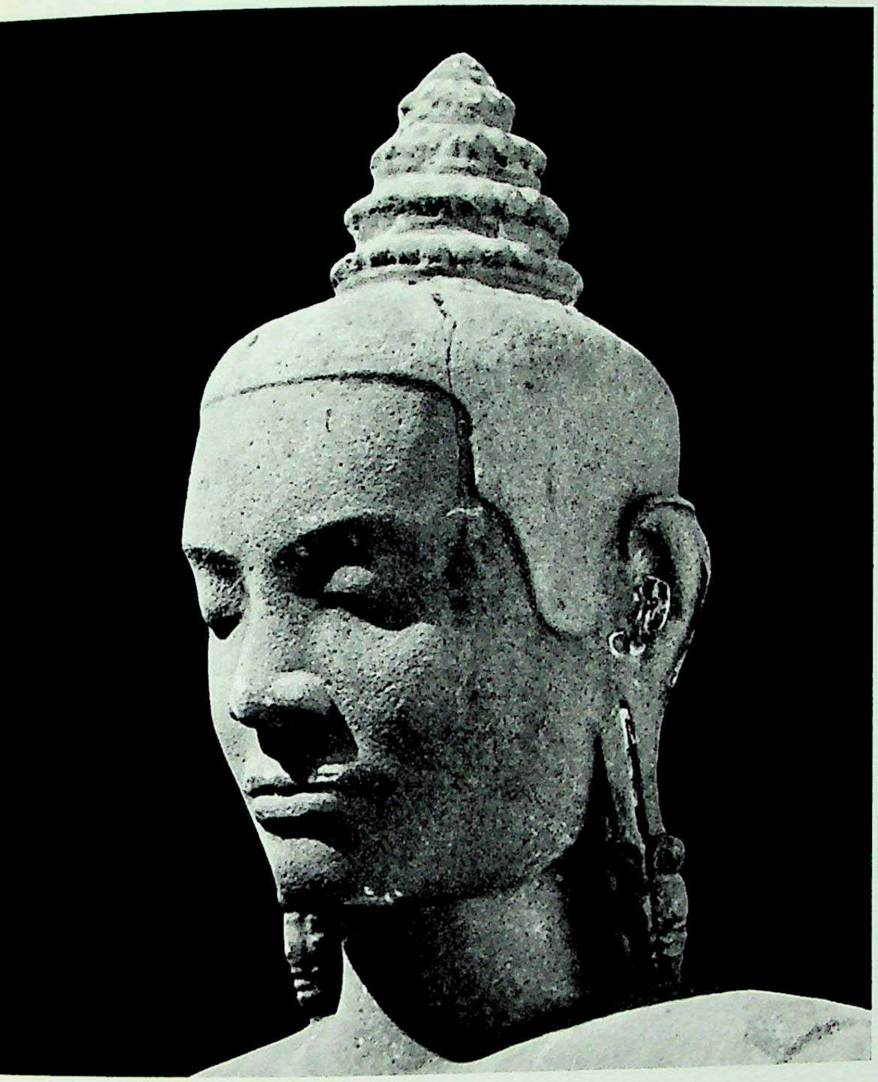
83 Buddha in Meditation, National Museum, Ayuthya

however, can rank easily with the best of Angkor. Among these are the presumed portrait of Jayavarman VII from Pimai (Plate 80), the large Buddha recently discovered at Wat Pra Pai Luang (possibly one of the images of the Jayabuddhamahānātha referred to in inscriptions of this reign), and a Buddha sheltered by the *Nāga* from Prasat Kamphèng Yai. For the rest, the iconography of the Lopburi school is strictly the same as that of Angkor: the same Avalokiteśvaras, "radiating" or seated against stelae; the same images of Vajrasattva or of the Buddha sheltered by the *Nagā*; the same terrifying or benevolent guardian deities (*dvārapālas*). However, owing no doubt to a survival of the Dvāravatī tradition, images of the standing Buddha are more common than in the art of Angkor. A good example is the statue that formerly occupied the central sanctuary at Pimai and is now in the Archaeological Depository there. It combines both attitude and attire of Dvāravatī statuary with the Bayon tradition, to which it owes its meditative, smiling face, the large flat curls of its coiffure, and the broad decorated belt and long frontal flap of its robe. Unfortunately, since the hands have been broken off there is no clue to the image's gesture.

The bronze idols, generally rather small in size, are stylistically quite similar to those of Cambodia (e.g., Plate 82). They do, however, reveal a much richer Mahāyāna or even Tantric iconography that may be accounted for in two ways. First, the eastern provinces may have preserved their artistic heritage more successfully, for they generally kept aloof from the political upheavals of the Menam Plain and the wars that so often ravaged the provinces. Secondly, Pimai, as an important Mahāyāna center, may also have promoted the activity of bronze-casters in a region where the workshops managed to retain their vitality, if not always their technical skill. Nor can one rule out the possibility that these workshops may have kept up certain traditions of the Angkor Wat style either simply out of habit or in response to Brahmanic patronage. Certainly, the resulting statuary reveals a degree of borrowing from the two styles that can often be disconcerting. Only in rare cases, however, can precise dates be given to works of these ateliers: from the latter half of the thirteenth century on, the school generalized its tendency to borrow from different sources and took on an increasingly eclectic and composite character.

Not much more need be mentioned about the items of religious furniture that has not already been said about the images themselves. Comparable in variety, form, and decoration to similar items in Cambodia, they always display the same excellent workmanship. It is worthwhile, however, to call attention to the exceptional beauty and importance of certain pieces. The large Garudas in the Bangkok National Museum (Plate 85), originally mounted atop poles, represent the finest achievement of the bronze-casters working in the Bayon style. A few other pieces have great historical significance: the group discovered in 1966 at Dong Si Maha Pot, for example, bear inscriptions that provide valuable documentary information about the sites.[35]

This brief survey of the sculpture of the Lopburi school in the time of Jayavarman VII would not be complete without some mention of the votive tablets. After playing what was apparently an insignificant role in the school until the twelfth century, they then came into vogue, assuming far greater importance than in Cambodia. This was due no doubt to their continued use during earlier periods in the regions destined to constitute modern Thailand. Whatever the cause, the popularity of the *Pra Pim* tablets gave rise to a great variety of types, generally



83-a Head of the Buddha (detail of Plate 83)

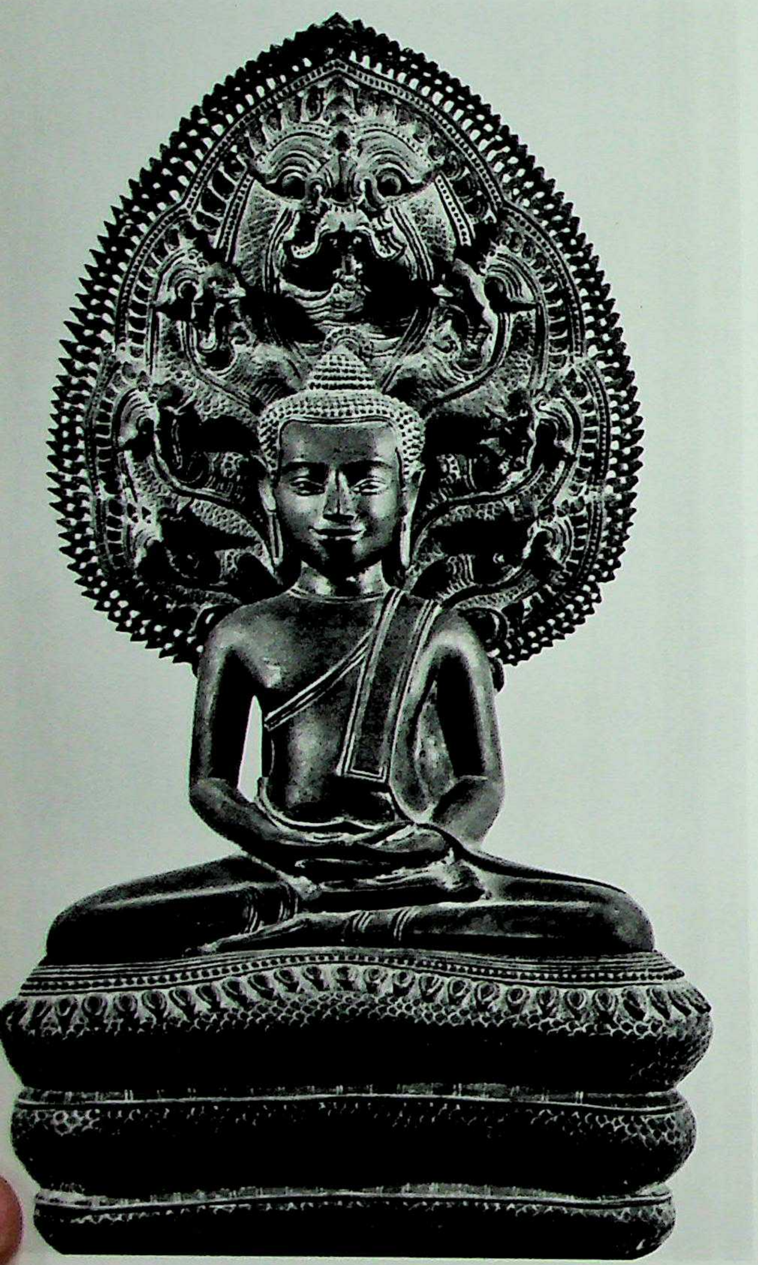
of Mahāyāna inspiration, that were remarkable for their excellence of design and execution; some of them represent veritable *mandalas* of great complexity.[36]

LOPBURI SCULPTURE DURING THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

When the influence of Angkor waned, the Lopburi school regained its earlier strength and originality. As in the pre-Angkorian period, the Lopburi genius lay in the combination of several styles. Two major tendencies may be singled out, functioning contemporaneously rather than successively and largely resulting no doubt from the different religious strains and orientations manifested at the time. The first, a direct extension of the Bayon style, is represented by bronze and sandstone images and appears to have been inspired primarily by Mahāyāna Buddhism, although Brahmanic idols in bronze were also made in fairly large numbers; in the eastern provinces, in fact, Brahmanic figures following Angkorian models continued to be produced for several centuries. The second type of sculpture involved Buddhist patronage exclusively, and shows the continuing influence, in varying degrees, of the Bayon style. Its major innovation is the incorporation of Pāla-Sena iconography, although it is impossible to be certain whether the resulting imagery is of Mahāyāna or, as seems more likely, of Theravāda inspiration. The Pāla-Sena contribution, most evident in the crowned images of the Buddha (Plates 19, 81), was combined with various other iconographical features that sometimes occur alone. Although less well characterized, they invite comparisons with the so-called "U Thong Style A". It should be pointed out here that Cambodian sculpture shows practically no sign of these different tendencies, not even those that most directly related to the Bayon style.

Decorative sculpture, represented only by a few stuccos, seems not to have been affected by any of the tendencies described above. The best examples, provided by the *prang* of Wat Pra Ratana Si Maha That at Lopburi (Plate 4), reveal a direct continuation of the Bayon style. At most, one may note an evolution of plant designs towards slenderer, more spirited forms with sharper outlines. Anticipating the trends of the Ayuthya style, the same spirit often underlies the decoration of late-Lopburi bronze pedestals (Plate 86) and back-frames of statues.

The statuary derived from the Bayon style may, as indicated above, be either Buddhist or Brahmanic. Curiously, the former disappeared around the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth, leaving no traces upon the subsequent evolution of styles. The influence of Brahmanic images, on the contrary, was enduring. Sculptors representing the non-Buddhist deities during the Ayuthya period turned primarily to Angkor for their models. Furthermore, in the eastern provinces, sheer routine and the lack of any fresh impetus led to the survival of the ancient traditions: sandstone sculpture preserved all its importance and large images of the Buddha, usually sheltered by the *Nāga*, continued to be produced in great numbers. The most common type is that



84 Buddha Sheltered by the Naga, Collection of M. C. Piya Rangsit and M. C. Sanidprayurasakti Rangsit, Bangkok

of a Buddha without ornaments or wearing only earrings, clad in a robe that leaves the right shoulder exposed, with a long rectangular flap falling over the right side of the breast (Plate 83). The head of these images is generally devoid of curls, almost as though it were bald, and its *ushnīsha* is represented as a kind of conical *mukuta* with three or four tiers of lotus petals. The faces with closed eyes adhere closely to the meditative expression of the Bayon style but betray a rather pronounced degeneration: the lower jaw is usually too heavy and the chin either too broad or too prominent. Bronzes of the same group are much more conservative in their design. Maintaining the iconography worked out prior to the Bayon style, they continue to represent the Buddha in the same two aspects, both adorned: seated beneath the *Nāga's* sheltering hood or standing with both hands in the gesture of *abhaya mudrā* or, more rarely, of *vitarka mudrā*. Though stylistically they are little changed, various small features indicate a certain evolution. Bronze Buddhas sheltered by the *Nāga* wear the same robe as the stone images, but both arms appear abnormally bare, as so often in the style of Angkor Wat. The adornments include spear-shaped ornaments that have become more highly developed and more numerous than ever before; the *mukuta* shows the same stepped design as the *ushnīsha* of the sandstone statues; the many-headed hood of the *Nāga* is enriched with an ornate spear-shaped border (Plate 84). The standing Buddhas are less characterized, and once again it is the adornment, the sharply detailed decoration of belt and frontal flap, that mark the evolution of the style. Of the Bodhisattva statuettes, almost none can properly be included in the present group, so close do they remain to the Bayon style. Avalokiteśvara, on the other hand, remains fairly well represented in large-size statuary, which show the same degeneration in aesthetic quality as the late-Lopburi images of the Buddha.

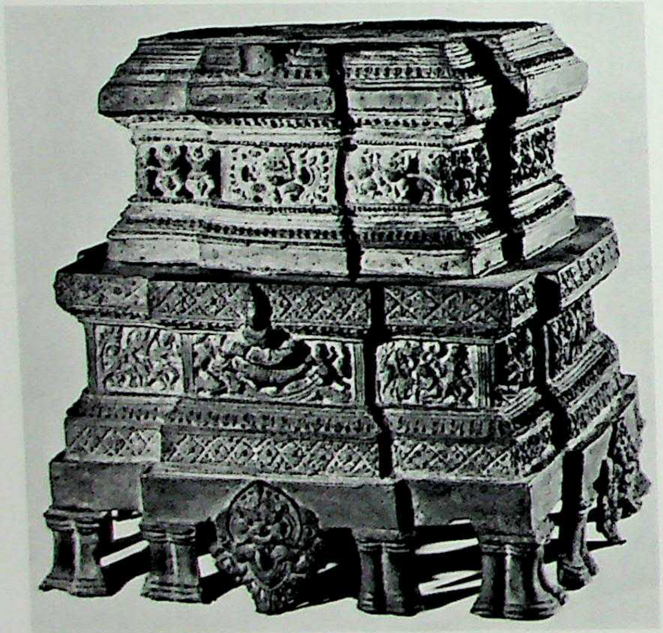
Brahmanic idols seem to have been executed only in bronze. Sometimes of fairly good size, they are often distinguished by the quality of their workmanship, the abundance and intricacy of their ornaments and carefully detailed attire, and by the rather affected mildness of mien that sometimes recalls the faces of the Buddhas with Pāla-Sena iconography. Brahmanic deities almost never represented in earlier periods appear frequently in the statuary of the time; most prominent among them are Brahmā, Viśvakarman (Plate 88), and Vishnu shown in unusual aspects (Plate 87).

As noted above, the Buddha images illustrating the second tendency frequently combined new elements with the Bayon tradition. Although true to a lesser extent for the sandstone statues (Plate 83), it is chiefly the bronzes that exemplify the new, eclectic ideal that was never to

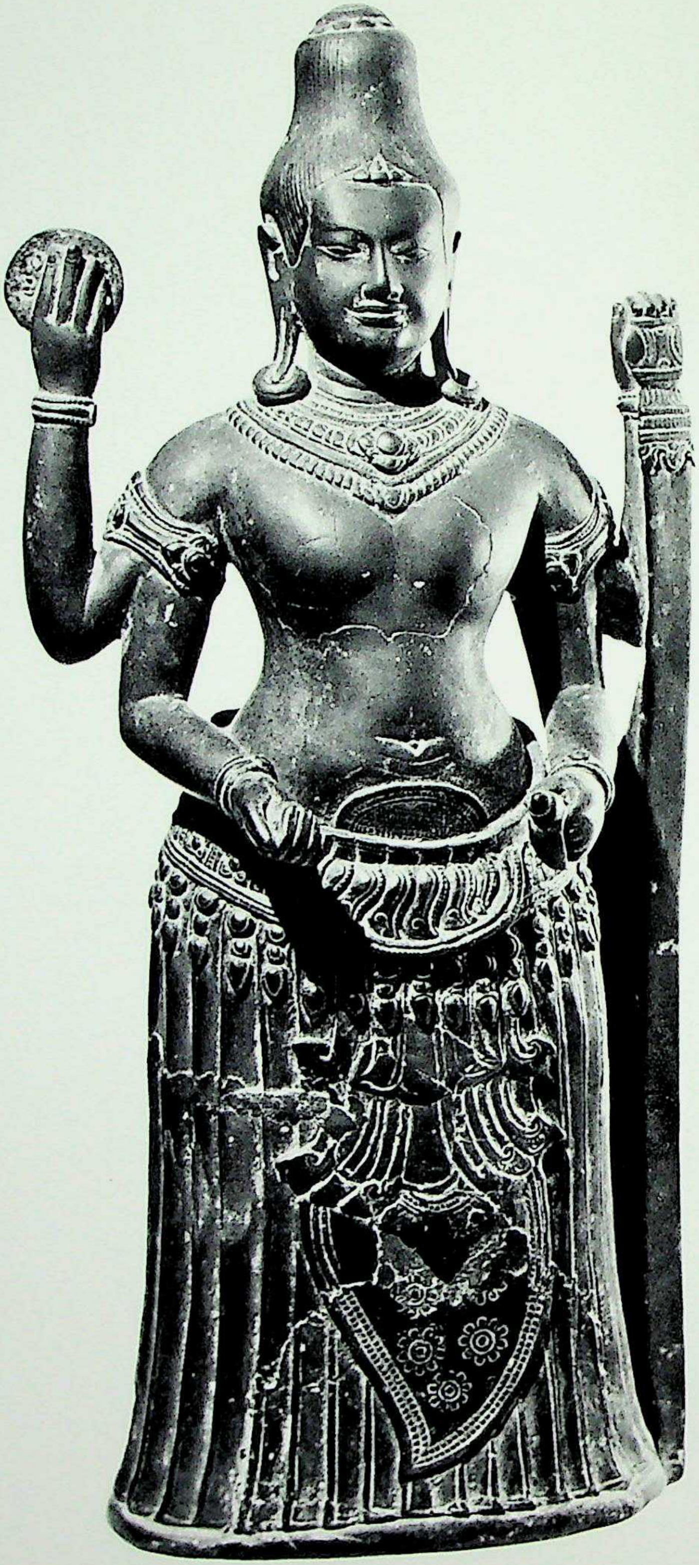
85 Garuda, National Museum, Bangkok

become firmly established outside the Lopburi school. Most characteristic are the Buddhas in regal attire, standing in the same attitudes as before or seated, taking the Earth to witness, in the posture of the *Māravijaya* (Plates 19, 81). Their crowns with tall triangular fleurons, set in the pattern of a pointed arch, have long pendants falling over the shoulders behind the ears, from whose lobes hang ornaments very different from those of Khmer statuary. Dressed like those of the series most directly influenced by the Bayon style, these images owe certain features to contacts with the Pāla-Sena tradition. Represented by standing statuettes found both in the Menam Plain and in the region of Lamphun (Haripuñjaya), which are obviously imported though on occasion copied closely, this tradition is characterized by its high diadems with large rectangular fleurons and long pendants, which occur over an area extending from Bengal and Bihar to Pagan.

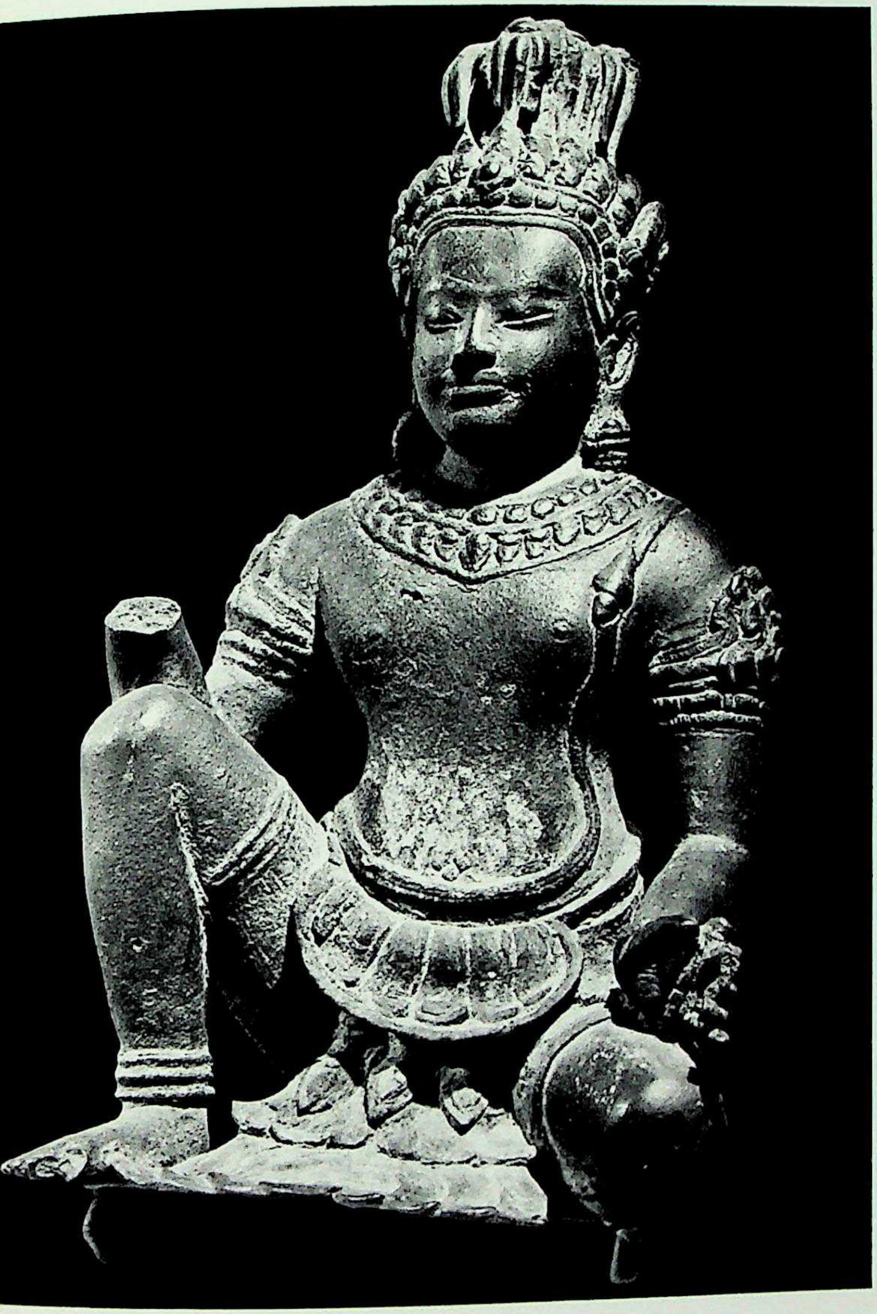
Māravijaya Buddhas of the Lopburi school are often associated with other Buddha figures in the attitude of *samādhi* and lacking ornaments. Having an *ushnīsha* rather similar to that of the Buddhas of the first series but with a larger, smooth conical finial, they are distinguished from them primarily by their curly hair. Certain of these seated images are treated singly, some seated in the attitude of



86 Pedestal, Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok



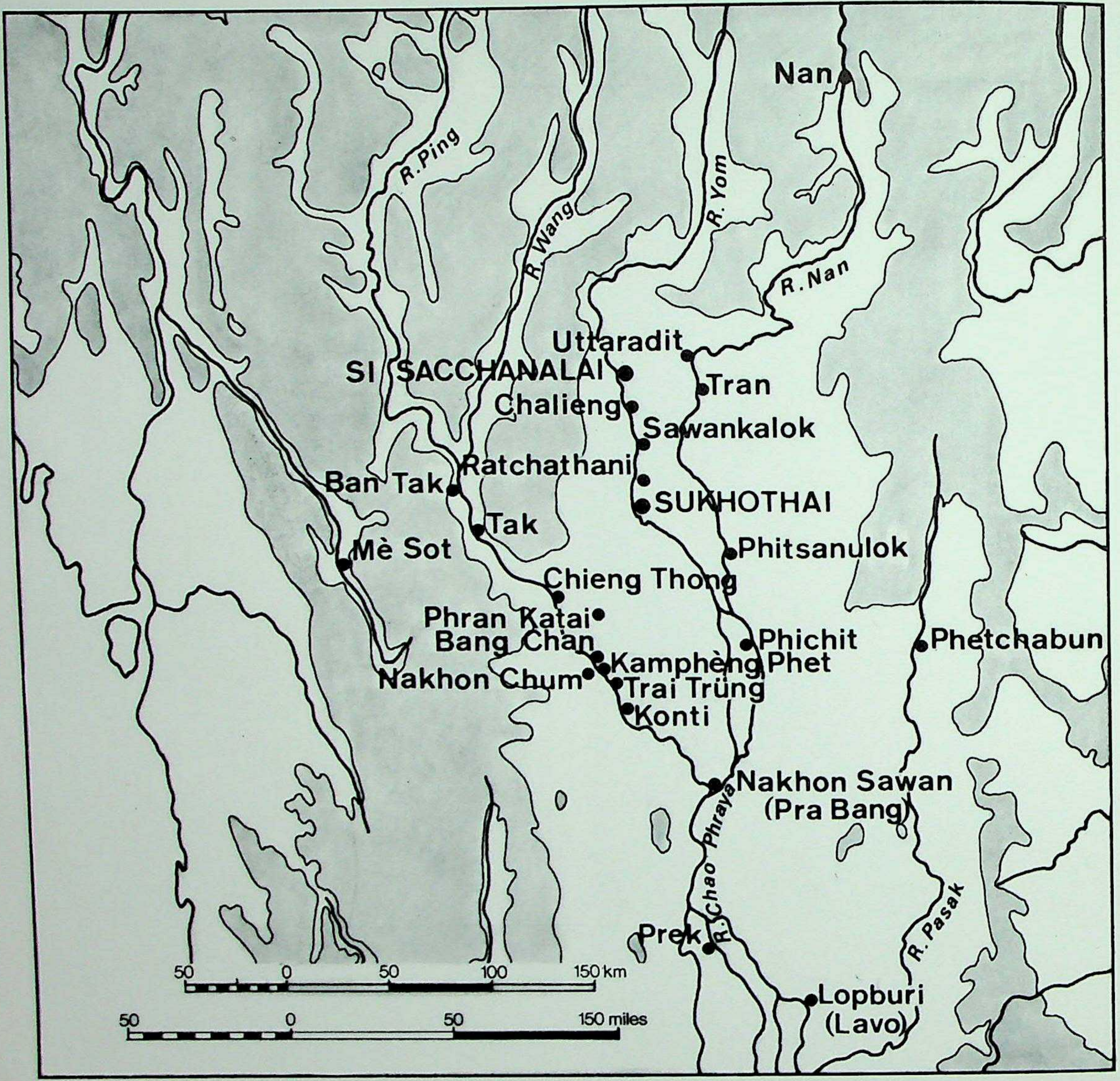
87 Vishnu, National Museum, Bangkok



meditation, others in *Māravijaya*. The robe sometimes covers both shoulders, and some of the figures are seated in a peculiar cross-legged position that is rather unusual for Buddha images but occasionally occurs, nevertheless, as early as the Dvāravatī period (as attested by a statuette from the region of Uttaradit, now in the National Museum in Bangkok). These unadorned images, which in some respects evoke the "Style A" statues of U Thong, may also be compared with works of the school of Haripuñjaya in its later phase (see Chapter VIII). It should be noted that the same iconography inspired a number of sandstone statues; although they are of uneven workmanship, some are imbued with a serene mildness and are authentic, original masterpieces (e.g., Plate 77) that owe nothing to the Bayon tradition. To this same series belong some standing statuettes which, while keeping the form of attire inherited from the Dvāravatī school, perform a new gesture, one apparently borrowed from the Haripuñjaya tradition: the left arm hangs naturally, but the right hand is held in front of the chest with its palm turned up and outward in the *abhaya mudrā* symbolizing fearlessness.

A survey of the last phase of the Lopburi school,[37] would be incomplete without some mention of the votive *stūpas* and bronze pedestals that are so characteristic of the art of this period. The *stūpas* (e.g., Plate 27) are highly varied in type; frequently their high base is adorned on all sides with a frieze of tiny Buddha images. The small *stūpas* are reminiscent in form of actual monuments, such as certain *stūpas* of Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat at Lopburi. The pedestals (e.g., Plate 86) are covered with lavishly carved narrations of great moments in the life of the historical Buddha, *Jātaka* stories, and passages from the Brahmanic epics and other scriptures. To do them justice, each of these pedestals would call for lengthy commentary and explication. So fascinating is their content and so skilled the workmanship of these bronze objects that it is regrettable that they must be accorded so brief a discussion here.

88 Viśvakarman, National Museum, Bangkok


Nan
R. Ping
R. Wang
R. Yom
R. Nan
Uttaradit
SI SACCHANALAI
Tran
Chalieng
Sawankalok
Ratchathani
Ban Tak
SUKHOTHAI
Tak
Mè Sot
Phitsanulok
Chieng Thong
Phran Katai
Bang Chan
Phichit
Phetchabun
Kamphèng Phet
Nakhon Chum
Trai Trüng
Konti
Nakhon Sawan
(Pra Bang)
R. Chao Phraya
Prek
R. Pasak
Lopburi
(Lavo)
50
0
50
100
150 km
50
0
50
150 miles

Map IV : The Kingdom of Sukhothai

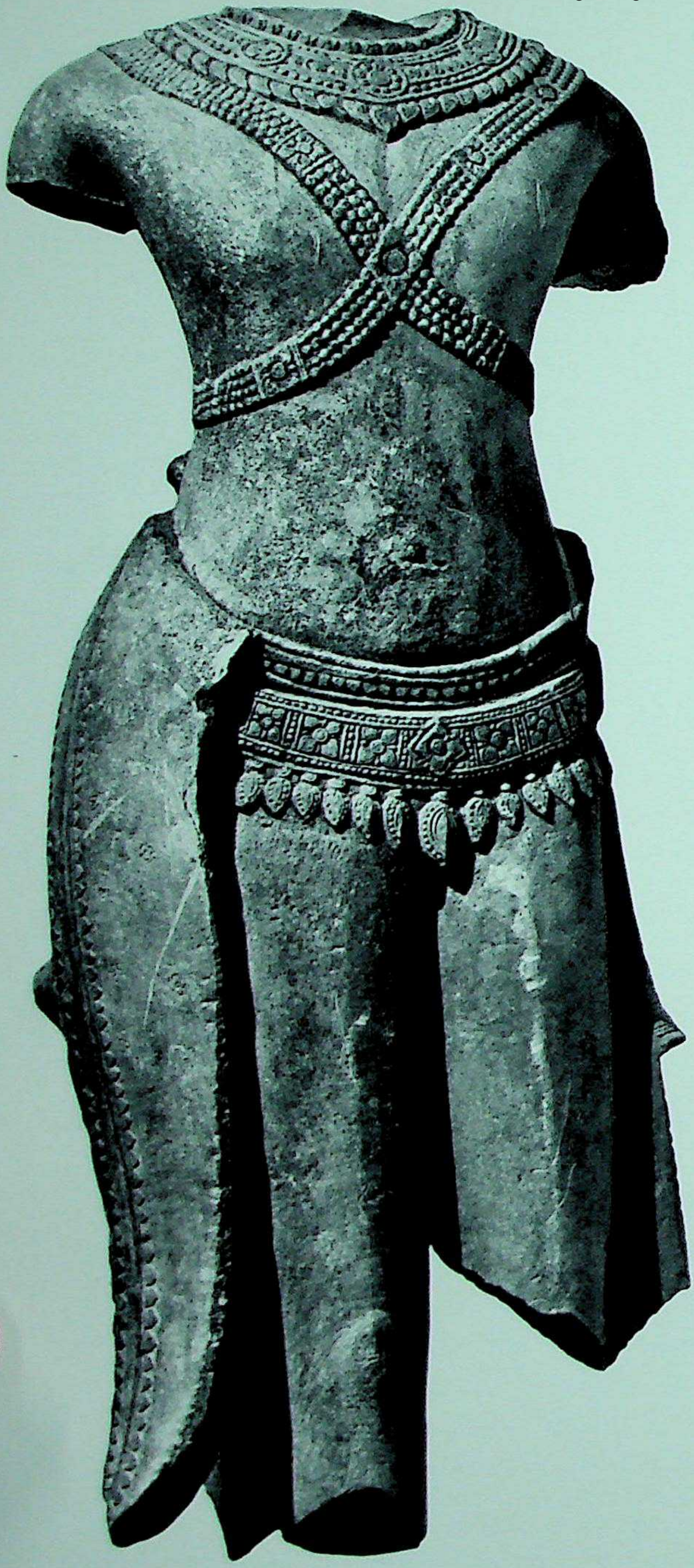
VII THE SUKHOTHAI SCHOOL

Thai art, in its narrowest definition, may be said to have begun with the Sukhothai school.[38] Following the working hypotheses of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, most Thai scholars place the Chieng Sèn school (or Lan Na school) discussed in the following chapter, before that of Sukhothai. The reverse order has been adopted in this book because documentary evidence makes available fairly accurate chronological guidelines for the origins of the Sukhothai school, while the dating of the Chieng Sèn or Lan Na school still depends largely on legends and on theories lacking factual verification.

Arising probably in about the middle of the thirteenth century the Sukhothai school developed in a region which had hitherto shown few signs of artistic activity. Of the two earliest statues found in the area (c. seventh-ninth centuries, one in the Nakhon Pathom Museum, the other in the Sukhothai Museum), neither appears to have been carved in the region. One is unmistakably a product of the Dvāravatī school (Plate 33); the other is most reasonably attributed to Śrīvijaya. These probably served originally as palladia in towns that were brought under the control of Rāma Kamhèng in the late thirteenth century. Set up there, they became the pledges of subjection, in accordance with a system as well attested in Thailand as in Burma. In any case, neither statue exerted any influence on the orientation and evolution of the Sukhothai school. The same can be said of a group of Khmer statues recently discovered at Sukhothai. Among them are some male and female idols of special interest, all unfortunately headless (Plate 89). Uncovered at San Ta Pa Dèng, a sanctuary that can be dated to the twelfth century, they all are in the style of Angkor Wat. These large figures are the only such statues clad in the attire with long hanging flaps that is frequently seen on bas-reliefs at Angkor but never on free-standing statuary; there such idols were usually draped in more traditional attire.[39] Nor was Sukhothai art influenced by the large Buddha discovered at Wat Pra Pai Luang, whose modeling links it directly with the output of the Khmer workshops of the Bayon style. Stylistically, however, this Buddha displays so marked an originality that George Coedès saw it as indicating a reaction against the Khmer ideal, an attempt to assert the recently acquired independence of Sukhothai by going to the opposite extreme of everything that might recall the Khmer domination.[40] This interpretation, intriguing though it may be, is perhaps too "Western". It takes no account of the fact that Wat Pra Pai Luang, one of the oldest and most important monasteries of Sukhothai, actually developed out of a Khmer temple; further, it attaches too much importance to secular motives, neglecting the fact that religion was, after all, the great inspirer of this art. The solution to this art historical problem is surely too complex to be disposed of by simple explanations. If, instead of sandstone, the Sukhothai sculptors chose bronze, stucco, and even ceramic for their statues, the reason is that no sandstone was available locally, while the limestones that were at hand were so brittle as to be usable only for engraving or for carving in very low relief, at which, moreover, they excelled. From a purely aesthetic point of view, the work of the Sukhothai sculptors shows a complex though rapid evolution. Clearly, much more was involved than a mere mutation of an earlier sculptural tradition.

The kingdom of Sukhothai was comparatively short-lived, lasting less than two centuries. Nevertheless, it gave birth to one of the most original schools of Buddhist and Brahmanic sculpture to arise anywhere in the Indianized world, and it was to have a considerable influence on the subsequent course of art in Thailand. To avoid repetition, we have thought it preferable to deal individually with each of the main categories of statuary, rather than follow a strictly chronological sequence or make systematic distinctions between the materials employed. We shall therefore consider first the Buddha images, which occupy by far the most prominent position in Sukhothai art, and turn later to an examination of the Brahmanic idols, the architectural decoration, and the votive tablets.

The ideal Sukhothai Buddha image—which also influenced the contemporary Brahmanic iconography—

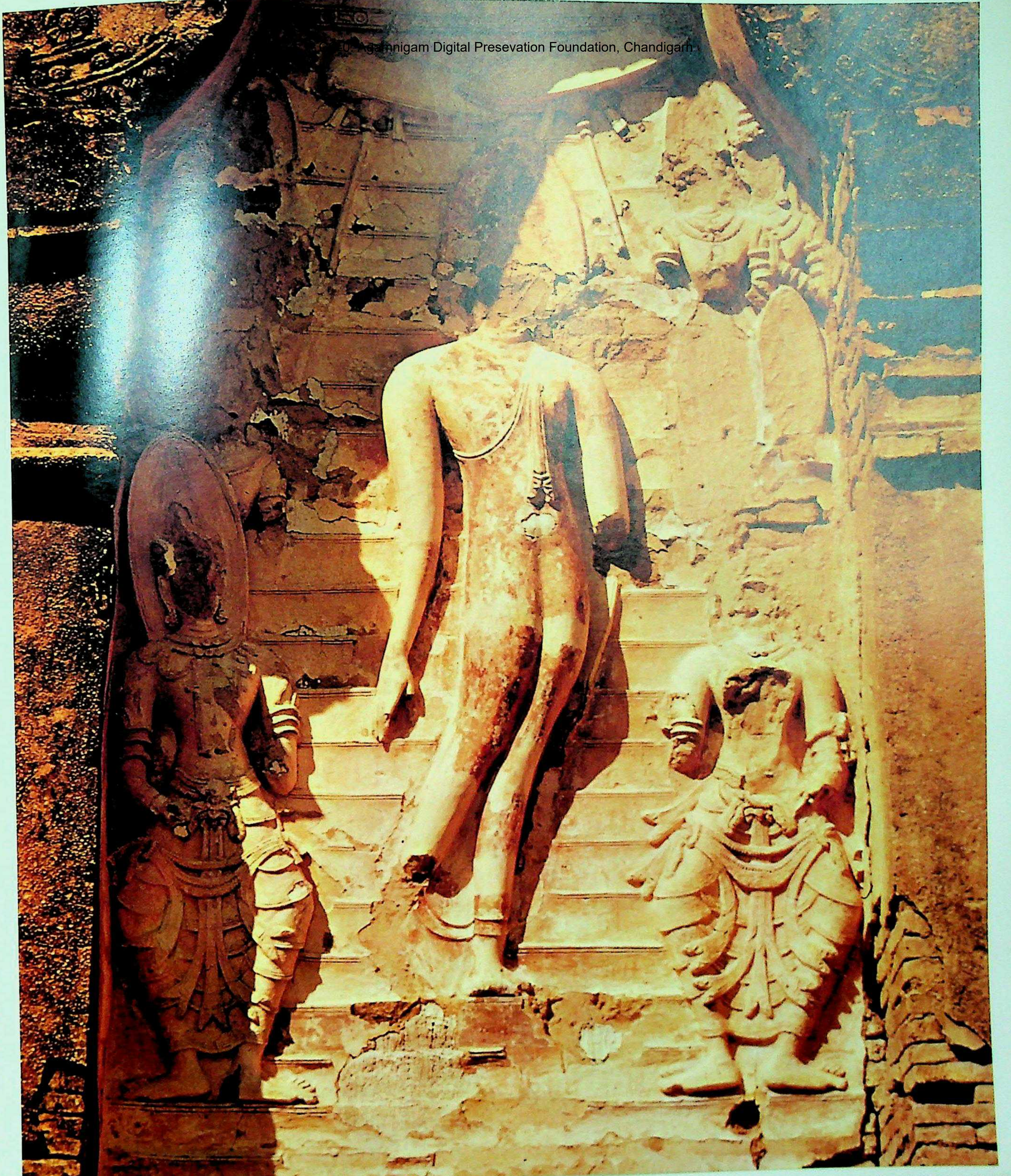


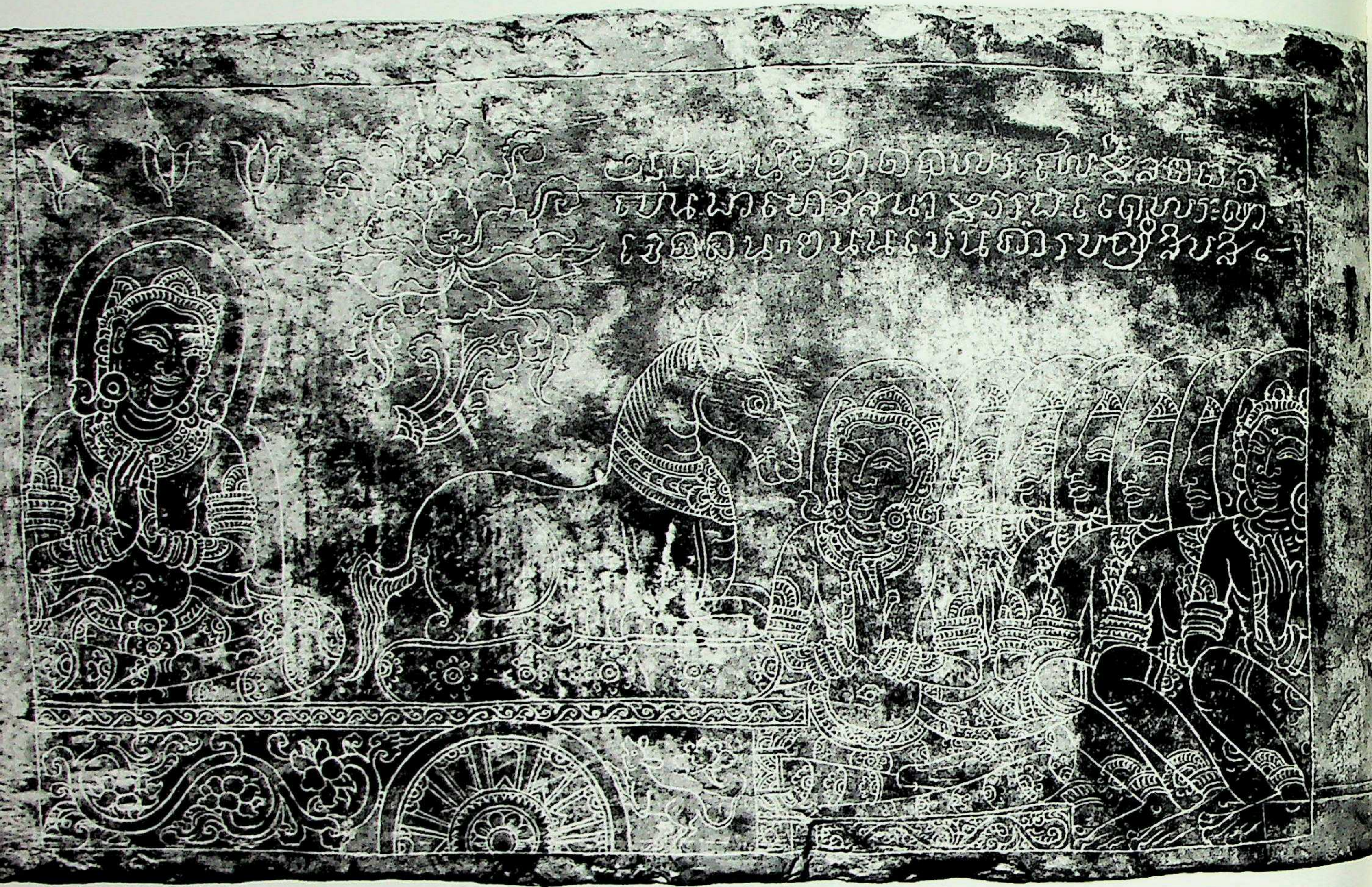
seems not to have established itself immediately upon the beginning of the period. Indeed, it should be noted that none of what appear to be the earliest Sukhothai images offers any premonition of the astonishing spirituality that came to prevail in the statuary of the fourteenth century. Nor can that spirituality be regarded simply as a direct result of the influence of Sinhalese Buddhism, in spite of all the influence exerted on Sukhothai. At present, no Buddha images in either bronze or stucco can be assigned with certainty to the period preceding the reign of Rāma Kamhèng (c. 1279-c. 1299, possibly to c. 1316). We once saw fit to attribute to the mid-thirteenth century the stucco images discovered during the clearing of the *stūpa* of Wat Pra Pai Luang, a Khmer temple built at the time of Jayavarman VII but later reconstructed and enlarged as a vast Theravāda monastery; such dating must now be questioned. The very broad faces and strongly aquiline noses of both the Buddhas and the *devas* (Plates 12, 93) are not in themselves sufficient evidence to support a chronology which would make these figures the earliest of the entire Sukhothai school. While the immediate surroundings of the *stūpa,* its east terrace in particular, have yielded some unquestionably Khmer-type stuccos,[41] there is really nothing to prove that the Buddhas in the niches are contemporary with them.

A. B. Griswold's attribution to the reign of Rāma Kamhèng of the *Māravijaya* Buddhas in the *stūpa* niches of Wat Chang Lom, at Si Sacchanalai, seems to rest on sounder evidence. These large stuccoed figures reveal a style yet to be perfected. Though their bodies tend already to assume certain "supernatural" features that were to become characteristic of the school—for example, unnaturally broad shoulders modeled with little concern for anatomical accuracy—the faces show no hint of the spirituality that would later distinguish the Sukhothai Buddhas from those of all other schools. Their drapery, with the front edge of the robe usually folded broadly over the left side of the breast and with a narrow border marking the belt, invites comparison with the Buddha of Grahi (Plate 67). The influence of that figure, or of some comparable image, may be accounted for either by Sukhothai's annexation of the Peninsula in about 1292, or by the origin in Nakhon Si Thammarat of the patriarch of the Buddhist community. After all, if the attribution to Rāma Kamhèng's reign of a large walking Buddha from Wat Mahathat at

89 *Brahmanic Divinity, National Museum, Sukhothai*

90 *Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three, Wat Trapang Thong Lang, Sukhothai*



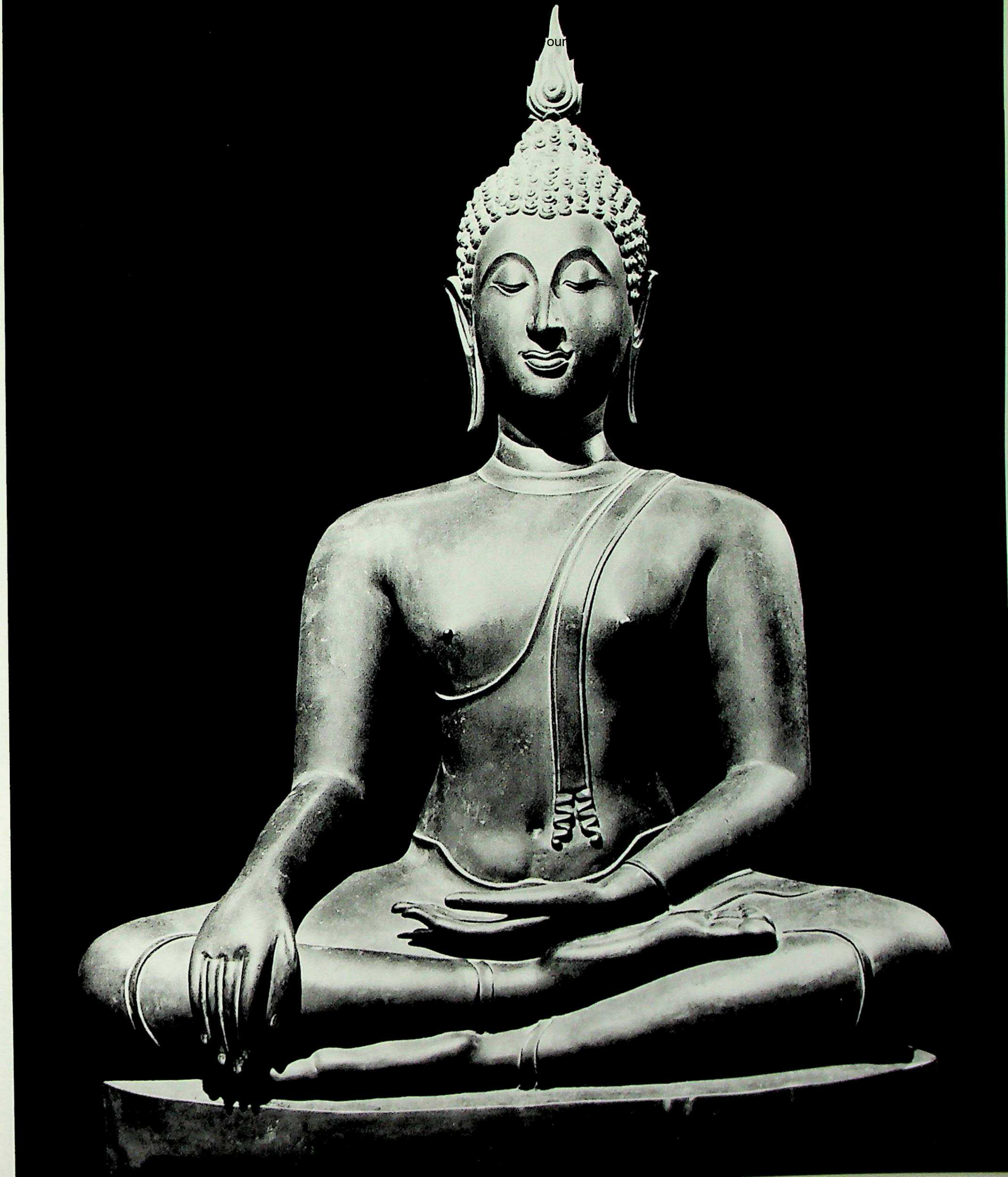


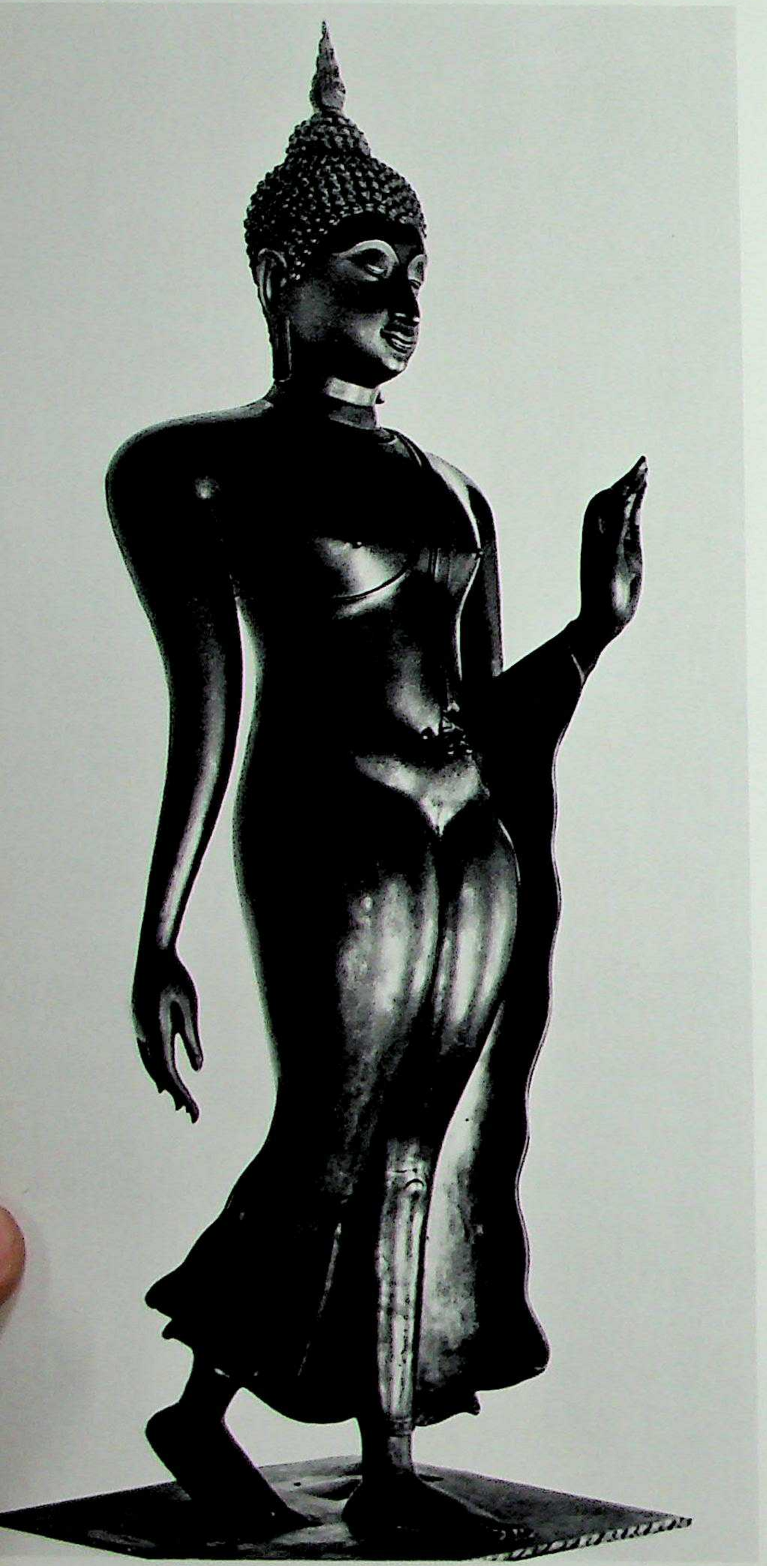
91 Engraved Panel Representing a Jātaka Scene, National Museum, Bangkok

Chalieng, a high relief executed in stuccoed laterite, were to be confirmed, it would provide another nearly contemporary example showing most of the characteristics of the classical style. But while this fine figure wears a robe with a large folded flap similar to that of the Wat Chang Lom images, it also has a double border at belt level with a design that suggests a much later date. But then a possible restoration in the fourteenth century or even later might account for an aesthetic so astonishingly "classical" for the date proposed. Thus, there are scarcely any statues or reliefs which, in their present state, serve to illustrate the superbly vivid inscription describing Sukhothai as it was at the time of Rāma Kamhèng: "In the midst of this town of Sukhothai there are temples, there are golden statues of the Buddha, there are statues of the Buddha measuring eighteen cubits in height, there are great statues of the Buddha, there are others of medium size. . . ." [42]

It would seem, in fact, that the Buddha image of the Sukhothai school did not assume its characteristic form until the early-fourteenth century. Aesthetically, it appears to owe much to Sinhalese models, although that influence

92 Buddha Subduing Māra, National Museum, Ayuthya





cannot account for all the originality of the style. While the Angkorian art of Jayavarman VII had endeavored to humanize the Buddha image, lending to it even certain common physical features of Khmer individuals,[43] the Sukhothai sculptors strove toward a very different goal. It was their purpose to create not a lifelike figure but a hieratic image of otherworldly mien, and to this end they emphasized everything that made the Exalted One a predestined man of destiny, possessing from birth the "Marks of the Great Man," such as a world ruler or Buddha alone can possess. It is in these terms that a Sukhothai image must be seen, and above all the fine walking Buddhas of Sukhothai, with their unearthly anatomy and bearing, whose steps, so the texts inform us, levelled the ground and brought forth lotus blossoms. The faces, forming a perfect oval, express the same ideal in an emphatic stylization untrammelled by ordinary morphology. The sweeping curves of the eyebrows join and merge to form the bridge of a long, aquiline nose. The downcast eyes, with their full, curving lids, and the delicately chiseled lips help imbue these faces with an expression of profound serenity (Plate 12), quite different from that of the Khmer style of the Bayon. These works attained an unsurpassable peak in religious sculpture; beyond it, image makers could only lapse into conventionality, affectation, or caricature.

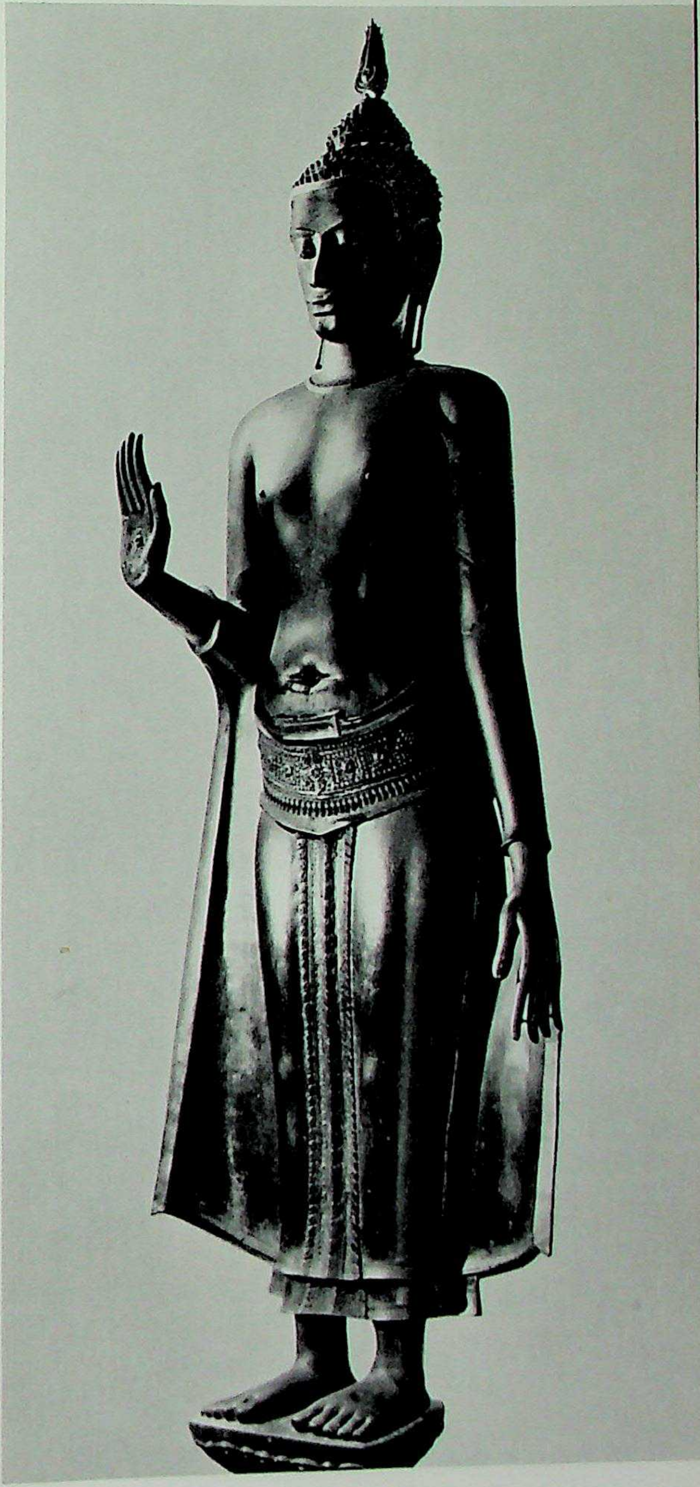
The modeling of the hands reflects the same trends: every gesture reflects a striving for spiritual expressionism rather than verisimilitude. By about the beginning of the fifteenth century there appeared a new stylization in the representation of the Buddha's hands: inspired by texts relating to the "Marks of the Eminent Man," all the fingers except the thumb were rendered nearly equal in length (Plate 10). This stylization was to enjoy great favor not only in the art of Ayuthya but in related schools as well. All the Sukhothai images have a coiffure with curls curving gently to a point over the middle of the forehead; the well-developed *ushnīsha* is usually surmounted by a high finial in the form of a flame *(rasmi)*, evoking rather freely the iconography of Sinhalese Buddhism. This ornament symbolizes the Buddha's spiritual and physical radiance, his transcendence and glory, and it was adopted by all the contemporary and subsequent schools of Thailand in the form conceived at Sukhothai.

The attire of the typical Sukhothai Buddha appears to derive from several traditions. Being highly stylized, it seldom provides much assistance in the dating of particular

93 *Walking Buddha, Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok*

images. Except for certain standing figures, represented with both shoulders covered, the robe usually leaves the right shoulder exposed and is draped either in the classic manner or in reverse order. In the former case, the body is smoothly molded, and often not even the belt is indicated. Behind, the vertical edge of the robe is never marked any more clearly than in the Dvāravatī tradition. In the latter and more frequent cases, the edge of the robe is made to curve forward, as in post-Gupta and Pāla art. Draped over the left side of the breast, it falls to hip level and is then carried up over the wrist where it clings to the free edge of the robe. On seated images, the robe is figured either in front of the left knee or at mid-thigh. Always in the former case and frequently in the latter as well, a long strip of cloth is folded diagonally over the left shoulder. Falling over the breast and down the back, it corresponds to the third garment worn by monks, the *saṃghāti* shawl, and may be confused, in the second mode of draping, with the folded edge of the robe. The belt, when it is suggested at all, is represented only by a groove or border, single or double, that is usually inflected by a gently scooped design (Plate 92). Only in the case of those standing images having both shoulders covered—which do not appear to be earlier than the fifteenth century and arose no doubt from contacts with the U Thong style and the traditions of the Menam Plain—is there a broad belt with frontal flap clearly represented, but always in very low relief and usually devoid of ornament (Plate 94). Crowned images are rare; all are later works belonging to survivals of the school (Plate 100).

Of all the schools of Buddhist art, Sukhothai is the first to represent the Buddha in all of the four attitudes *(iriyāpatha)* defined by the texts: walking, standing, seated, and reclining. The walking Buddha, with left hand raised in *vitarka mudrā* and right arm hanging loose (very occasionally, the position of the arms is reversed), was presumably inspired by some Sinhalese painting, such as the *Descent from Heaven* at Tivanka Pilimage (Polonnaruva). On the evidence of the *mondop* reliefs at Wat Trapang Thong Lang (Plate 90), this attitude was used to represent at least two events from the scriptures: the Descent from the Tāvatimsa Heaven and the Buddha standing on the jewelled walkways that he created at Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), before his royal family, and at Savatthi (Śrāvastī) to confound the heretics. In contrast to the Lopburi tradition, it is unusual for the standing Buddha to be represented with both hands in

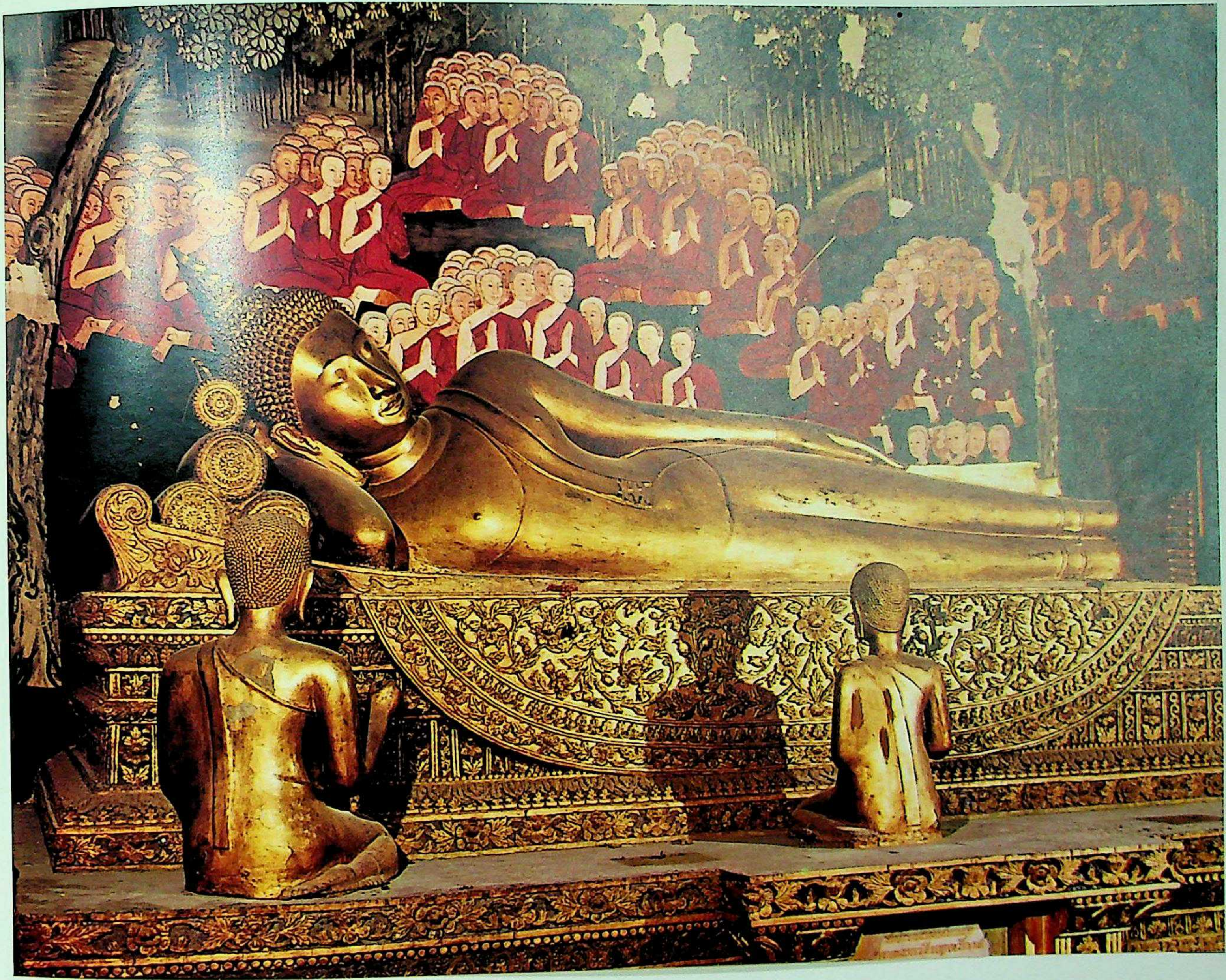


94 *Standing Buddha, Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok*

95 *Head of Umā (?) (detail of Plate 13), National Museum, Bangkok*

abhaya mudrā; much more often only one hand, usually the right, is raised in *abhaya mudrā* and the other hangs down. Although common in high reliefs, standing images executed in-the-round are rather rare and all seem to belong to the late Sukhothai period. The great majority of seated images are represented in *vīrāsana,* the legs resting on each other, with hands most often in the *Māravijaya* gesture representing the Buddha's calling the Earth to witness his triumph over the evil Māra (Plate 92), a gesture that is practically unknown in Sinhalese iconography. The *samādhi* attitude is rare; when it occurs, it may be accompanied by the sheltering figure of the *Nāga* Mucalinda, unexampled in sculpture in-the-round but represented by two fine, large stucco reliefs at Chedi Chet Thèo at Si Sacchanalai and at Wat Mahathat at Chalieng. No statue of the teaching Buddha is known. The reclining Buddha, rarely executed in-the-round, does not depart from the classic iconography (Plate 96). In many of the larger monasteries, either in a *mondop* or in the *vihāra,* stood colossal images of stuccoed brick showing each of the four attitudes; the largest of these frequently attained a height of about thirty feet. Very few bronze images ever reached that size. In general, however, Buddha statues were very seldom made on a miniature scale and life-size figures are quite common.

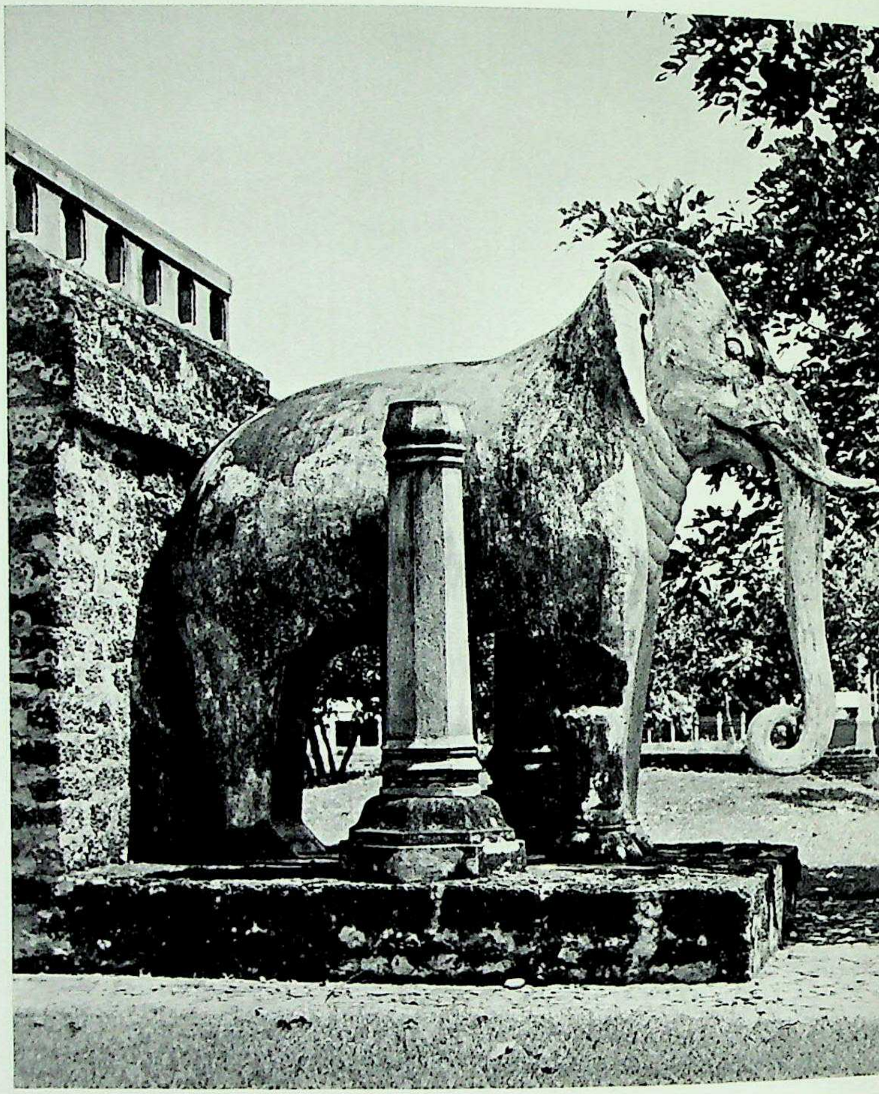
The evolution of the Sukhothai Buddha image is difficult to trace chronologically and geographically; the only fairly reliable points of reference are supplied by the earliest and the latest works, and it is precisely those, despite their undeniable excellence, that are the least typical of the school. Even so, various local styles can be identified. Attributed to the fourteenth century, the Wat Ta Kuan type, taking its name from a monastery at Sukhothai, is characterized by a general aesthetic and also by certain details of attire which evoke the traditions of the Lan Na School (see Chapter VIII). Restricted at first to a limited number of images found on the site, this designation has been extended to any statue deviating in any way from the classic Sukhothai type. A few statues show a particularly marked affinity with the art of Lan Na, combining the attitude and attire of the latter with the Sukhothai aesthetic; a fine inscribed bronze at Wat Po in Bangkok provides a good example of this blend.[44] All the same, the influence exerted by Sukhothai art on that of Lan Na gradually became more pronounced and enduring. As for the "classical" style of Sukhothai, it seems to reveal from the early decades of the fifteenth century (about the time, that is, when Sukhothai lost its independence) a tendency toward a more majestic serenity, somewhat less spiritualized in expression perhaps, but more imposing than earlier works. The best examples are unquestionably the large bronzes cast shortly before Sukhothai came finally under the domination of Ayuthya in 1438. Two such statues, both now in Bangkok, originated in Sukhothai: the Pra Buddha Sihing, a *samādhi* image of medium height, preserved in the chapel of the National Museum, and probably a copy of the palladium of the kingdom of Sukhothai; and the Pra



96 Reclining Buddha, Wat Bovonivet, Bangkok

Buddha Śrī Śākyamuni, a gigantic statue transplanted in the late-eighteenth century from Wat Mahathat to the *vihāra* of Wat Suthat. Three other images are thought to have been cast at Phitsanulok at the same period. All of them are characterized by the equal length of the fingers. Two have been installed in Wat Bovonivet at Bangkok: the Pra Buddha Jinasrī and the Śrī Śāstā. The most remarkable of the three, and one of the most venerated images in Thailand, the Pra Buddha Jinarāja (Plate 10), has remained in Phitsanulok at Wat Mahathat. An image of most impressive majesty, a very careful and faithful copy of it was executed at the end of the nineteenth century at the order of King Rāma V Chulalongkorn and was installed at Wat Benchamabopit, the Monastery of the Fifth Reign, in Bangkok. For all its technical perfection, this copy lacks the indefinable quality that always sets a masterpiece apart from its replica. Preserved at Nan, a vassal city of Sukhothai, are four of five statues cast in 1426. One represents the standing Buddha, the hands in *abhaya mudrā* raised to shoulder level; the other three represent the walking Buddha. While adhering to the essential features of the Sukhothai school, they show certain variations in the form of the drapery; most noticeably, they fail to capture the spirituality that was the hallmark of the school. Also at Nan, a colossal *Māravijaya* Buddha cast in 1449 betrays signs of provincialism, despite its technical quality. This figure was the product of a marginal atelier, however, and by no means all of the later images reflect a degeneration of the great tradition. Well into the Ayuthya period, many statues retained some of the finer qualities of the Sukhothai school. An excellent example is a crowned meditating Buddha in the Sukhothai Museum, whose ornamentation does not permit a date earlier than the seventeenth century (Plate 100).[45] The persistence of the Sukhothai style seems all the more remarkable when one notes that in 1378 Sukhothai became a vassal of Ayuthya and thereafter was overshadowed by the art of the rising kingdom which, together with new architectural forms, introduced images belonging to the U Thong "B" and "C" styles. A large standing statue, now installed at Wat Benchamabopit, is particularly interesting for its composite iconography (Plate 94): it combines a gesture familiar in Sukhothai art with the U Thong "B" aesthetic and the attire of the Lopburi school.

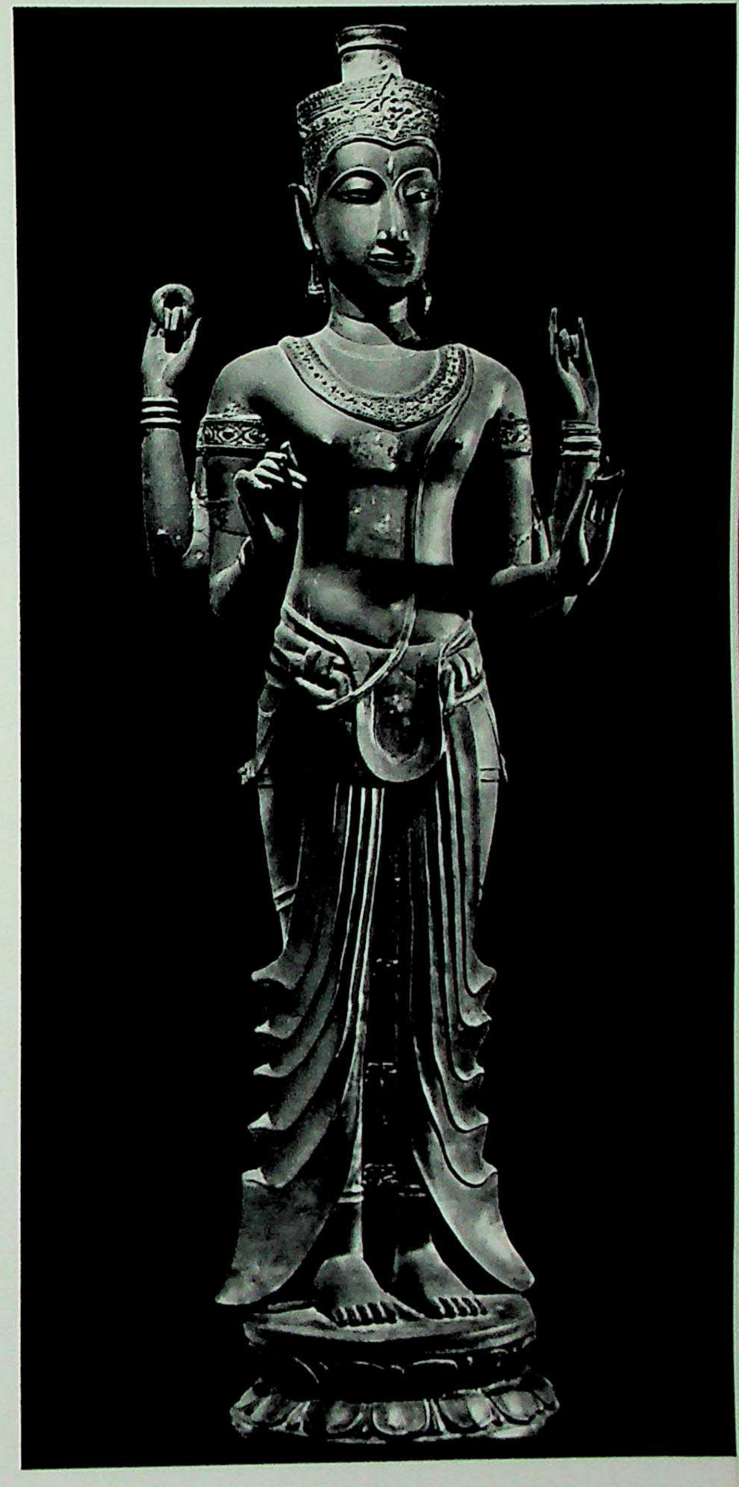
This brief examination of the Sukhothai Buddha image cannot be concluded without reference to certain closely related works: scenes illustrating the Buddha's final incarnation and the previous lives, taken from the *Jātaka* tales, and the *Buddhapadas*. The scenes of the Last Existence, chiefly the Great Miracles, were executed in stucco compositions. Although they are now damaged and defaced, photographs taken late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth convey something of their original quality. These stuccos adorned the tympana of the pediments on temple towers as at Wat Pra Pai Luang; reliquary shrines, as at Wat Mahathat; and the large niches of certain *mondops* at Wat Trapang Thong Lang (Plate 90) and Wat Tük. The *Jātakas* are represented only in an admirable series of engraved slabs at Wat Si Chum (Plate 91), a monastery erected at the northwest corner of the town wall of Sukhothai. These slabs formed the ceiling of a dark tunnel-like stairway through the masonry of the *mondop*. Housed there is a colossal stucco image, now restored, of the *Māravijaya* Buddha. Nearly forty feet in height, it is aptly described as "immovable" in the inscriptions of Rāma Kamhèng. Identified by short inscriptions, about one hundred *Jātaka* tales are illustrated in outline on the schist slabs. The clear, unfailing line in which both figures and ornamental motifs are etched conveys the very qualities of distinction and spirituality that characterized Sukhothai statuary.



97 Elephants, from Wat Chang Lom (Si Sacchanalai) National Museum, Sukhothai

The *Buddhapadas,* or Holy Footprints of the Buddha, seem linked directly with the oldest traditions of Indian Buddhist art and the aniconism of early times. Judging by epigraphical evidence from Sukhothai, it is perhaps these Holy Footprints which best testify to the renown enjoyed by the holy places of Sinhalese Buddhism. All of them are "copies" of the original Footprint on the summit of Samantakuta, or Adam's Peak, in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Executed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the Sukhothai Footprints and the bronze covers made for them no longer show any influence of Sinhalese art. Adorned with the Wheel and bearing the "108 auspicious signs" in symbolic form, they evoke rather the iconography of Pagan. Two of these works, both now preserved in Bangkok, deserve special mention: the double inscribed Footprint at Wat Bovonivet, a large engraved slab with the eighty major disciples figured on its edge and named in the inscriptions; and the fine fragment of a bronze Footprint cover in the National Museum, originally from Kamphèng Phet (Wat Pra Sadet), with the Footprint surrounded by the Buddhas of the Past, guardian divinities, disciples, and worshippers. Like all the Buddhist art of Sukhothai, the *Buddhapadas* exerted a strong influence on the art of Ayuthya and even on post-Angkorian Khmer art.

Although the Brahmanic gods are never as prominent as the Buddha in the art and iconography of Sukhothai, their importance and originality are anything but negligible. Brahmanic cult deities figure in the royal rituals, as they did at Angkor and continued to do so well into the modern period. Statuary of Brahmanic gods were made in response to deliberate efforts to promote the exercise of all the different religions. Thus, the inscription on a Śiva consecrated at Kamphèng Phet in 1510 (Plate 134) reveals that it was set up for the purpose of "protecting all beings . . . and conducing to exalt all religions, the religion of the Buddha, the Brahmanic religion, and the worship of the gods, so that they may not be obscured and merged into one. . . ."[46] The Sukhothai images of Brahmanic deities (Plates 13, 95, 98) are all fine and striking figures. Always hieratic, often possessing from two to eight arms and perfectly symmetrical gestures, they rarely show all the standard attributes, even allowing for the fact that many of these were removable and have disappeared. All these divinities are lavishly adorned. Most of the Vishnus and Hariharas wear diadems, in the form of nearly cylindrical crowns framing the ears with a large back-flap leaving

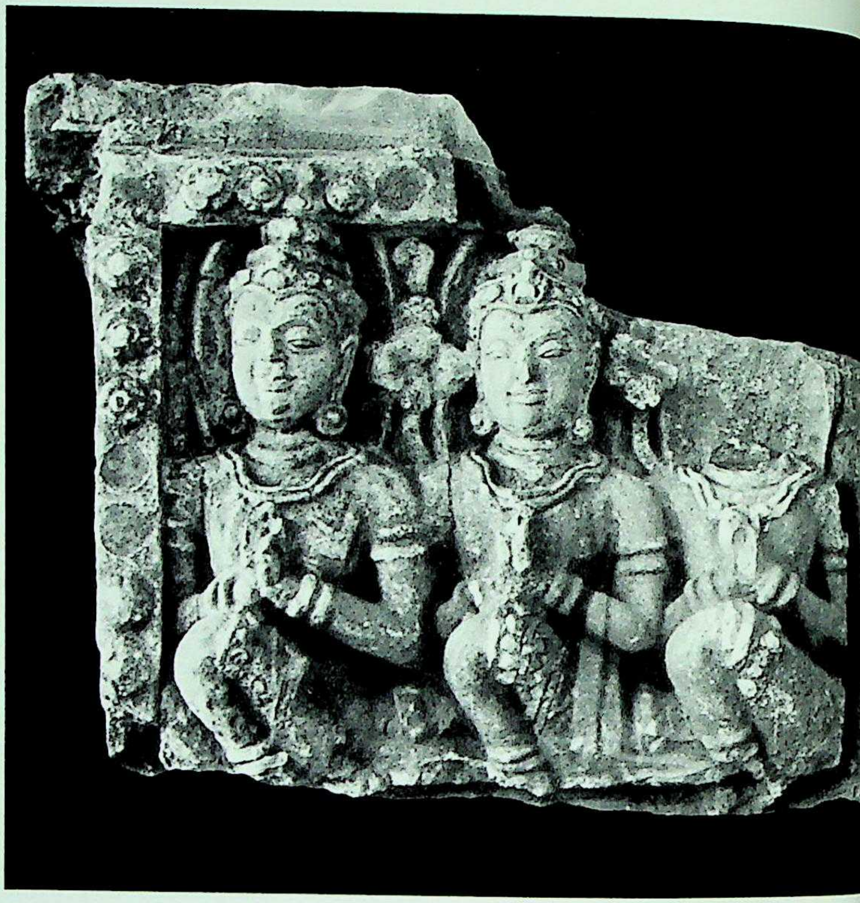


98 *Harihara, National Museum, Sukhothai*

room for a chignon tied over the nape of the neck (Plate 95). A wide *mukuta* shaped like a truncated cone is usually reserved for Śiva, while for the other gods it is almost always conical and bulbous. Śiva and Harihara usually wear the characteristic Brahmanic thread, often tied into a *nāga* head rising on the left shoulder. Even more surprising than their adornments is the attire worn by most of these divinities. Consisting of a long *paridhāna* draped in an intricate pattern of pleats flaring out like a bell at the bottom, with a flap of varying size turned down over the belt, it vaguely recalls the costume of Sinhalese dancers in the Gampola period (1341-1415).

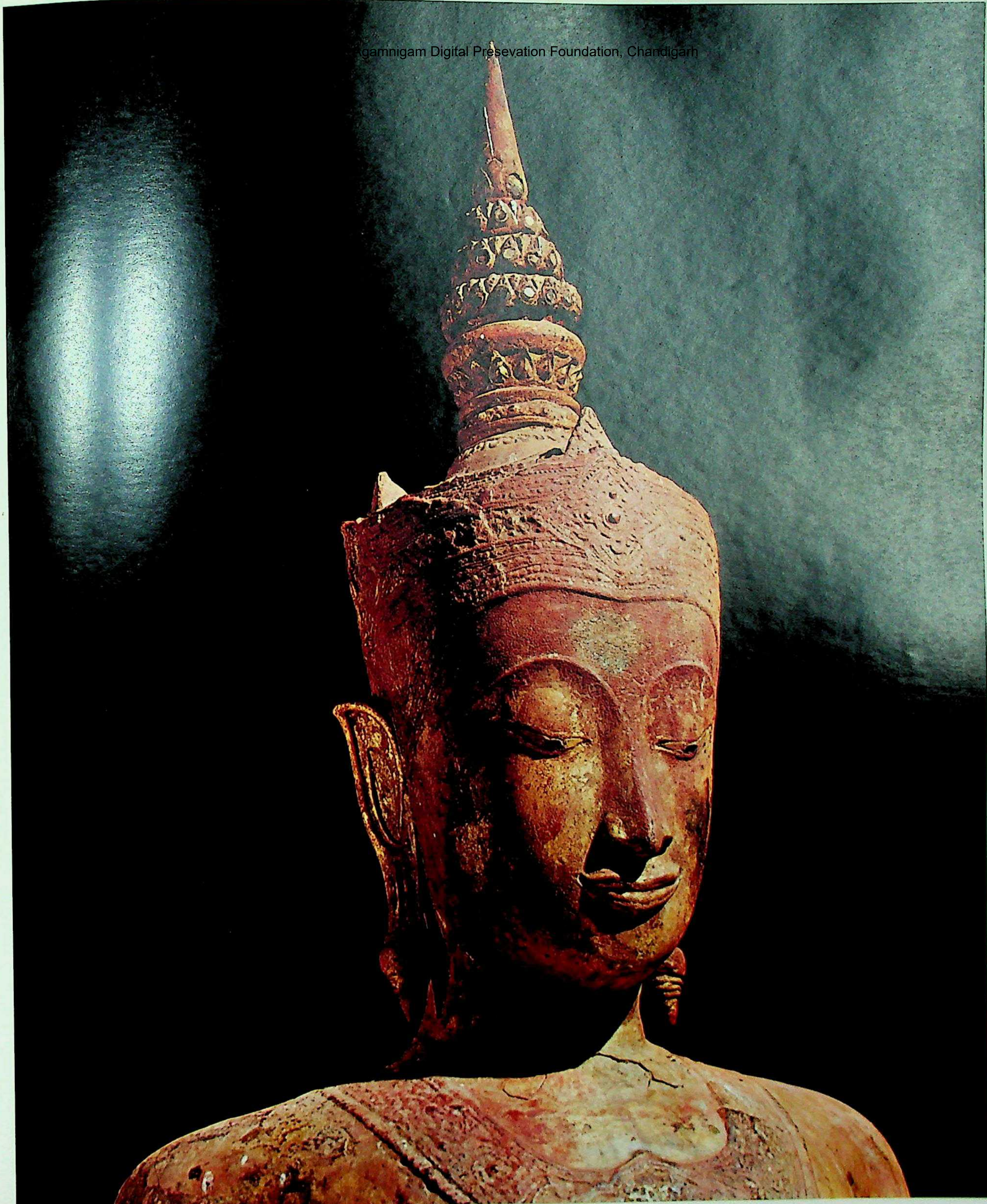
The great variety of ornamental details makes dating of the Brahmanic figures exceedingly difficult.[47] However, though their adornments have no close counterpart in Buddhist statuary, they can be compared with those of various divinities figuring in stucco compositions. In general aesthetic terms, the Brahmanic figures were directly influenced by the Buddha image. The Brahmanic idols of Sukhothai, all of large size—the largest is over ten feet high—make up a fairly homogeneous group, despite an extreme variety of detail. The Kamphèng Phet group is less numerous and, perhaps because of its later date (early sixteenth century) and the evident Ayuthya influence, it departs from the Sukhothai tradition proper and takes inspiration rather from the Khmerizing art of the Ayuthya school (Plate 104). All figures in this series hold their attributes in a curious way, with the middle finger and the ring finger and with forefinger and little finger raised. Detachable attributes, most of which have been lost, were often attached to a ring that was placed between the thumb and forefinger of the hands of many images. The stylization of the hands is very much in the spirit of the style, though they are often disproportionately small for the large statues. The influences at work here are obviously very complex; all conduce to impart to these images, and indeed to the school itself, an originality and inventiveness which, given their relatively small number in an art wholly dominated by the Buddha images, might easily be overlooked.

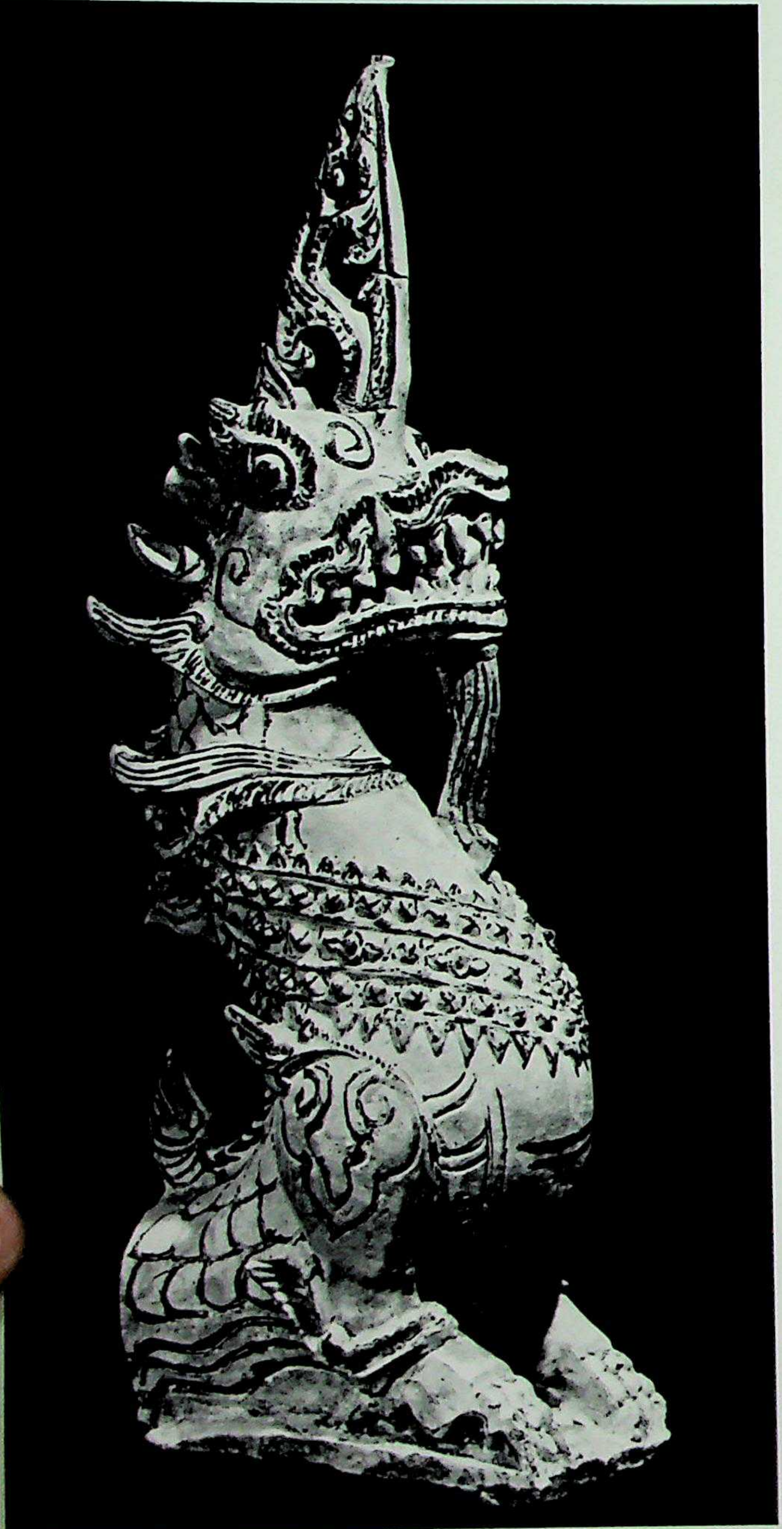
Architectural decoration, already referred to in connection with the figures and compositions in niches and tympana, was chiefly done in stucco, although terra-cotta and ceramic came to be used to an appreciable degree. Ceramics were put to a rather special use, while stucco and terra-cotta, as formerly in the Dvāravatī school, served the same purpose. In addition to large individual images and compositions centering on the person of the Buddha, stucco was employed for the symbolic decoration of the bases of some *stūpas*. Thus, on the base of the central monument of Wat Mahathat at Sukhothai is a long procession, now rather over-restored, of Buddhist monks walking with clasped hands around the Holy Relic. But this is an exceptional composition, designed for a pre-eminent monument. The most common theme is that of elephants, represented frontally, in niches on all four sides of the square base of various buildings (Plate 97). This formula appears to have been inspired by Ceylonese art (especially by the Ruvanveliseya at Anurādhapura, although the elephants there are not isolated in niches), but antecedents are also to be seen at Nakhon Si Thammarat. In spite of repeated restorations, the elephants on the base of the great *stūpa* at Wat Pra Mahathat seem to preserve traces of



99 Bas-relief with Worshippers, National Museum, Sukhothai

100 Adorned Buddha (detail), National Museum, Sukhothai



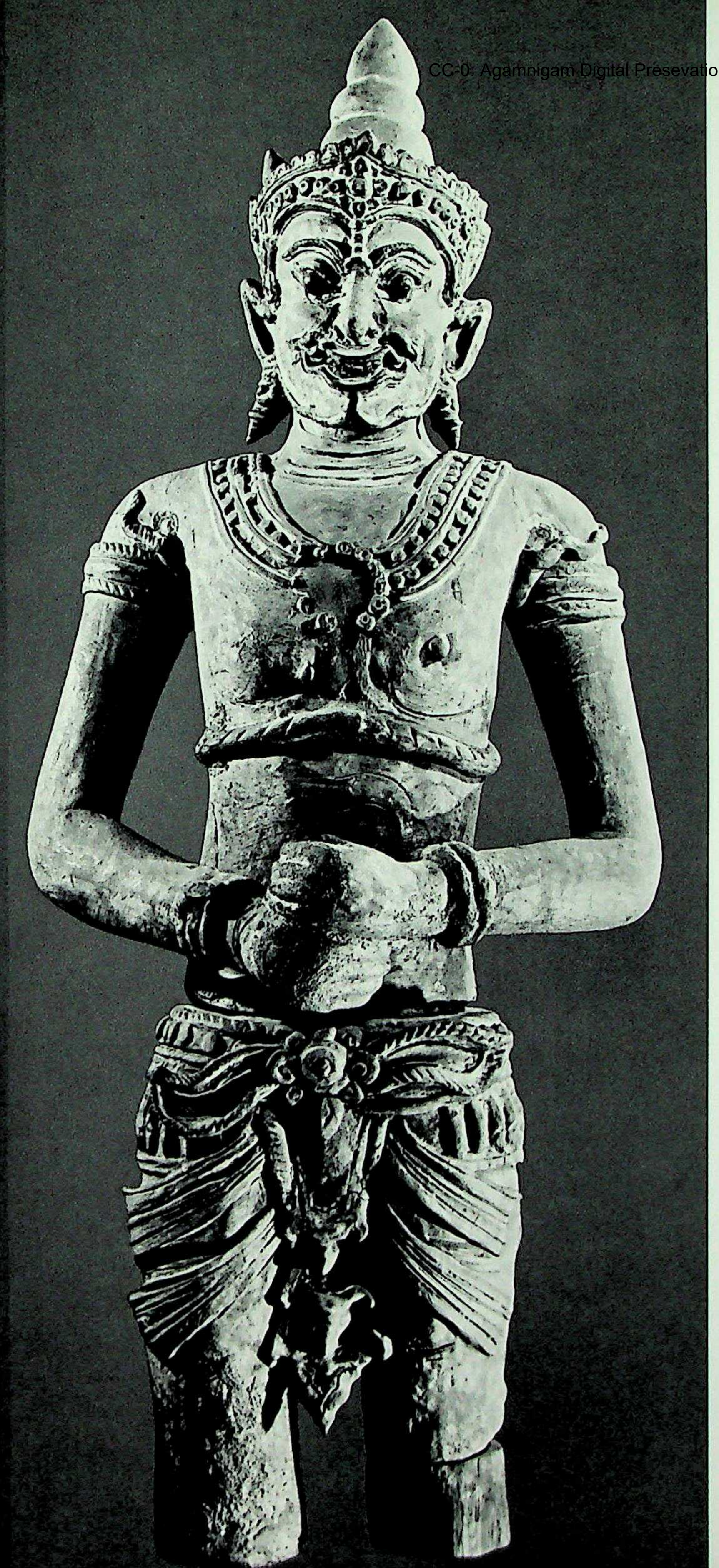


earlier arrangements, and A. B. Griswold has suggested that this composition may have exerted some influence on the Sukhothai school. His suggestion gains credibility from the fact that the earliest of such elephants are doubtless those of Wat Chang Lom at Si Sacchanalai, a vast *stūpa* probably built by Rāma Kamhèng where it has been noted that the attire of the Buddha images shows clear affinities with the art of the Peninsula. The Wat Chang Lom elephants (Plate 97), treated entirely in-the-round, were constructed over a hollow armature of laterite; in all the other monuments where elephants are present (four at Sukhothai, one at Si Sacchanalai, one at Kamphèng Phet), they are reduced to their fore-sections. The latest in date are probably those of Wat Chang Rop at Kamphèng Phet, the only ones profusely adorned but also the least successful in plastic terms.

Elephants appear on two bases at Sukhothai as part of more complex compositions: the *stūpa* of Wat Chedi So Hong and a secondary structure at Wat Mahathat. Now in ruins, these monuments were outstanding both for the quality of their high-relief sculpture and for their iconography. At Wat Chedi Si Hong the elephants are represented crouching on bended legs, as they so often appear in Sinhalese art. Supporting a rampant lion, they alternate with adorned figures, perhaps *nāgas* and *nāgīs* in human shape. These four-armed figures carry vases of flowers at shoulder level and clasp their hands in front of them. In the reliquary monument at Wat Mahathat, the pilasters separating the elephant niches are occupied by figures, among which may be distinguished images of Vishnu borne by the flying Garuda and divinities in scenes of combat or serving as atlantes. A fore-structure, adorned with crouching *yaksha* figures, has been added in front of the large Buddha statue erected over the base of the principal face. The *yakshas* are vigorously modeled and, in view of their style and evident kinship with similar figures at Ayuthya (at Wat Rājapūrana, for example), they are thought to reflect the domination of Ayuthya. Many such examples exist, moreover, and the present stuccos, like the superstructures of the three sanctuaries of Wat Si Sawai, belong to a still later phase of Ayuthya art.

In addition to these characteristic themes of Sukhothai architectural decoration, mention must also be made of the fine figures of divinities that adorned the string-walls at Wat Pra Pai Luang (Plate 99) and provide a complete stylistic contrast to the Khmer-type figures on the tympana

101 Makara Dragon, Kasem Sirikantraporn Collection, Bangkok



of the sanctuaries and the frieze on the east terrace of the *stūpa*. At Si Sacchanalai, the *vihāra* of Wat Nang Phya has preserved an admirable stucco decoration on its northwest face; the window balustrades are adorned with continuous motifs and the walls and bases with cartouches in which plant forms, arabesques, and animal figurines are combined in skillful compositions.

Terra-cotta decorations, found only at Kamphèng Phet (Wat Chang Rop), were apparently employed to a far lesser extent than stuccos. It should not necessarily be inferred from this fact that they failed to attain a similarly high level of quality, however. Unfortunately, little remains today but fragments, from which it is exceedingly difficult to imagine the compositions into which the terra-cotta figures—*devatās, kinnarīs* (Plate 24), *hamsas,* and *yakshas* with complicated diadems—were originally fitted.

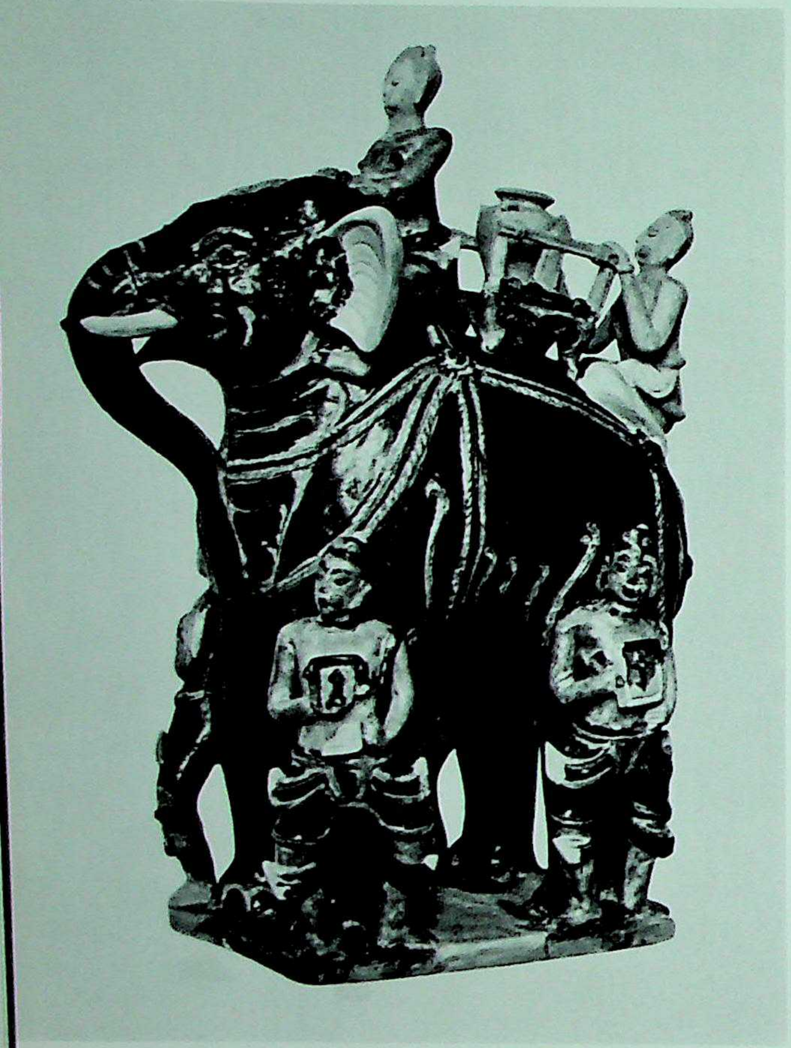
More is known about the purposes served by architectural ceramics. Not simply surface decorations, they formed integral parts of the construction itself, supplying pieces which went to adorn the roof and the string-walls of stairways and balustrades. The finials, the elements of certain balustrades, and the pieces designed for the extremities of purlins are often of but slight artistic interest. That is certainly not the case with the pieces, both symbolic and protective in function, which decorated roofs and stairways. While the roof edges were adorned at the top with a large finial that usually bore the bas-relief figure of a praying god *(Tep Pranam),* the extremities of the roof and those of the hip-rafters were covered by dragons that are among the most remarkable of Sukhothai ceramics. Similar dragons, of all sizes, also marked the extremities of certain string-walls (Plate 101). Combining a serpent body with the head of a fabulous creature, these dragons are weird figures possessed of a surprising grandeur. With their lion-face set off by the trunk of a *makara,* a goatee and the horns of a stag, and with a ball clasped in their open jaws, they seem to evoke a Chinese tradition, but one that came to Thailand via Champa and was derived still more directly from Khmer dragons that had appeared in very similar guise in the early-twelfth century. Equally remarkable in a technical sense, but much rarer than the dragons, are the large *dvārapālas,* guardian figures that flank the entrances to several sanctuaries (Plate 102). Kindly or terrifying, with both hands clutching a weapon held in front of them, the attitudes of these imposing statues recall the Khmer art of the Bayon, while their adornments are closer to those of

102 Temple Guardian, National Museum, Bangkok

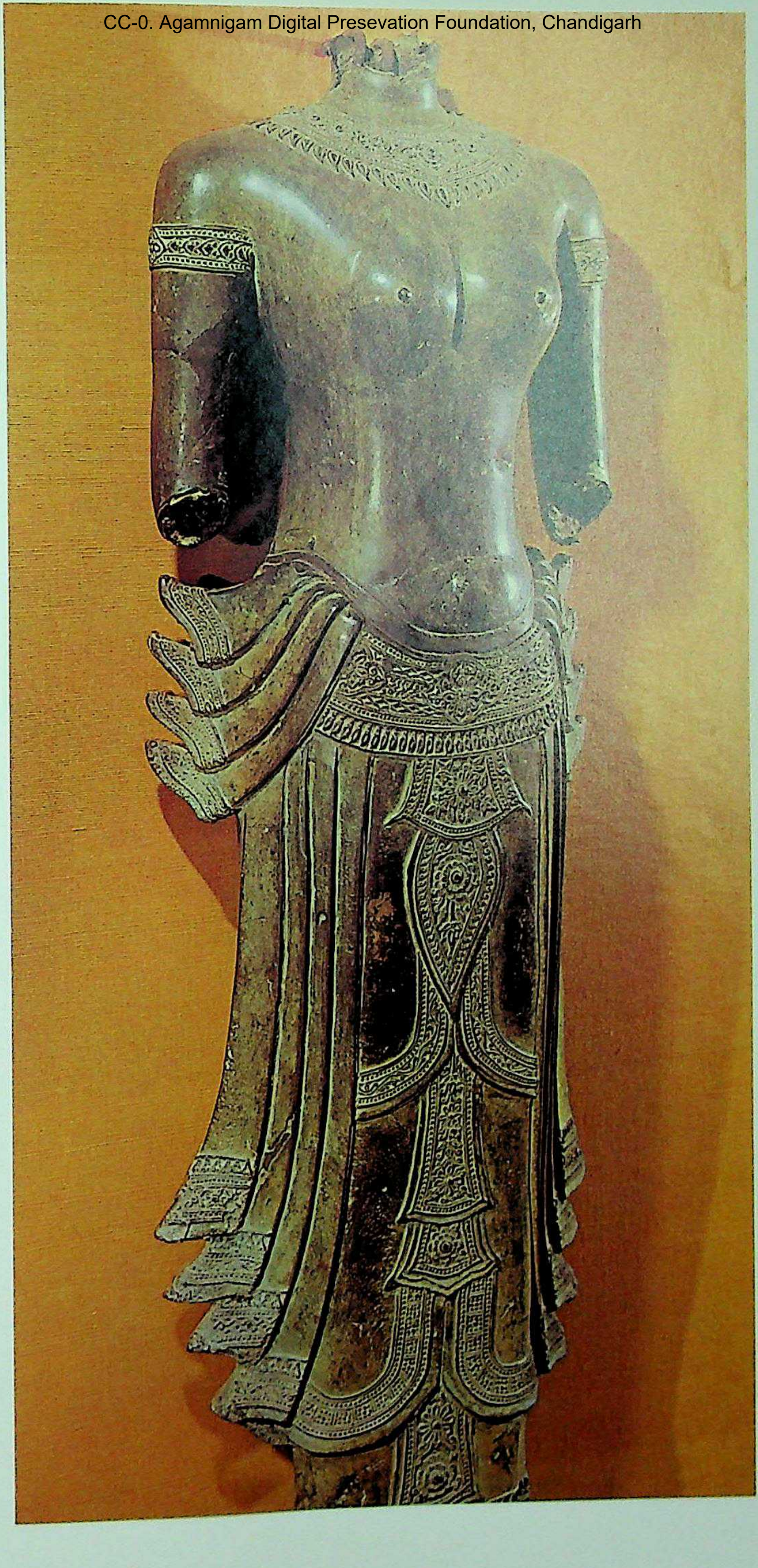
104 Female Divinity, National Museum, Kamphèng Phet

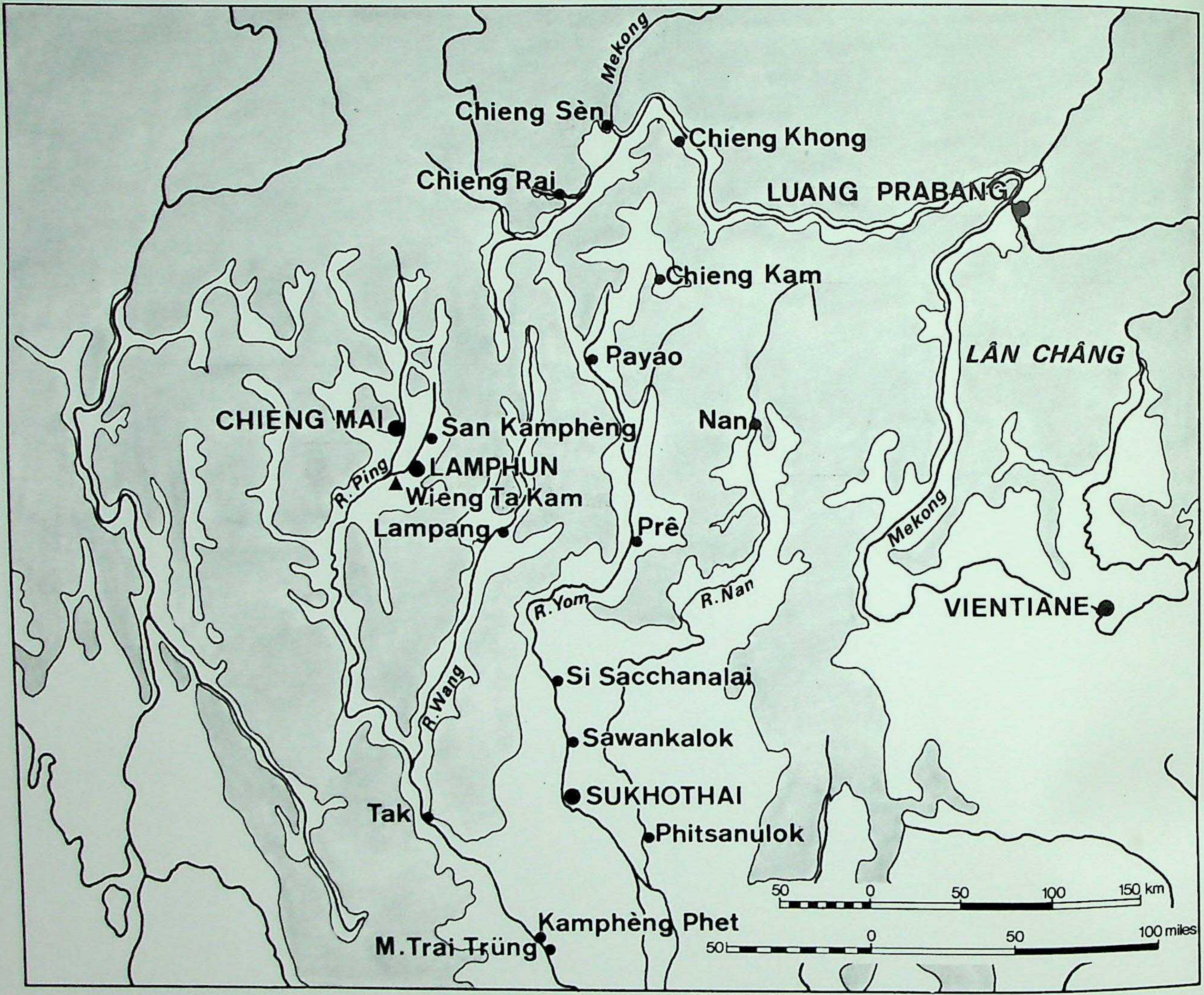
the Brahmanic deities of the Sukhothai school. The stylization of their features seems that of theatrical masks. Wat Mongkon at Sukhothai has yielded the largest group of ceramic architectural adornments. Quite apart from architecture, however, there was a rather large output of figurines done in celadon and in terra-cotta with a gray or brown glaze. In subject matter, these were generally animals or human figures with highly schematized features, all full of life and spontaneity in their facial expressions. These figurines lie outside the scope of our study, but a few larger pieces of fine craftsmanship, such as the glazed war elephants accompanied by warriors (Plate 103), are works which may justly claim attention as sculpture.

Votive tablets occupy in the art of Sukhothai the same privileged place as in the Mahāyāna school of Lopburi during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but now inspired solely by Theravāda Buddhism. It thus fell to Sukhothai to revive in its entirety the earlier iconographical repertory. The Buddha image regained its prominence, but was often associated, too, with representations of the several Buddhas of the Past, who preceded the historical Sākyamuni. Most unusual among these images, which were very often executed in pewter, are those of the walking Buddha (Plate 30). Highly stylized and made in many sizes, the votive figures were very widely diffused. Among them are some fine large plaques which have preserved to the present day their reputation as efficacious safeguards against fire. This belief in their special potency is no doubt based on the Buddha's mastery of fire and water, making them burst forth at his behest when he performed the Great Magical Display at Śrāvastī.



103 War Elephant, National Museum, Jakarta




Mekong
Chieng Sèn
Chieng Khong
Chieng Rai
LUANG PRABANG
Chieng Kam
Payao
LÂN CHÂNG
CHIENG MAI
San Kamphèng
Nan
LAMPHUN
R. Ping
Wieng Ta Kam
Lampang
Prê
Mekong
R. Yom
R. Nan
VIENTIANE
Si Sacchanalai
R. Wang
Sawankalok
SUKHOTHAI
Tak
Phitsanulok
50 0 50 100 150 km
Kamphèng Phet
M. Trai Trüng
50 0 50 100 miles

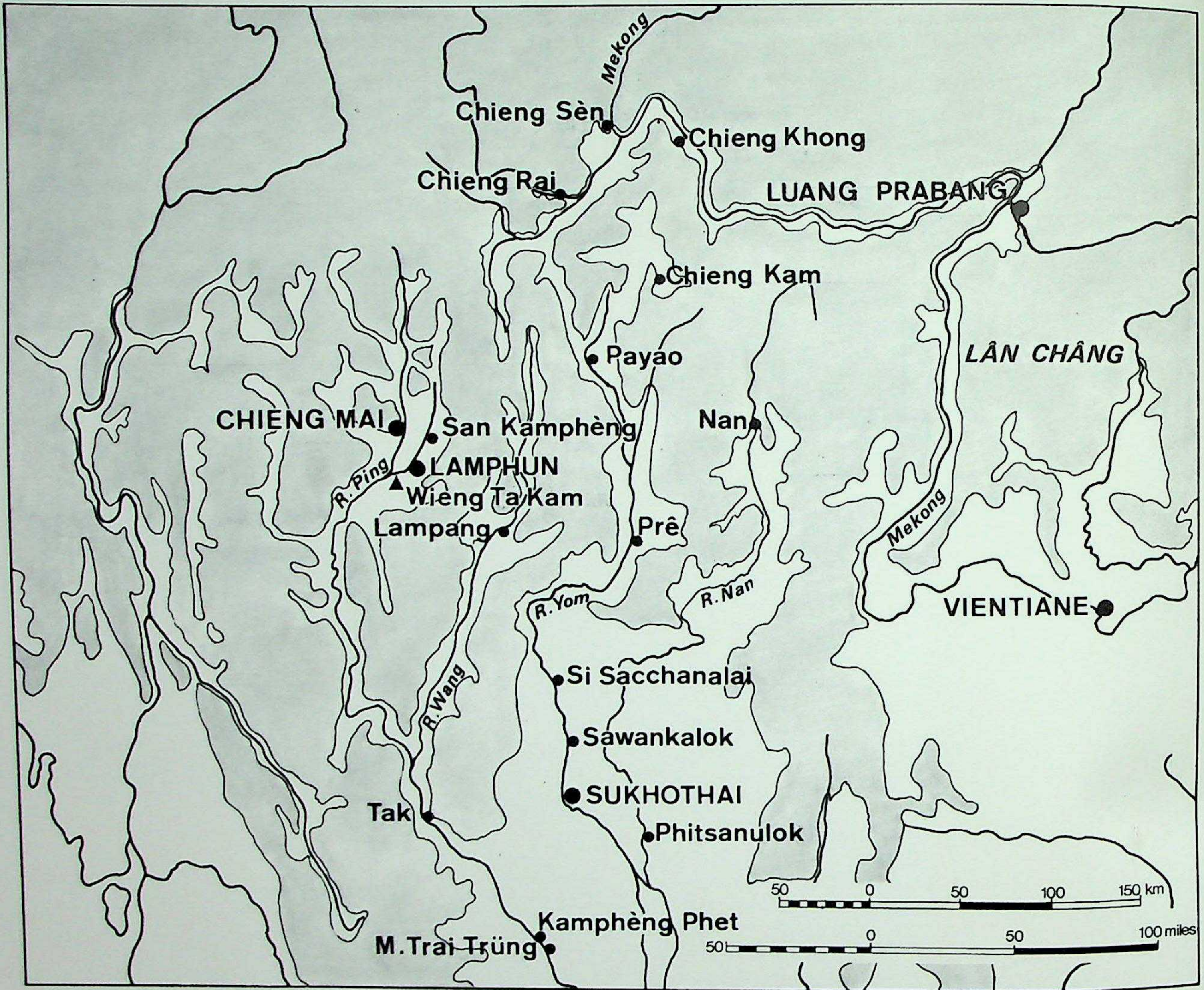
Map V: Lan Na and its Environs

VIII THE SCHOOL OF LAN NA OR CHIENG SEN

The creation of the northern Thai kingdom of Lan Na or Yonakarattha (literally, "kingdom of the Yūon") was the achievement of Mang Rai, believed to be heir to the thirteenth-century princes of Ngön Yang (site of Chieng Sèn) and founder in 1262 of the city of Chieng Rai. In 1287, the very year in which the Mongols captured Pagan, he concluded a treaty of friendship with Rāma Kamhèng and with the prince of Payao. Five years later, he seized the capital of the old kingdom of Haripuñjaya (Lamphun), thereby putting an end to a Mōn dynasty that had probably originated with emigrants from Lopburi in the eighth century.[48] The founding of Chieng Mai (the "new capital") in 1296 marks the beginning of a kingdom which, though often at war with its neighbors and several times overrun and occupied, nevertheless preserved its identity almost down to the present day. The art of Lan Na is one of the most attractive in Thailand; it also has been responsible for frequent and extended controversy. Before embarking on the subject, however, something must first be said about the distinctive art of Haripuñjaya, the kingdom subdued by Mang Rai as he extended his authority over the rich valley of the Mè Ping River.

THE SCHOOL OF HARIPUÑJAYA (LAMPHUN)

The art of Lamphun, best known from the stepped, pyramidal *stūpa* of Wat Kukut (or Wat Chamadewi; Plate 105) does not seem to have exerted any more than a moderate influence on the art of Lan Na. Its traditions, however, apparently survived the demise of Mōn rule for a long time, both at Lamphun and in several lesser centers. Preserved until recently at Lamphun, at Wat Pra That Haripunchai, the earliest works are now in the new Museum of Chieng Mai. They consist essentially of Buddha heads (Plate 107), superbly crafted in limestone or bronze, and belong unquestionably to the "Dvāravatī lineage" of Thai art. Though few in number, these remaining works are of great importance, tending as they do to confirm the scanty documentary accounts of the origins of the dynasty that founded Lamphun. For according to all the chronicles, the Mōn colonists came from Lopburi, the very place where the Dvāravatī art tradition had flourished from the seventh century to the ninth. Works of slightly later date, again unfortunately few in number, reveal some new influences, which appear to be the very ones that were to leave the most enduring mark on the school of Haripuñjaya. The best examples, three statues at Wat Pra That Haripunchai, well illustrated this tendency, but in 1964 they were excessively restored and unfortunately defaced. It may be recorded, however, that they combined the Pāla-Sena tradition of attire and attitude with an aesthetic inherited from the Dvāravatī school. All three Buddha images are seated in meditation in the adamantine position (*vajrāsana*), with the soles of both feet visible and with both hands resting in the lap; the robe covers both shoulders. Unusual in the various schools of Thai sculpture, this attire and attitude continued to occur in the Haripuñjaya school until fairly recent times. Both evoke a tradition present at Pagan as early as the mid-eleventh century, at a time when relations flourished between the Mōn people of Haripuñjaya and those of lower Burma. Despite the difficulty in studying the faces of these three statues today, one still may see that the neck wrinkles were emphatically marked in concentric lines and that the large curls of hair were surmounted by an undeveloped *ushnīsha* ending in a large, smooth conical ornament. Some of these features recur on a very fine bronze statue published by C. Notton,[49] the present whereabouts of which are unfortunately not known. Again represented in meditation, but this time in the hero position (*vīrāsana*), the figure was shown seated on the coils of a *Nāga* in a much later and strongly sinicizing style. In spite of the different pose, the smaller hair-curls, edged with a border on the forehead, and the conical, wholly smooth *ushnīsha*—features implying some interaction with the U Thong "A" style—this fine Buddha wears the same robe covering both shoulders and has the same


Mekong
Chieng Sèn
Chieng Khong
Chieng Rai
LUANG PRABANG
Chieng Kam
Payao
LÂN CHÂNG
CHIENG MAI
San Kamphèng
Nan
LAMPHUN
R. Ping
Wieng Ta Kam
Lampang
Prê
Mekong
R. Nan
R. Yom
VIENTIANE
R. Wang
Si Sacchanalai
Sawankalok
SUKHOTHAI
Tak
Phitsanulok
50 0 50 100 150 km
Kamphèng Phet
M. Trai Trüng
50 0 50 100 miles

Map V : Lan Na and its Environs

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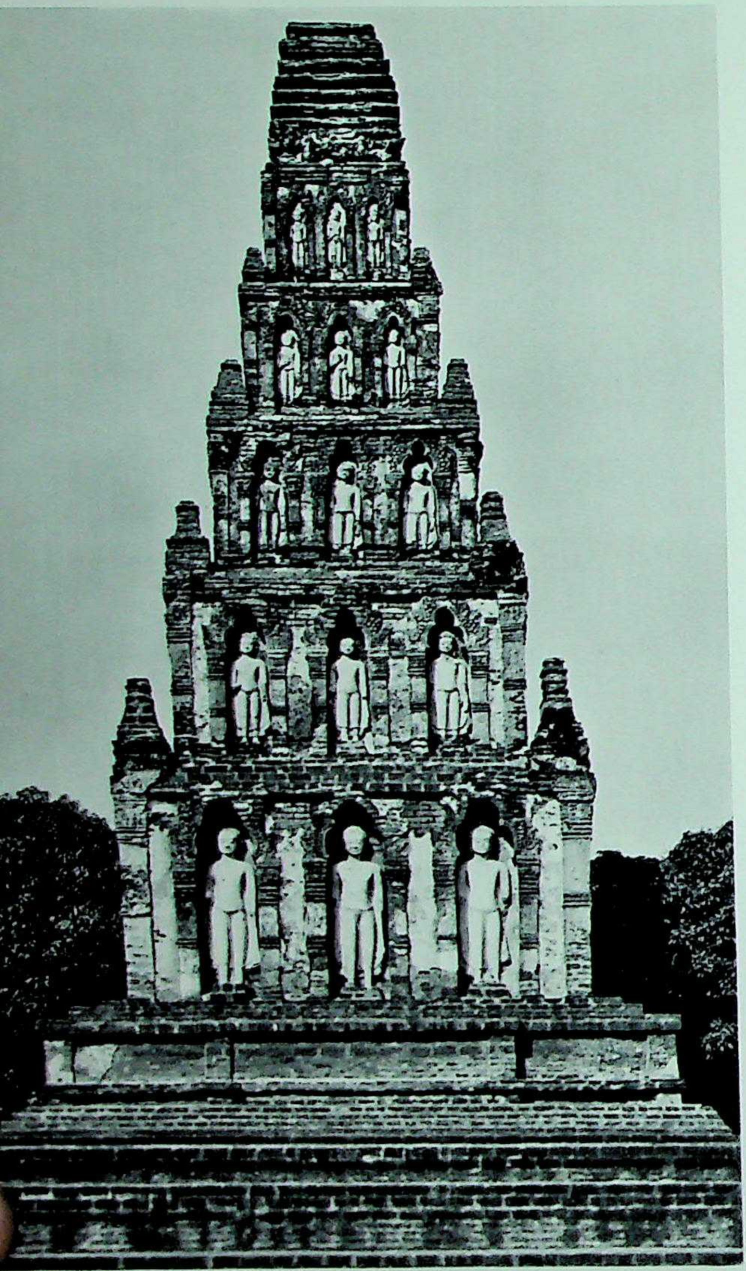
The creation of the northern Thai kingdom of Lan Na or Yonakarattha (literally, " kingdom of the Yūon") was the achievement of Mang Rai, believed to be heir to the thirteenth-century princes of Ngön Yang (site of Chieng Sèn) and founder in 1262 of the city of Chieng Rai. In 1287, the very year in which the Mongols captured Pagan, he concluded a treaty of friendship with Rāma Kamhèng and with the prince of Payao. Five years later, he seized the capital of the old kingdom of Haripuñjaya (Lamphun), thereby putting an end to a Mōn dynasty that had probably originated with emigrants from Lopburi in the eighth century.[48] The founding of Chieng Mai (the " new capital") in 1296 marks the beginning of a kingdom which, though often at war with its neighbors and several times overrun and occupied, nevertheless preserved its identity almost down to the present day. The art of Lan Na is one of the most attractive in Thailand; it also has been responsible for frequent and extended controversy. Before embarking on the subject, however, something must first be said about the distinctive art of Haripuñjaya, the kingdom subdued by Mang Rai as he extended his authority over the rich valley of the Mè Ping River.

THE SCHOOL OF HARIPUÑJAYA (LAMPHUN)

The art of Lamphun, best known from the stepped, pyramidal *stūpa* of Wat Kukut (or Wat Chamadewi; Plate 105) does not seem to have exerted any more than a moderate influence on the art of Lan Na. Its traditions, however, apparently survived the demise of Mōn rule for a long time, both at Lamphun and in several lesser centers. Preserved until recently at Lamphun, at Wat Pra That Haripunchai, the earliest works are now in the new Museum of Chieng Mai. They consist essentially of Buddha heads (Plate 107), superbly crafted in limestone or bronze, and belong unquestionably to the " Dvāravatī lineage" of Thai art. Though few in number, these remaining works are of great importance, tending as they do to confirm the scanty documentary accounts of the origins of the dynasty that founded Lamphun. For according to all the chronicles, the Mōn colonists came from Lopburi, the very place where the Dvāravatī art tradition had flourished from the seventh century to the ninth. Works of slightly later date, again unfortunately few in number, reveal some new influences, which appear to be the very ones that were to leave the most enduring mark on the school of Haripuñjaya. The best examples, three statues at Wat Pra That Haripunchai, well illustrated this tendency, but in 1964 they were excessively restored and unfortunately defaced. It may be recorded, however, that they combined the Pāla-Sena tradition of attire and attitude with an aesthetic inherited from the Dvāravatī school. All three Buddha images are seated in meditation in the adamantine position (*vajrāsana*), with the soles of both feet visible and with both hands resting in the lap; the robe covers both shoulders. Unusual in the various schools of Thai sculpture, this attire and attitude continued to occur in the Haripuñjaya school until fairly recent times. Both evoke a tradition present at Pagan as early as the mid-eleventh century, at a time when relations flourished between the Mōn people of Haripuñjaya and those of lower Burma. Despite the difficulty in studying the faces of these three statues today, one still may see that the neck wrinkles were emphatically marked in concentric lines and that the large curls of hair were surmounted by an undeveloped *ushnīsha* ending in a large, smooth conical ornament. Some of these features recur on a very fine bronze statue published by C. Notton,[49] the present whereabouts of which are unfortunately not known. Again represented in meditation, but this time in the hero position (*vīrāsana*), the figure was shown seated on the coils of a *Nāga* in a much later and strongly sinicizing style. In spite of the different pose, the smaller hair-curls, edged with a border on the forehead, and the conical, wholly smooth *ushnīsha*—features implying some interaction with the U Thong " A" style—this fine Buddha wears the same robe covering both shoulders and has the same

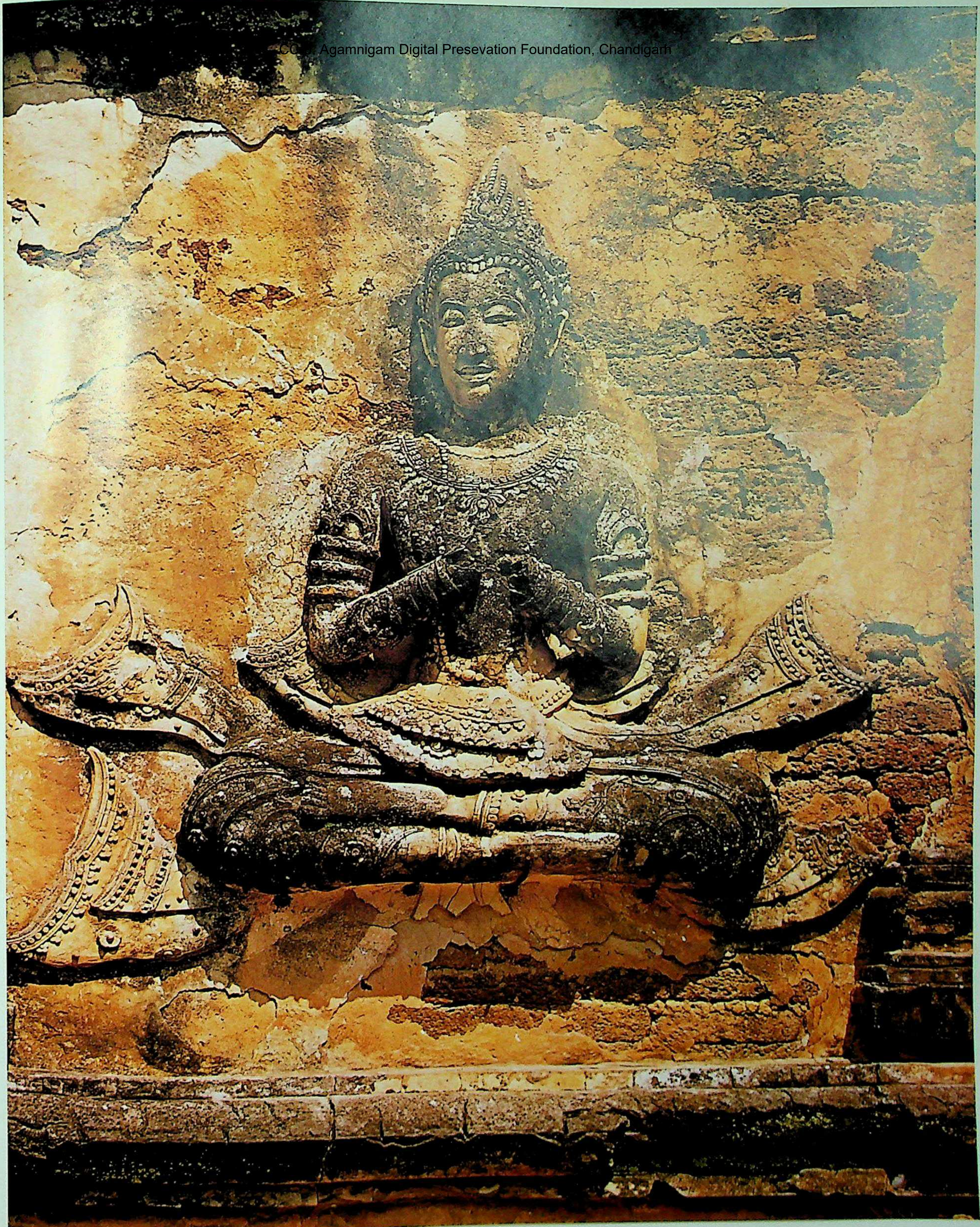


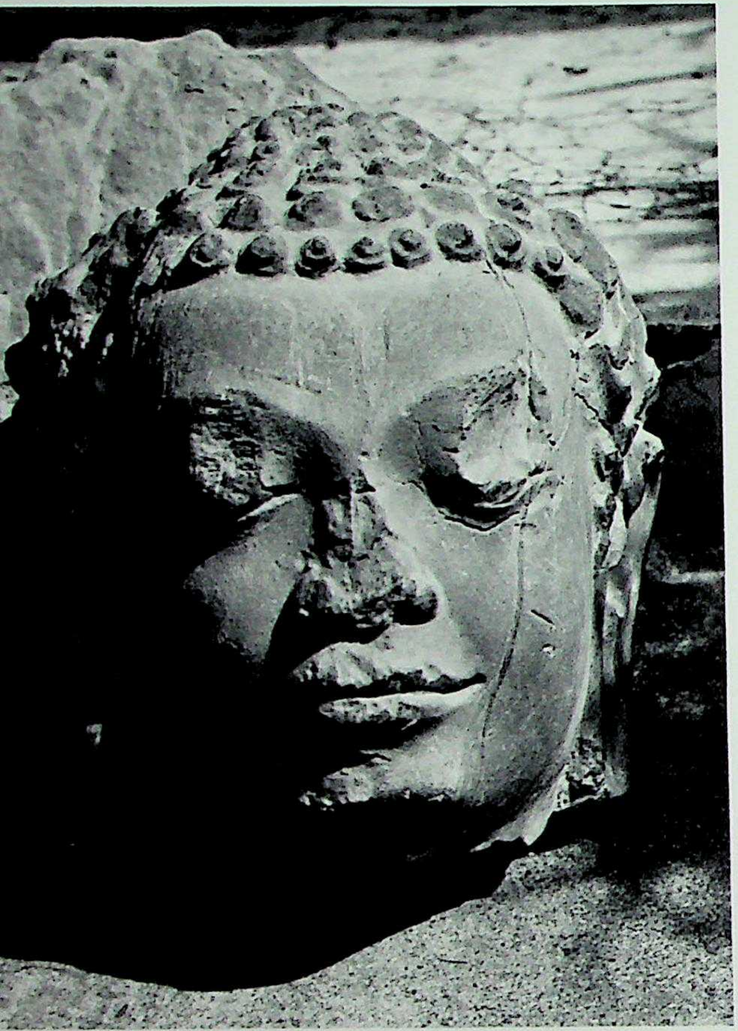
105 Square Chedi of Wat Kukut (Wat Chamadewi), Lamphun

neck wrinkles as those of the previous group. Doubtless a later work, it seems to supply the link with the standing images that share the same iconography.

Seated images being few in number, the standing statues, or rather high reliefs, are much more characteristic of the school. They were mass-produced, often from molds; their plastic quality suffered accordingly, but the stability of the style was maintained. A few adorned bronzes in the Pāla-Sena style are also known, but they seem to have had little or no influence on the school, in which crowned Buddhas are very rare. A group of works from Wieng Ta Kam must nevertheless be singled out as indicating the complexity of the style. Consisting of large embossed figures, mostly in bronze, fourteen to sixteen inches high on the average, they are of rather uncouth workmanship but show most of the iconographical features mentioned above. Represented in *vitarka mudrā,* with either the left or right hand held in front of the chest and the other hanging loose, these Buddhas wear a robe covering both shoulders similar to the one worn by the large statues. Most of them are adorned with the diadem of the Pāla tradition, distinguished by high triangular fleurons, and with a broad necklet with pendants. Apart from these ornaments, the images are very similar in style to the large stucco or terracotta figures on monuments such as Wat Kukut (Plate 108), where they grace the sides and tiers of the famous square *chedi* and the octagonal *chedi.* The history of the former is well known from inscriptions.[50] Defined as belonging to the *ratana cetiya* (jewel monument) type, this *chedi* is thought to have been first constructed in the first half of the twelfth century and later rebuilt in 1218. Probably the decoration of the sixty niches and the Buddha figures contained in them, three on each face of each story, have been restored several times since that date, but in their essential characteristics they seem to have preserved their original state fairly well (Plate 105). Of decreasing size from level to level, each of the Buddhas is a standing figure, with left arm hanging down and right hand raised in a gesture which would seem to be the *abhaya mudrā*. The robe covers both shoulders and, in the lower part, forms two groups of perfectly regular and symmetrical pleats, recalling a type of stylization noted from Dvāravatī to Lopburi; the two edges of the robe, clinging to each other under the forearm, point to origins in Pāla-Sena art or in its derivative at Pagan. At the waist, a single fillet figures a more or less pronounced accolade set off by a single incised line. In contrast to the characteristic attire of Lopburi images, neither frontal flap nor belt is indicated. The broad-browed faces have a half-smiling expression; the eyes are cast slightly downward and the upper lip is sometimes surmounted by a moustache faintly indicated by

106 Worshipping Divinity, Wat Chedi Chet Yot, Chieng Mai





107 *Head from a Buddha Image, Museum of Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun*

an incised line (Plate 108). The eyebrows form continuous, salient curves recalling the art of Dvāravatī; the hair, in small, pointed, almost bristling curls, with a clearly defined border, and the *ushnīsha* interpreted as a smooth cone have no counterpart except in the U Thong "A" style.

All these features give the Buddhas of the Haripuñjaya school a marked originality. Their evident unity of style may possibly be attributed to the use of terra-cotta molds for the execution of all the figures (see Chapter II). The fact remains that the very fine images on the octagonal *chedi* of Wat Kukut (Plate 108) perform a slightly different gesture, with both forearms raised symmetrically in a gesture recalling the old iconography of Dvāravatī. As for the Buddhas housed in the niches of the *ratana cetiya* at Wat Pra That Haripunchai, built as late as 1447, they perpetuate the iconographical tradition of the school a century and a half after the kingdom had disappeared.

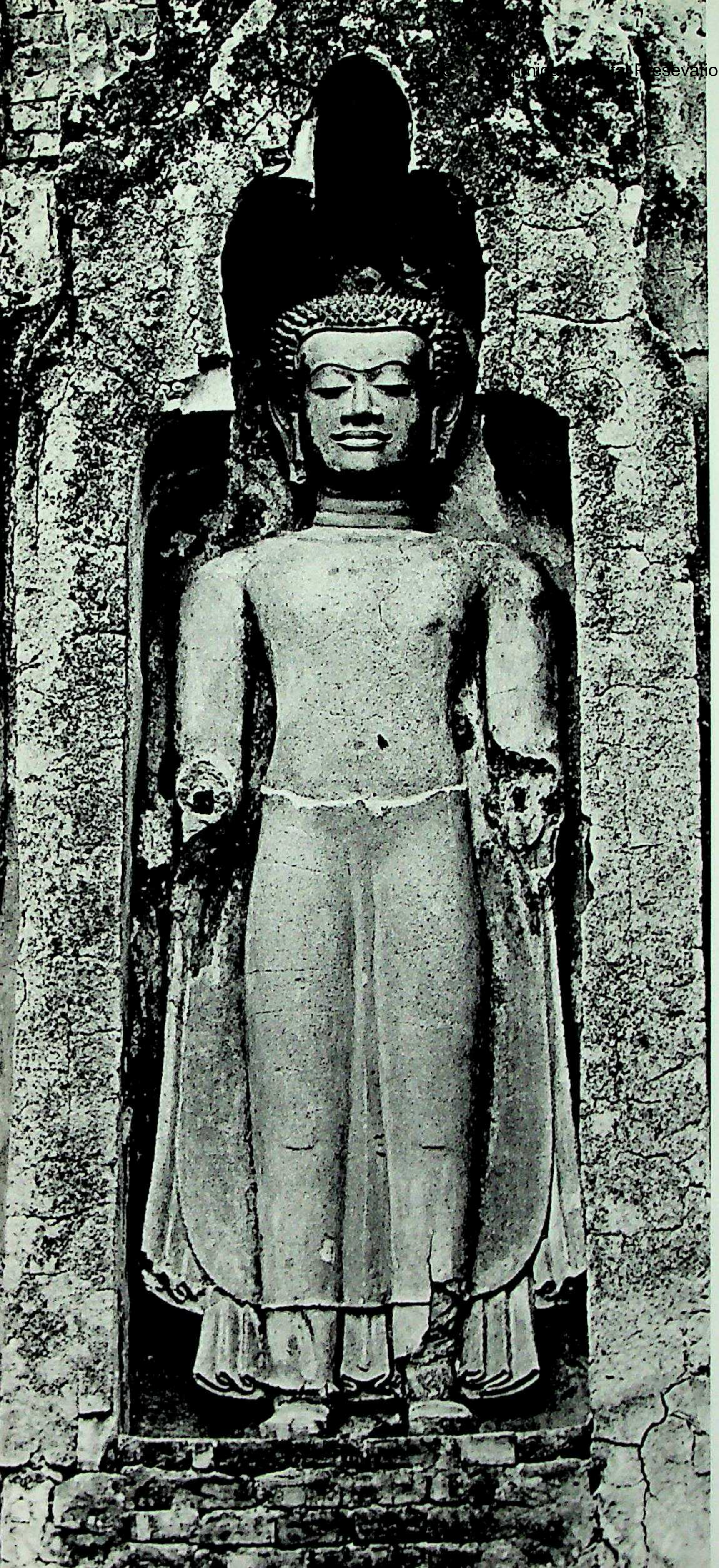
There exist a few statues of monks or disciples displaying the same general characteristics as the Buddha images, but revealing also a deliberate effort to differentiate the facial features (Plate 110). Unfortunately, we know nothing of the groups or sequences to which these figures belonged, nor can we surmise what use was made of the princely figures (Plate 109). These too are of terra-cotta, but are too fragmentary to reveal the exact arrangement of the attire; only the diadems indicate clearly the influence of the Pāla-Sena tradition referred to above. The faces show the same attempt at individualization, bordering sometimes on caricature, as in the statues of monks. At an interval of many centuries, this tendency recalls one of the favorite traditions of Dvāravatī sculpture.

The architectural decorations, closely related to such compositions as those framing the *chedi* niches at Wat Kukut (Plate 105), show an artistry that is generally more spontaneous, if occasionally less refined, than corresponding decorations in the other schools. The surviving stucco decorations have been repeatedly restored, and as is inevitable in such cases the original forms have been progressively obscured. Nonetheless, the general design has been respected, and certain familiar themes clearly recall earlier traditions. The *makara* heads that adorn the extremities of the cusped arches, for example, are reminiscent of the Dvāravatī school in the stylization of their jaws and their compositional arrangement. The Wat Kukut decorations invite comparison with the terra-cottas from Wieng Ta Kam: in both can be seen *makaras* in the same style and heads of curiously jovial, almost comical, monsters that recall works of the Dvāravatī school. Foliage motifs, on the other hand, often lack character, even when associated with bust figures.

The Votive Tablets of Haripuñjaya display a great variety of themes and, for the most part, a fine delicacy of execution; this is true even of the smallest figurines, such as those of the Wat Pra Khong type from Lamphun. All are made of terra-cotta. In design, some recall certain Lopburi *Pra Pim* of the thirteenth century. The Buddha, occasionally crowned but more often without adornments, is usually seated in the *vajrāsana* posture, with his hands in the triumphant *māravijaya* gesture.

The Haripuñjaya school seems to have originated a peculiar iconography of the Buddha, in which is fused the

Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

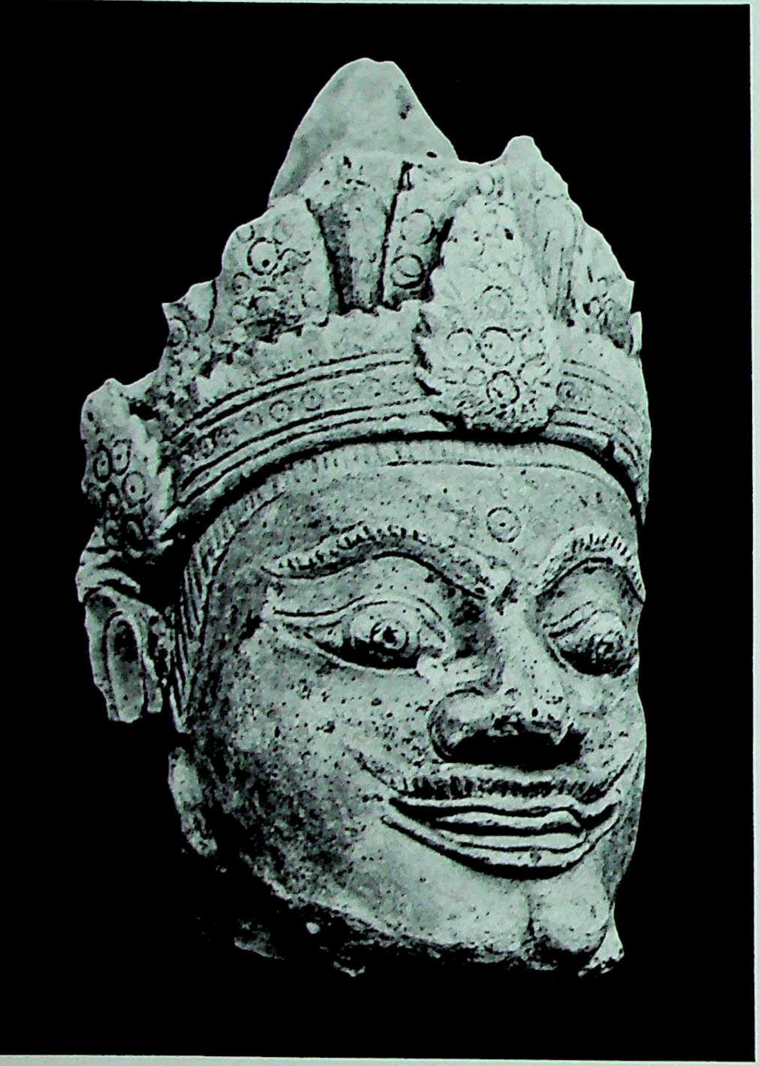


traditions of Dvāravatī, Pāla-Sena, and probably also Angkorian art. In its decorative art it seems much more conservative, and its influence on the art of Lan Na was presumably very slight. Haripuñjaya did, however, exert a somewhat greater effect on the elaboration of the U Thong style, about which more will be said in the following chapter.

THE SCHOOL OF LAN NA

The earliest images of the Buddha that may properly be labeled "Thai" are believed to have originated in the principalities in the extreme northern section of present-day Thailand, in the region of Chieng Sèn. The area achieved political independence as early as the eleventh century, and the images produced there are for that reason often held to be older than those of the kingdom of Sukhothai, which can scarcely have made their appearance before about the middle of the thirteenth century. There is much to be said for this view. Taking into account the beauty of what appear to be the earliest images and the Pāla influences which they reveal, as well as the fact that Chieng Sèn alone made use of an original casting technique (see Chapter II), one would be all the more inclined to take for granted the existence of sophisticated workshops in the northern region. The problem, however, is not quite so simple. The present town of Chieng Sèn was founded only in 1327-28, and no remains of earlier date have yet come to light in the area. Further, of the oldest statues, none was discovered in an archaeological context that permits it to be dated with any precision. From the fact that images unquestionably derived from Pāla traditions are known, such as the bronzes mentioned above or the Pra Sila (the "Stone Buddha") venerated at Wat Chieng Man in Chieng Mai and dated to the tenth century,[51] one can only conclude that the Pāla-Sena iconography must have penetrated the Mè Ping Valley as early as the eleventh century. It may also be inferred from this evidence, and from the fact that Mang Rai is said to have brought artists and craftsmen from Pagan in 1290, that the characteristic style of the school had taken form by the time Wat Chieng Man was founded in 1292. Although the chronicles refer to images made of stone, sandalwood, and crystal, the art of Lan Na is represented essentially by bronze statuary of superior technical quality. But while the study of Lan Na sculpture

108 *Standing Buddha, Wat Kukut, Lamphun*



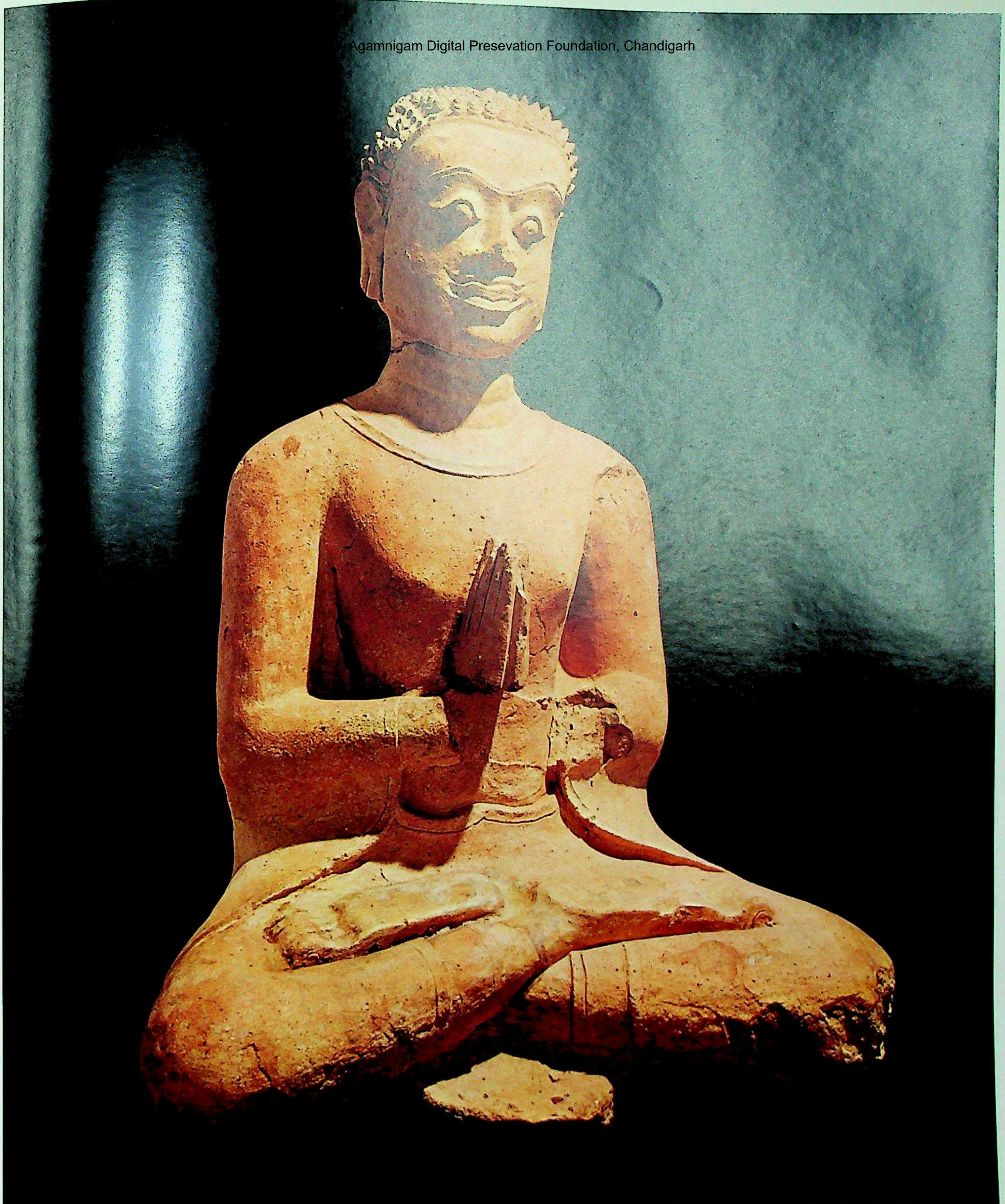
109 Head with a Diadem, Museum of Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun

is wholly dominated by the iconographical problems concerned with the Buddha image and technical questions involving bronze-casting, it would be a serious mistake to overlook the stuccos and terra-cottas, which, though less abundant than at Sukhothai, are nevertheless full of interest.

The Buddha images of Lan Na are, for the most part, very different from those of Sukhothai, both in aesthetic and in iconography. Students of Thai art generally distinguish two main styles: early Chieng Sèn and late Chieng Sèn (or Chieng Mai style). The former is the more remarkable for its plastic qualities and for its closeness to the Pāla tradition. Two separate tendencies are sometimes identified in characterizing early Chieng Sèn sculpture: a soft, supple attitude in some works contrasted to the stiffness of others.[52] In the later Chieng Sèn style, the original iconography is modified by the influence of Sukhothai art; the result is a number of types whose plastic quality declines considerably under the impact of progressive stylizations and the extension of patronage from the sixteenth century on. A series of images belonging to the latter group [53] and dated by inscriptions has been published by A. B. Griswold, who has proposed the attractive theory that the school arose at the time when the first influences of Sukhothai were making themselves felt at Chieng Mai during the reign of Kü Na (1355-85). The images of the early style were brought forward in time and attributed by Griswold to the reign of Tilokarājā (1441-87), which he rightfully describes as a golden age. Thus, the early style is rendered roughly contemporary with the earliest dated statues. Despite the lack of any precise chronological data for the early style, there is one grave defect in this hypothesis: it ignores the fact—an essential one where artistic evolution is concerned—that two different styles cannot coexist in the same place at the same time.[54] Since the images of the early style show certain morphological features that never appear in the later style, even in its most remarkable works, it therefore seems impossible to attribute the early style to the fifteenth century.[55] One critical question remains unanswered: is this later Chieng Sèn style to be dated only to the late-thirteenth century, when Chieng Mai was founded, or might it be even earlier?

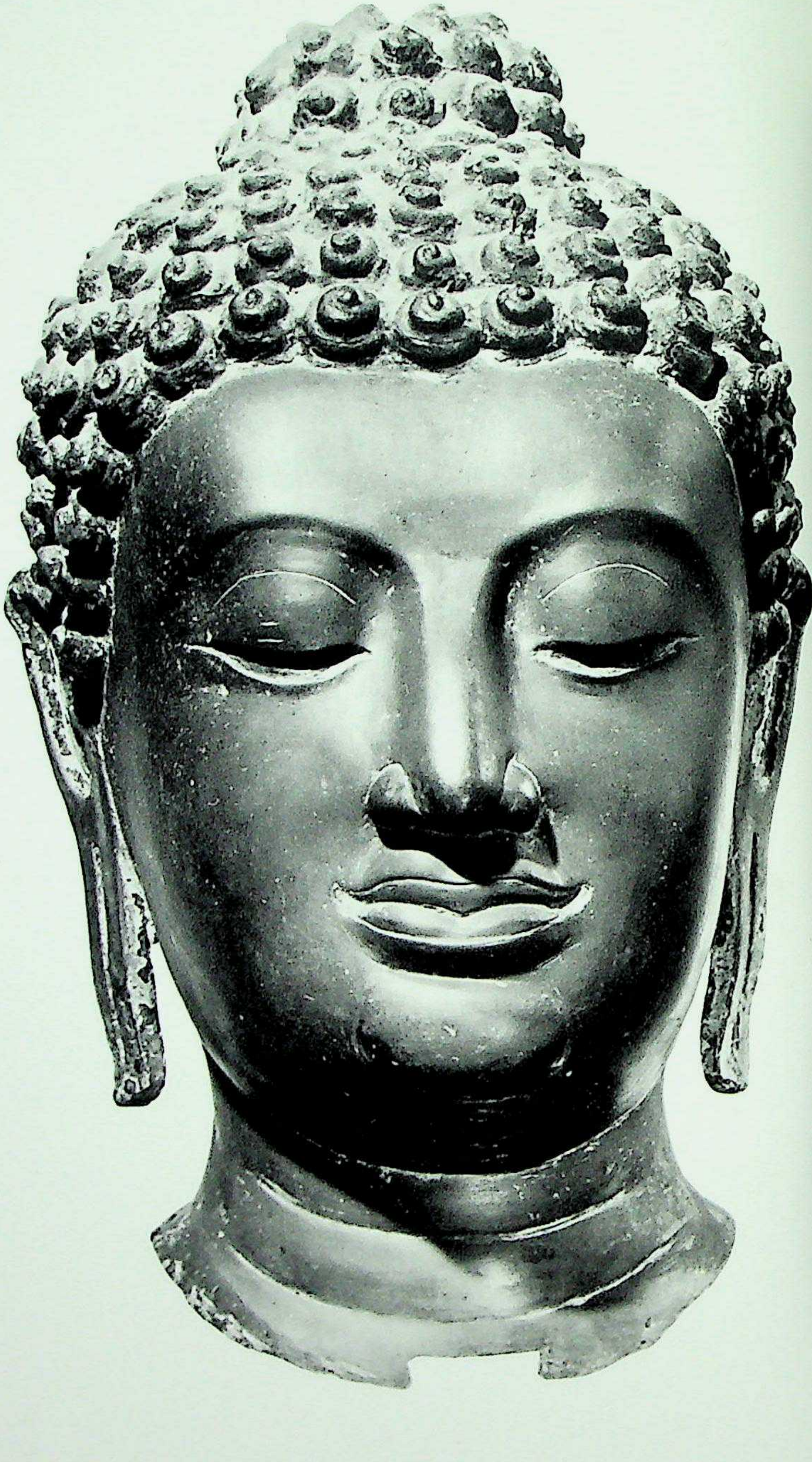
The characteristic image of the Lan Na school is a seated statue of the Buddha subduing Māra, touching the ground with the fingertips of his right hand in the *bhumisparśa mudrā* (Plate 112). Although this gesture is, after all, the one most common to all the Thai schools, beginning with Sukhothai, the statuary of Lan Na is distinguished by various iconographical details that are peculiar to itself and by an aesthetic that is always wholly original. It is in the early style that the Buddha image is most remarkable. A trace of Pāla iconography is unmistakable, but that influence alone cannot suppress the genuine originality of the style: the Lan Na style is never a mere imitation of Pāla art, nor does it even seem strongly influenced by it as was the art of Pagan. Furthermore, characteristic figures of the

110 Worshipping Disciple, National Museum, Chieng Mai

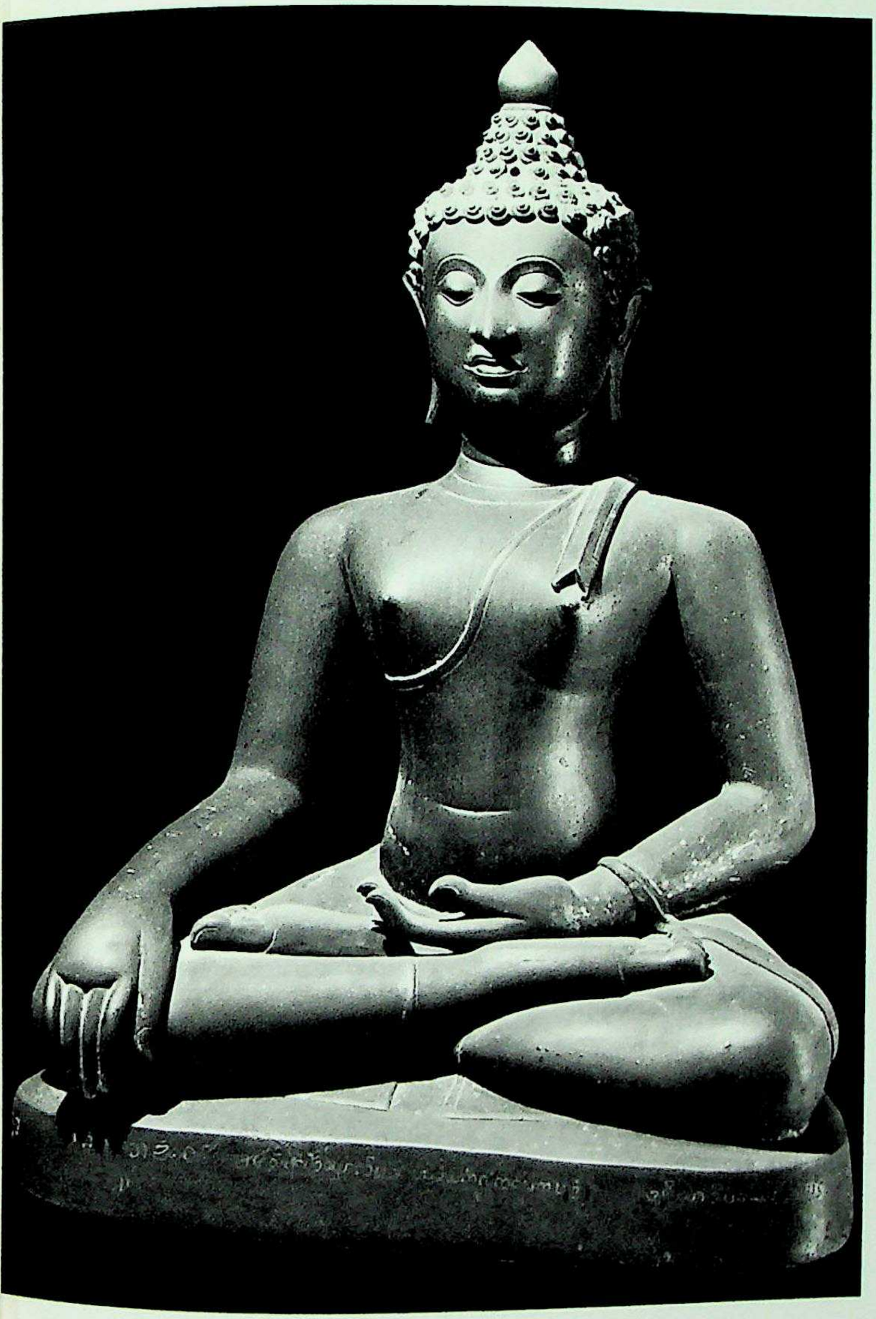


Buddha subduing Māra, always shown with the right arm held out from the body and its hand on the knee or very near it, differ markedly from the corresponding attitude in Pāla statuary, where the right arm is in line with the body and the hand rests at the mid-point of the leg. The Lan Na attitude is rare and appears to have been found in India only in a few works from Sirpur in Madhya Pradesh and in works of the eighth or ninth century from Virat Cuttack in Orissa. This connection would seem to support the old conjecture that direct contacts existed between India and the principalities of northern Thailand. However, the typal image is characterized by its attitude and attire, and above all by a morphology that is reminiscent not so much of the general Pāla style as of the more particularized art forms of some workshop keeping to the same tradition as Virat Cuttack.[56]

Seated in *vajrāsana,* the body perfectly upright, the characteristic Buddha wears a robe that leaves the whole right side of his chest exposed, with a very short flap folded over the left shoulder. There is usually no indication of a belt at the waist; at most, there may be a single line of edging. The delicately modeled torso, with a well-developed chest and very broad shoulders, corresponds to the original descriptions that ascribe to the Buddha a glorious body "with the chest of a lion, full armpits, and the round solidity of a banyan tree" (Plates 112, 113). The face has an expression of great serenity (Plates 14, 111): eyes lowered under arched, distinctly separated brows gaze down and inward; the straight, delicate nose is unemphasized, and the rather fleshy lips give the figures a wholly classical beauty that is at once human and idealized.[57] The rather heavy curls of the hair are surmounted by a large hemispherical *ushnīsha,* on which stands the smooth, bulbous ornament characteristic of the Pāla school and often improperly described as a lotus bud. Apart from a few minor similarities, nothing in this image recalls the Buddhas of Sukhothai or those of Haripuñjaya. One is forced to conclude that some other influence was at work on this early style. The possibility of contaminations from the Haripuñjaya school cannot be ruled out entirely, however, for a few images show the same excellent plastic quality as the figures seated in *virāsana* at Wat Pra That Haripunchai (Lamphun) (Plate 113) and those represented in *samādhi* at Wat Lampang Luang (Lampang). The visage of the Lan Na figures seems to have altered rapidly (Plate 117): the nose, originally straight, became more prominent and curving as sometimes in the Śrīvijaya school or, more directly, in the Sukhothai school. The base of the nose, however, remained perfectly rectilinear, giving the faces a



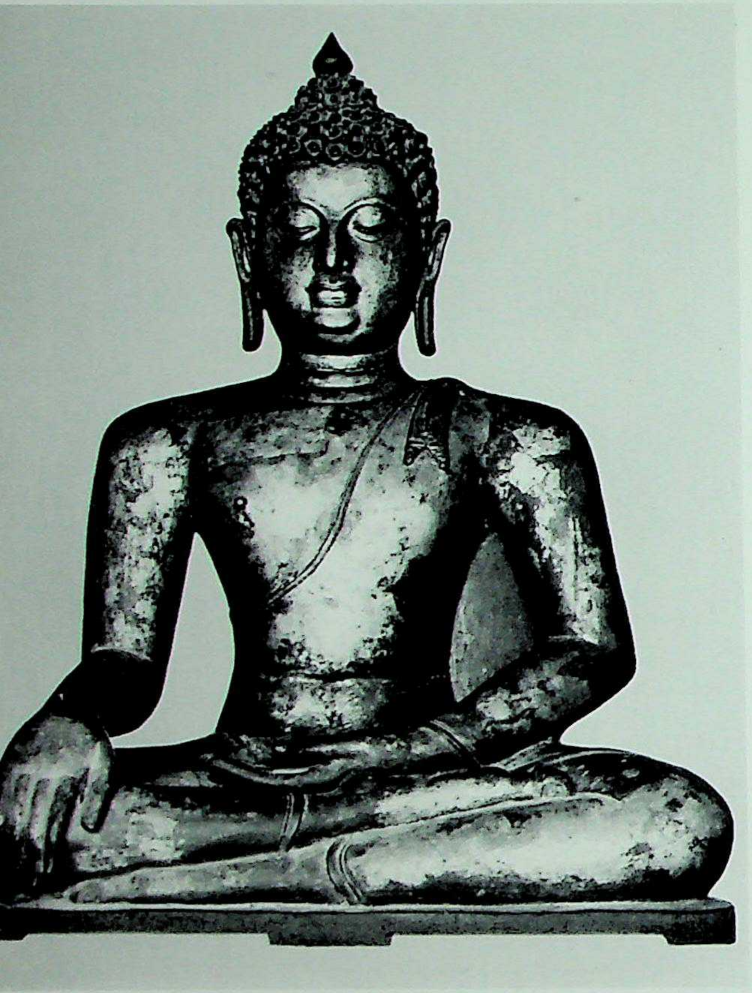
111 Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, Bangkok



112 *Buddha Subduing Māra, Dr. Viroj Kanasut Collection, Bangkok*

rather curious expression which the progressive stylization of eyes, eyebrows, and lips sometimes transformed into a slightly disdainful pout. A head from Chieng Sèn (Plate 111), its provenance confirmed by its system of mortise joints, belongs unquestionably to the early style and would tend to prove the existence of a bronze-casting workshop in the region previous to the founding of the town in 1327-28. Similar correspondences to earlier schools may be seen in the figures at Wat Pasak, founded in 1319, whose *chedi* seems to combine architectural themes from both the Śrīvijaya and the Sukhothai traditions. Housed in the deep niches of the base were stucco images of the Buddha and adorned divinities. The Buddhas, standing with very long dangling arms, seem to betray a hint of Sukhothai influence in the style of their faces. This influence would thus appear to be earlier than the official contacts established by King Kü Na, were it not that the robe—draped in the fashion of Sukhothai—includes a belt and a frontal flap, the late character of which we have already stressed. Even though some restoration seems to have taken place, it in no way detracts from the quality of the decorations at the Wat Pasak *chedi* (Plate 115), one of the most remarkable of the Lan Na monuments.

The so-called later Chieng Sèn style might have taken form toward the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century, when the monk Sumana was summoned from Sukhothai by King Kü Na to propagate Sinhalese Buddhism at Chieng Mai. On that occasion, a monument is known to have been erected at Wat Pra Yun, east of Lamphun, and adorned with four large statues of stuccoed laterite. Unfortunately, as A. B. Griswold has shown, the present monument dates only from the beginning of the twentieth century; enclosed within the new construction is all that remained of the original, completely ruined edifice, together with its statues. Though we know nothing of the style of the images of Sumana's day, it seems likely that they were fairly similar to the figures on Chedi Wat Pasak. The most characteristic statues of this later style remain the seated images in the *Māravijaya* attitude. The decline in their aesthetic value seems to have begun much earlier. Judging by the dated works, that degeneration was accelerated in the opening years of the sixteenth century under the impact of new influences. The Buddha image ceased to be governed by the relatively strict iconography of the early style and, influenced by Sukhothai or even by Lao art, it was allowed to take on a variety of iconographically mixed features. It has been noted above that the statues seated in the *virāsana* pose seem to have made their appearance with the early style; in

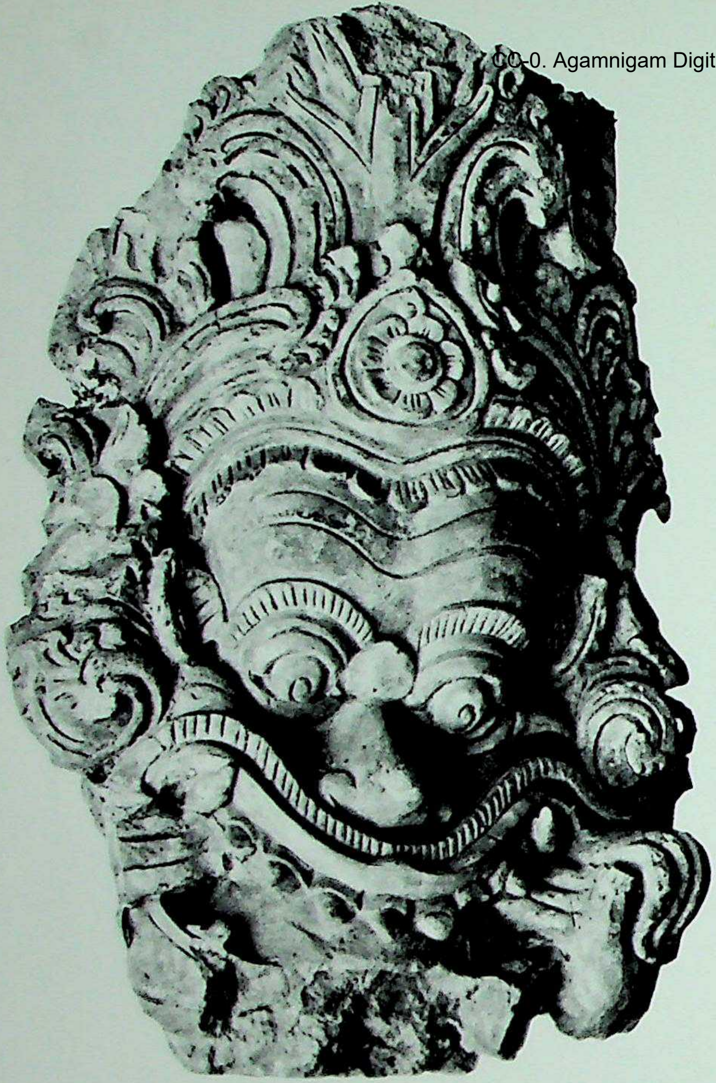


113 Buddha Subduing Māra, Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun

the later style, this attitude tended to become more general. Only in the finest works do we find a tendency to adhere strictly to the original tradition down to the least details. This is what Griswold has called the "lion type", governed by the same iconography as the famous Pra Sing ("Lion Lord") of Wat Pra Sing Luang at Chieng Mai, and this is the iconography that already characterized the early style. Unfortunately, we do not know when the Pra Sing was installed at Chieng Mai nor what its original features were, its head having been stolen in 1922. All the dated statues, even those most successful in plastic terms, reveal some contamination in such features as the stylization of the flap over the left shoulder and the treatment of the hair; above all, there is a certain dryness in the modeling that becomes increasingly noticeable in later works. All of the many statues not belonging to the "lion type" adopted one or more Sukhothai characteristics (e.g., Plate 114): the seated *vīrāsana* position, the long flap descending over the left side of the torso, the flame ornament replacing the "lotus bud", or the right hand tending to descend in a line with the axis of the body. It may be pointed out, however, that the general aesthetic only rarely recalls that of Sukhothai, and that from the sixteenth century the stylization seems to evoke Lao art rather than that of Sukhothai. While many images of the later style are disappointing and decadent, some are no less remarkable for their departure from the original ideal. The fine Pra Sihing (the so-called "Sinhalese Buddha") from Chieng Mai, now in the Wat Suthat in Bangkok, evokes the serenity of Sinhalese images, hence its name, rather than the ideal of Sukhothai.

Although the later Chieng Sèn style is chiefly represented by Buddhas in the *Māravijaya* attitude and occasionally by Buddhas seated in *samādhi* (Plate 118), it nevertheless shows a certain iconographical variety. Particularly noteworthy are some interesting crowned *Māravijaya* Buddhas, seated in the *vīrāsana* pose (Plate 117), whose aesthetic and adornments owe nothing to Sukhothai. Much the same is true of a walking Buddha, dated 1482; this image is more remarkable for its subject matter than its execution, for it shows the Buddha marking his footprint in those of the previous Buddhas during the Descent from the Tāvatimsa Heaven at Sānkāśya. Among the few extant standing Buddhas, there is a bronze type similar in form to the figure on Chedi Wat Pasak, referred to above. The colossal statue at Wat Chedi Luang at Chieng Mai, its right hand in the *abhaya mudrā,* seems in its attire to adhere to the same tradition as the Wat Pasak images. Though rare, reclining Buddhas are represented by a fine large image at Wat Kho at Lampang: dated 1602, it reveals the extent to which the style continued to produce both creditable and paltry works concurrently. Mention must also be made of a few rather odd compositions: a Buddha seated on a fabulous elephant-headed bird (Plate 118), somewhat reminiscent of the even more curious figures in the Dvāravatī bestiary; a Buddha standing on the headdress of the god Śiva kneeling in an attitude of worship. The style of the bases and pedestals of such curious works is usually sufficient in itself to distinguish them as belonging to the Lan Na school. The diversity of the compositions and their varied trans-

114 Buddha Subduing Māra, Wat Pra Sing Luang, Chieng Mai



115 *Kīrtimukha, National Museum, Chieng Sèn*

formations cannot be dealt with here; it should be noted, however, that their most frequent and characteristic form is the lotus seat *(padmāsana)* with broad, upright petals and stylized stamens (e.g., Plate 117).

Brahmanic images do not achieve the prominence in Lan Na art that they enjoyed in the Sukhothai school. There do exist, however, a few bronzes—unfortunately incomplete, for the most part—of unidentified gods wearing adornments and attire quite different from those of Sukhothai. The superb stucco figures of Wat Chedi Chet Yot at Chieng Mai are garbed with an abundance of ribbons, numerous rings, and wear an elaborate headdress (Plates 11, 106). These anonymous divinities, standing or kneeling, their hands usually clasped in prayer, may be compared with various princely images (e.g., Plate 119) that were usually depicted in attitudes of homage or worship. The oldest of these figures date apparently to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it is by their attire and adornments that they can be distinguished, almost infallibly, from the works of Sukhothai and Ayuthya.

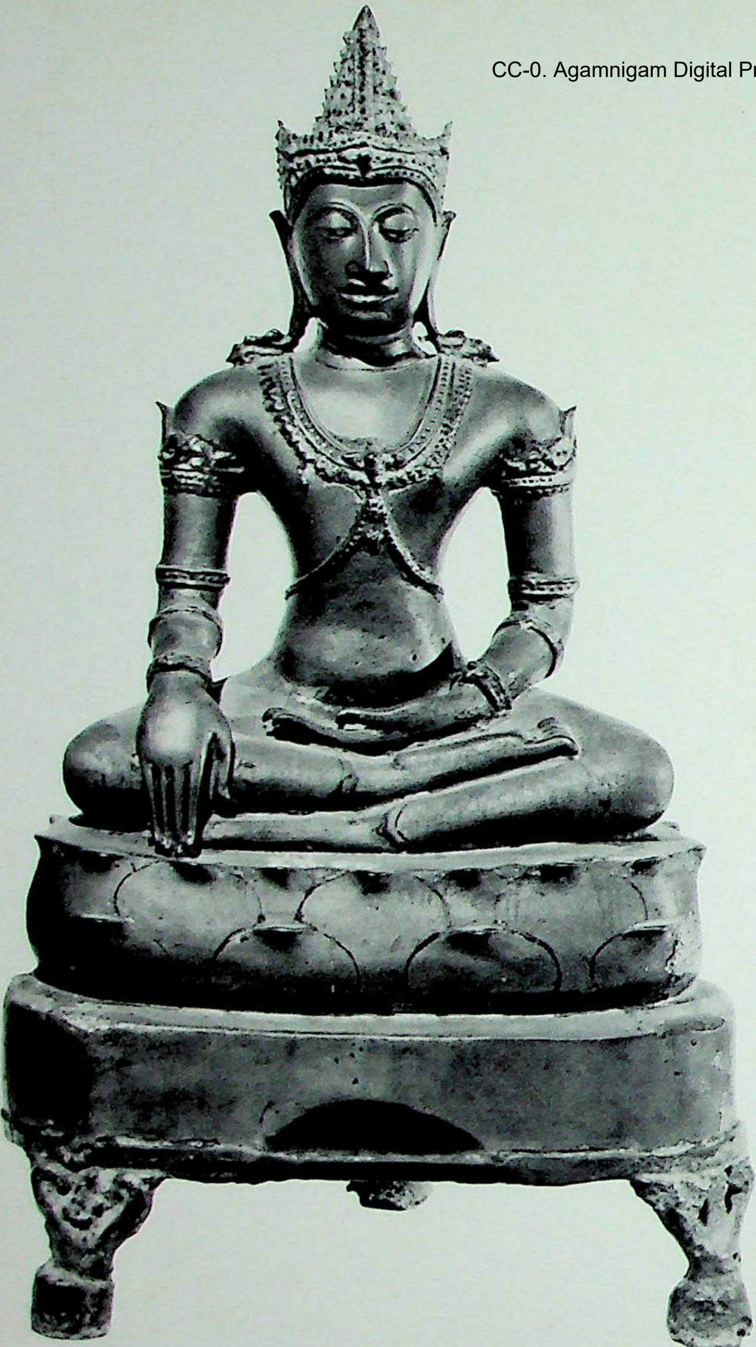
Architectural decoration and stucco figures in Lan Na have neither the same character nor the significance of their Sukhothai counterparts, both because of marked differences in the construction of monuments and because of the lessened prominence of the Lan Na Buddha image. In many cases, especially at Chieng Mai, decorations and figures have been repeatedly restored, causing real difficulties in the study of monuments whose history has not been adequately documented. Restorations painstakingly carried out in fairly recent times avoid making the style appear degenerate and consequently mislead modern scholars. The most remarkable case is doubtless that of Wat Pra Yun at Lamphun, whose present *chedi*, built in the early twentieth century in a style inspired by Burmese art, has been mistaken for the original *chedi,* which was constructed in 1369; so successful was the modern imitation that in 1925 one scholar could write of the newly built *chedi*: "The latter, admirably well preserved, very much recalls the style of certain temples at Pagan, notably that of That-byin-nyu." 58

Ignorant though we may be of the actual date of execution of the stuccos and terra-cottas at Chedi Wat Pasak, we can admire the superb quality both of the architectural decorations and of the *devatā* figures that alternate in the niches of the base with the Buddha images mentioned above. The figures are clothed in robes with broad pleats spreading out from the belt and with long loose flaps which may recall Sukhothai drapery, although it is actually quite different. Though relatively sober and devoid of the profusion of ribbons and other ornamentation which seems to characterize the school, these figures usher in a long series of images found on various types of *stūpas* and even on certain library buildings. As for the very lavish architectural decoration, it combines stucco and terra-cotta techniques and recalls the Pagan tradition in its arrangement on pilasters and arches. But the Lan Na decorations consist of a very different assemblage of figures in which *nāgas, makaras* and grandiose heads of monsters serve to recall the Khmer bestiary far more than the creatures depicted in the art of Sukhothai (Plate 115). Profuse and powerful, the purely ornamental motifs are inscribed in lozenges, half-lozenges, and cusped cartouches; they also adorn the friezes, while stylized lotus petals overrun the mouldings and capitals. Carefully delimited and leaving great expanses of surface space free and unadorned, these exuberant decorations infuse a healthy vigor into the archi-

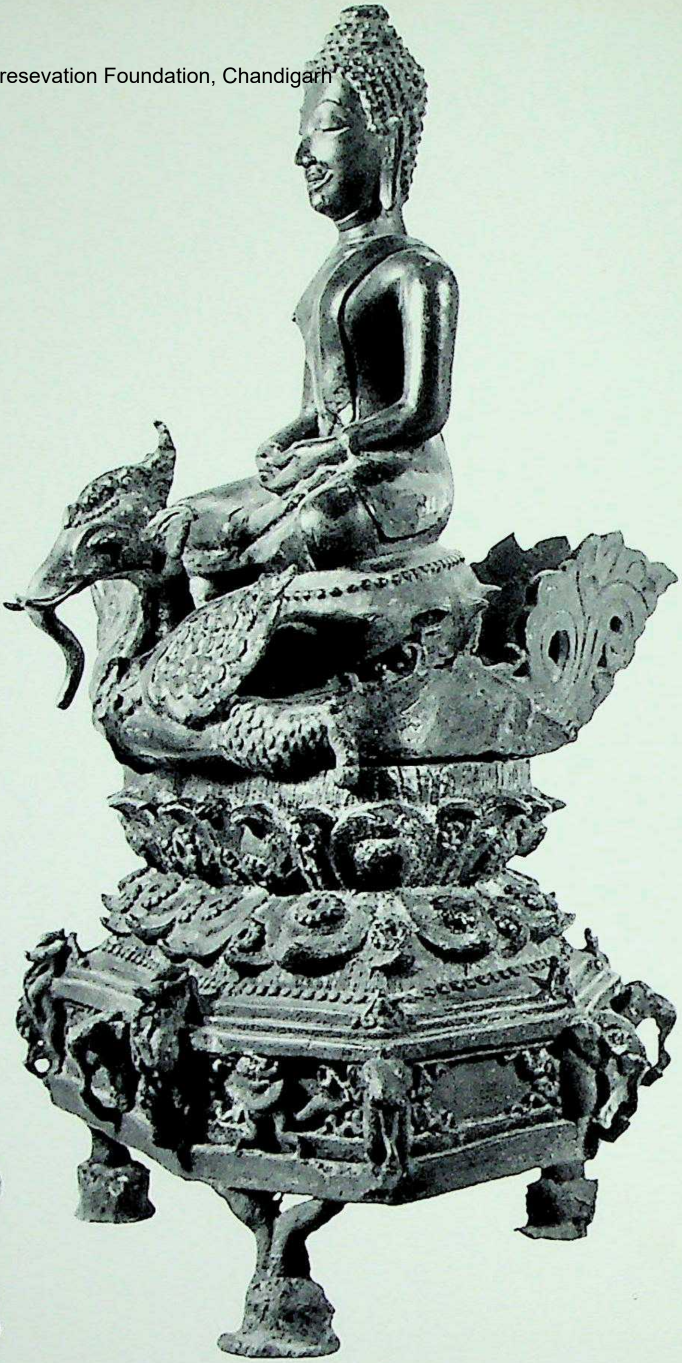
116 Duck-shaped Ewer, National Museum, Bangkok

tecture, and yet seem to restrain themselves from lapsing into excess.

In the *chedi* of Wat Chedi Chet Yot, the "Seven spires monastery" (Plate 7), the architectural decoration plays a quieter role, but the discreetly differentiated standing or seated figures that adorn the walls are all authentic masterpieces (Plates 11, 106). These figures alone would entitle the art of Lan Na to the very greatest of esteem. Built to the north of Chieng Mai in about 1455 at the behest of King Tiloka as a monument commemorating the 2000th anniversary of Buddhism, Chedi Chet Yot copies rather freely, although on a smaller scale, the famous Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā, the sacred spot where the Buddha's Great Awakening is believed to have occurred.[59] Built of laterite, Chedi Chet Yot was the most important of the seven shrines constructed to symbolize the places occupied by the Buddha during the seven weeks that followed the Great Awakening. The decoration of Chedi Chet Yot included at least seventy figures, each modeled in high relief over a rough brick armature. Larger than life-size,



117 *Adorned Buddha Subduing Māra, National Museum, Bangkok*

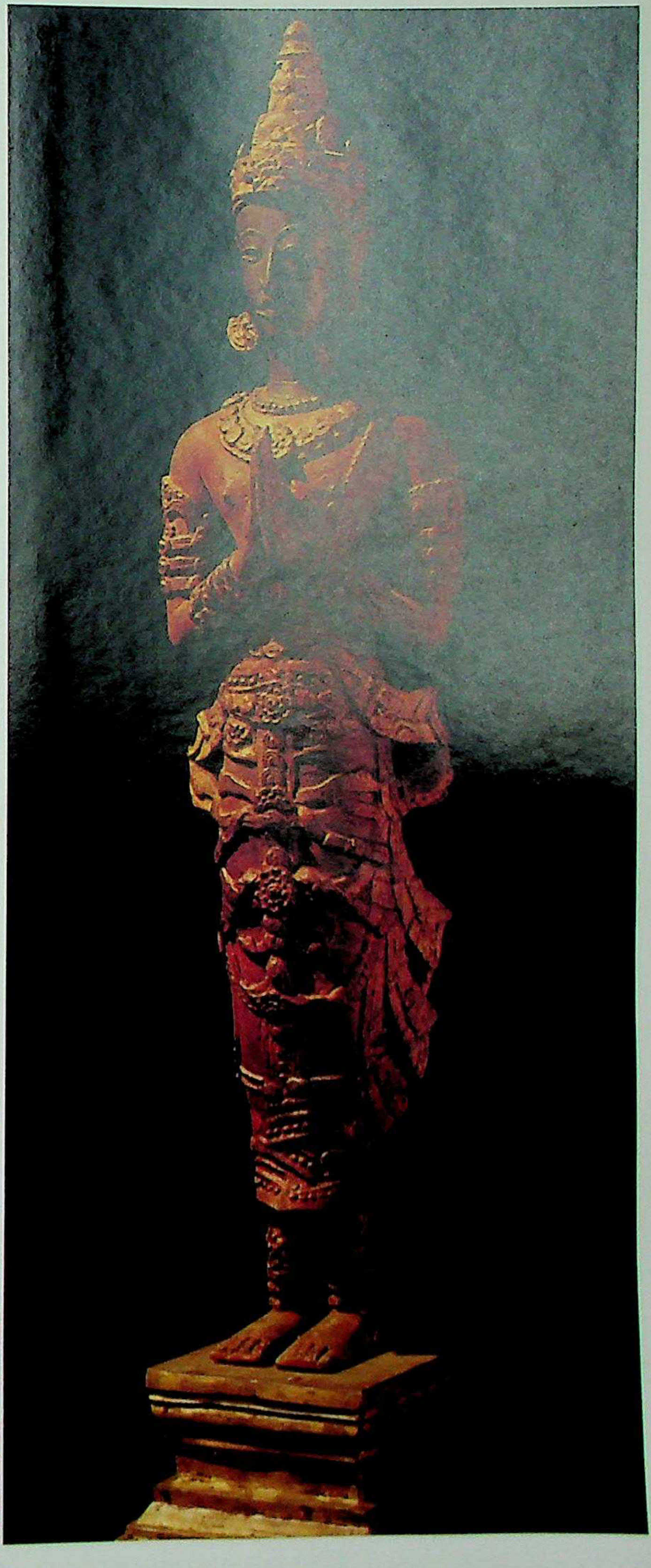


118 *Buddha Seated on a Mythical Animal, National Museum, Bangkok*

with some even exceeding six feet in height, all are male figures representing gods standing or seated in various attitudes of worship (Plates 11, 106). None is strictly frontal; the posture and movement of the heads give the figures a certain variety, and they are set off by lavish and intricate adornments that are diversified in every detail. Aesthetically, these mild and serene divinities, with their rather heavy oval faces, large eyes with bulging lids, and prominent noses, differ entirely from the early Chieng Sèn style. The backgrounds are patterned with fine stylized motifs to enliven each tableau and to set off the figures to best effect. This formula must have been considered highly successful by contemporary sculptors and worshippers, for it was repeated elsewhere, although never with quite the same grandeur. Decorative panels with standing *devatās* are to be found on several monuments at Chieng Mai, including the *chedi* of Wat Lok, the *stūpa* of Wat U Mong, and the library of Wat Pra Sing, and also on the *stūpa* of Wat Ku Tao at Chieng Sèn.

As may be inferred from the decorations at Chedi Wat Pasak, the quality of the decorative animals was probably no less excellent than that of the human figures. Unfortunately, very little of them survives: nearly all the guardian lions and the *nāgas* are later works, as are the elephants which follow the Sukhothai manner in adorning the base of the *stūpa* of Wat Chieng Man at Chieng Mai. Again at Chieng Mai, the important fragments of large erect *nāgas* at Wat Chedi Luang, impressive compositions as decorative as they are original, make one keenly regret the loss of many other similar works. The monasteries of northern Thailand have, indeed, been so often restored or rebuilt that few ancient remains survive in anything like their original form. Even when an effort is made to preserve something of the ancient tradition—as in Chedi Si Liem at Wieng Kum Kam near Chieng Mai, modeled closely after Wat Kukut—the decorations and images are generally either strongly influenced by Burmese art or are outright copies of it.

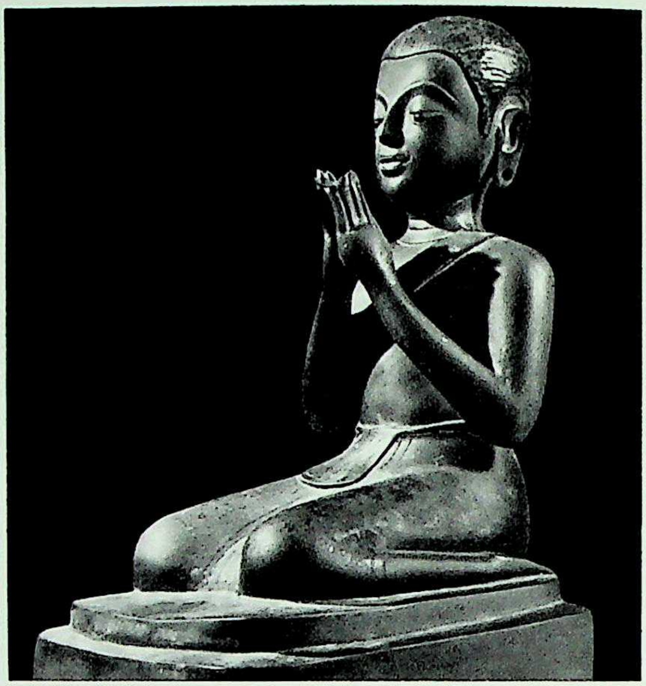
The same criticism may be applied to most Lan Na sculptures in wood. Wood carving was an art in which Lan Na seems to have excelled, but which is known to us only from relatively recent works. Among so many reconstructed monuments, the decorations on the vast *vihāra* of Wat Luang Nai at Payao is an extremely rare and precious relic of the past. Elsewhere, the wood carving of the Lan Na school is represented today only by disparate elements from buildings that have disappeared—pediments and consoles from monasteries or lintels from private dwellings.[60] All these works, combining interlaced patterns and plant forms with a few mythical animals in openwork compositions, are full of vigor and inventiveness. Quite often, the carvers seem to have contrived to remain relatively independent of Burmese models, even at Lampang, where Burmese influence was so strong. Curiously enough, although the chronicles refer to a sandalwood Buddha image as early as 1325, all the extant statues or rather statuettes appear to be late works, generally of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of small size, adhering more or less to the characteristics of the later Chieng Sèn style, they are gilded and often carry inscriptions written in cursive script. Although some possess individ-



119 Standing Divinity, National Museum, Bangkok ualistic qualities of their own, these wooden sculptures—designed primarily for purposes of private worship—may be placed in the realm of popular or folk art.

Although carving in wood always occupied a prominent place in the art of Lan Na, stone sculpture seems to have been very little practiced. The few sandstone Buddhas preserved in the Museum of Chieng Sèn appear to be but timid echoes of a stone statue said to have been consecrated on the site by King Sèn Phu in 1332. Sandstone does seem to have been commonly carved at Lampang and at Payao in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: there remain stone Buddha figures, compositions with elephants supporting the world, the four Guardian Kings of the World, and *devatās* distantly related to those of Chedi Wat Pasak. The carving of hard semi-precious stones, quartz and others, was of some importance, and was used for certain Buddha images, in which the rarity of the material apparently counted for more than the plastic quality, and for reliquaries in the form of *stūpas* or various animals. A Chieng Sèn origin has often been proposed for the highly venerated Pra Kèo Morokot, the famous Emerald Buddha in Bangkok (frontispiece). It cannot be determined with any certainty whether the statue actually comes from Ceylon, as one tradition would have it, or possibly from South India. But on stylistic grounds it seems highly unlikely that it could have been carved in Lan Na.

Votive tablets, like all the other arts of the Lan Na school, differ greatly from those of Haripuñjaya. They are generally cast rather than modeled in terra-cotta. Ceramics were not employed to the same extent as at Sukhothai, although craftsmen deported to Lan Na in the late fifteenth century reputedly set up ceramic workshops in the regions of Chieng Mai and Chieng Rai. Their production was similar in style to that of Sukhothai, but it failed to achieve the same quality. As far as can be determined, no architectural ceramics were produced. There are, however, some Buddha images from the kilns of Wieng Kalong in Chieng Rai Province that show the mixed characteristics of the later Chieng Sèn style.



120 Kneeling Figure, Private Collection, Bangkok

X THE AYUTHYA SCHOOL

The town of Ayuthya and the kingdom of the same name were founded in 1350 by the prince of U Thong, who reigned under the name Ramathibodhi (or Rāmādhipati I). Probably of Mōn and Thai ancestry, he was the son-in-law and heir of a prince of Chieng Sèn who had established himself in the region of Suphanburi.[61] It was Ramathibodhi who established the goal of the new kingdom to restore the power of Angkor for the benefit of a unified Thai nation. During the year before his coronation, he had brought Sukhothai under his control; two years after his accession to the throne, he began the siege of Angkor. These campaigns, undertaken against the two powers that had consolidated their supremacy by basing it on a complex political and religious system,[62] testify to the firm determination of Ayuthya to take over their heritage. When its goal was achieved, Ayuthya became and remained, for more than four centuries, the most powerful kingdom in the Peninsula, through which the national unity of Thailand was achieved. The objectives of an administrative policy firmly based in religion explain the orientation of Ayuthya art, which combined the two tendencies of Sukhothai and Angkor. The former may be taken to symbolize Thai originality and Buddhist orthodoxy; the latter represented the only power to succeed in extending its sway over nearly the entire Indochina Peninsula.

Following the chronology established by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, scholars usually distinguish four periods in the art of Ayuthya:

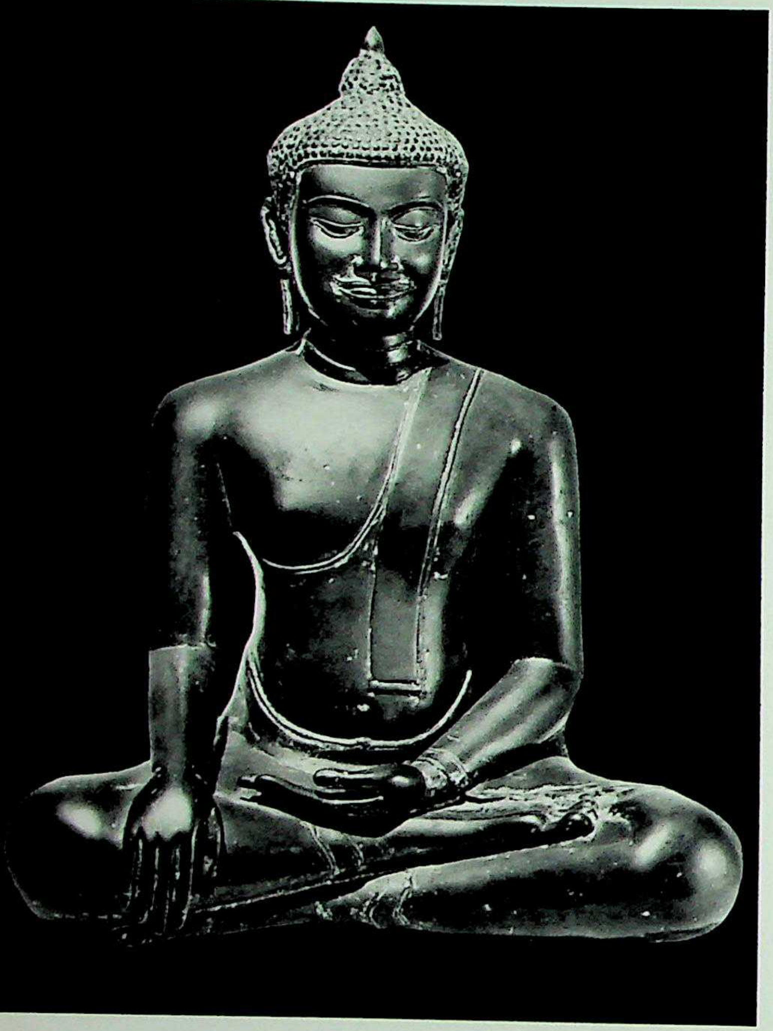
1) 1350-1463, extending from the founding of the capital to the reign of Borom Trailokanath (or Paramatrailokanātha, r. 1448-88), a period that witnessed the rise of an Ayuthya style, fully assimilating the early influences and already possessing an originality of its own.

2) 1463-1628, extending from the removal of Borom Trailokanath to Phitsanulok to the end of the reign of Chao Song Tham (" the Law-Abiding King", r. 1610-28), a period marked by the intensified influence of Sukhothai art and closer religious ties with Ceylon.

3) 1630-1733, extending from the accession to the throne of Chao Prasat Thong (" the King of the Golden Palace", r. 1630-56) to the reign of Chao Tai Sa (" the End-of-the-Lake King", r. 1709-33), a period which saw a renewal of interest in Khmer art and a temporary development of contacts with Europe.

4) 1733-67, extending from the reign of Chao Boromokot (or Mahādhammarāja II, r. 1733-58), one of the most prosperous and artistically no doubt the most brilliant period of Thai history, to the capture and sack of Ayuthya by the Burmese, which brought to a close the rule of Ayuthya but did not end its cultural influence.

While the political history of the kingdom is unusually well documented, we are ignorant of events in the Menam Plain between the second quarter of the thirteenth century (which seems to correspond to the elimination of Khmer power there) and the founding of Ayuthya. For a period of at least a century, historians have very few facts to go on: the region of Lopburi asserted its independence between 1289 and 1299 by sending embassies to China; in the region of Suphanburi, doubtless in the early fourteenth century, a Thai dynasty was founded, having probably originated in the North; this probably was the dynasty from which sprang the founder of Ayuthya, who unified the two regions. Although Lopburi art during this period is fairly well known, the art of the Suphanburi region, designated as the U Thong style, is represented only by Buddha images. In the absence of any precise chronological indications, the U Thong style was long regarded as a separate school, preceding the Ayuthya school proper. Today, thanks largely to the study of objects discovered in the crypt of Wat Rājapūrana (founded in 1424), it is safe to assume that while the U Thong style certainly preceded the Ayuthya school it also continued to play an important



121 Buddha Subduing Mara, Royal Collection, National Museum, Bangkok

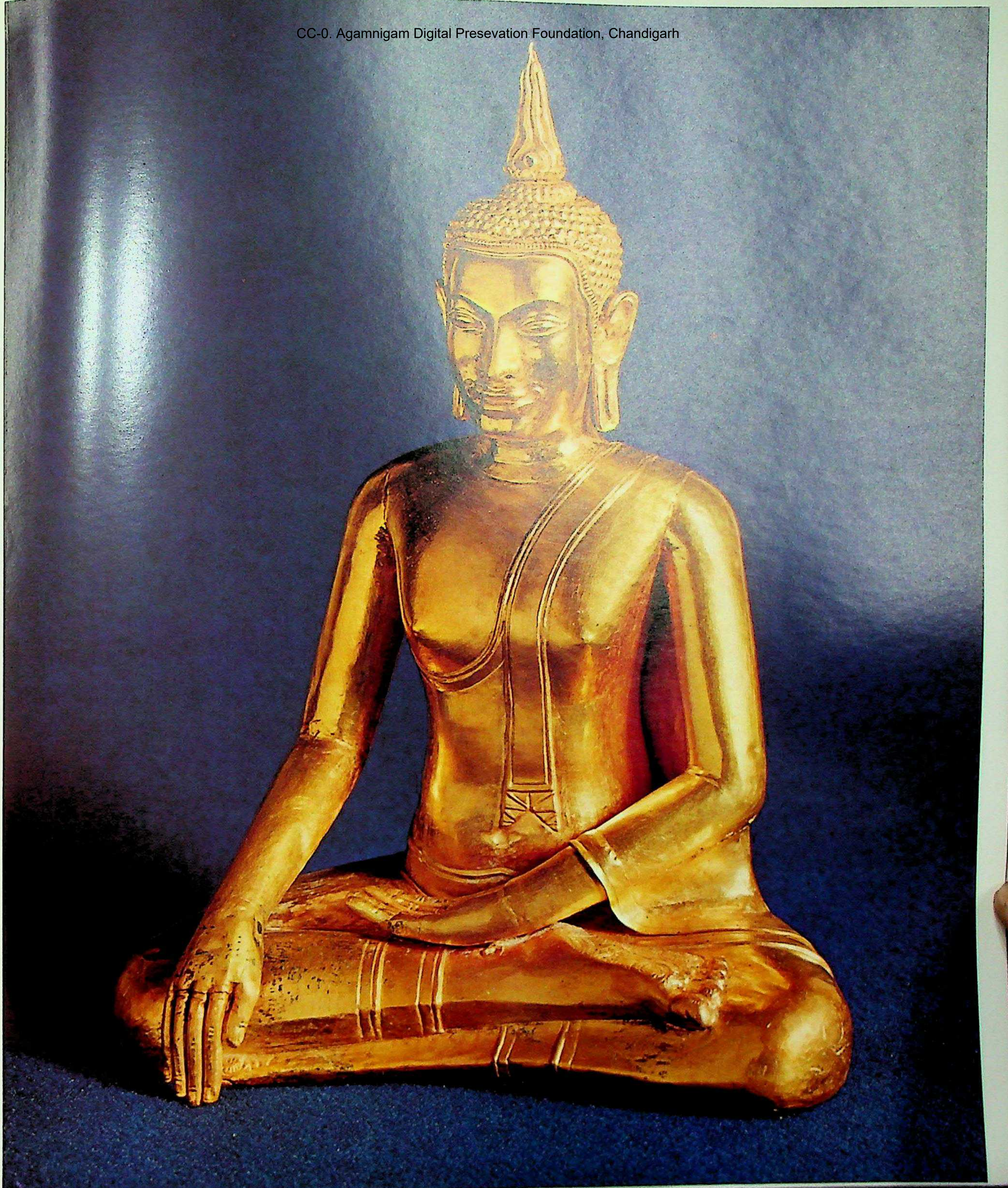
role during nearly the whole of the early period. For this reason, and also because it stood as a forerunner of the evolution of Ayuthya, the U Thong style has been here subsumed in the wider context of the Ayuthya school.

THE U THONG STYLE

Represented chiefly by bronze images, by exceptionally large numbers of them in fact, the U Thong style also produced during its initial phase some sandstone statues and even a few stuccos. Fairly well characterized in spite of a rapid and thoroughgoing evolution, U Thong sculpture is generally acknowledged to have Mōn, Khmer, and Thai antecedents, their impact varying according to the period under consideration. Thanks to the progress of archaeological research in conjunction with the cross-references provided by tradition, the chronology of the style can now be worked out in detail and with greater precision than was previously possible. The Buddha images, which make up practically the entire production of the style, are commonly classified in three successive groups—A, B, and C—which show great stylistic differences but also share certain common features. Mostly seated, the Buddhas are always in *vīrāsana* and in the *Māravijaya* attitude. The hair, treated in small curls, is with few exceptions outlined by a narrow band across the forehead. The drapery leaves the right shoulder exposed and has a long rectangular flap hanging over the left side of the chest; the undergarment is indicated by a slight projection at the waist, to which a flat belt is sometimes added. The pedestal, usually quite simple, takes the form of two truncated cones set top to top.

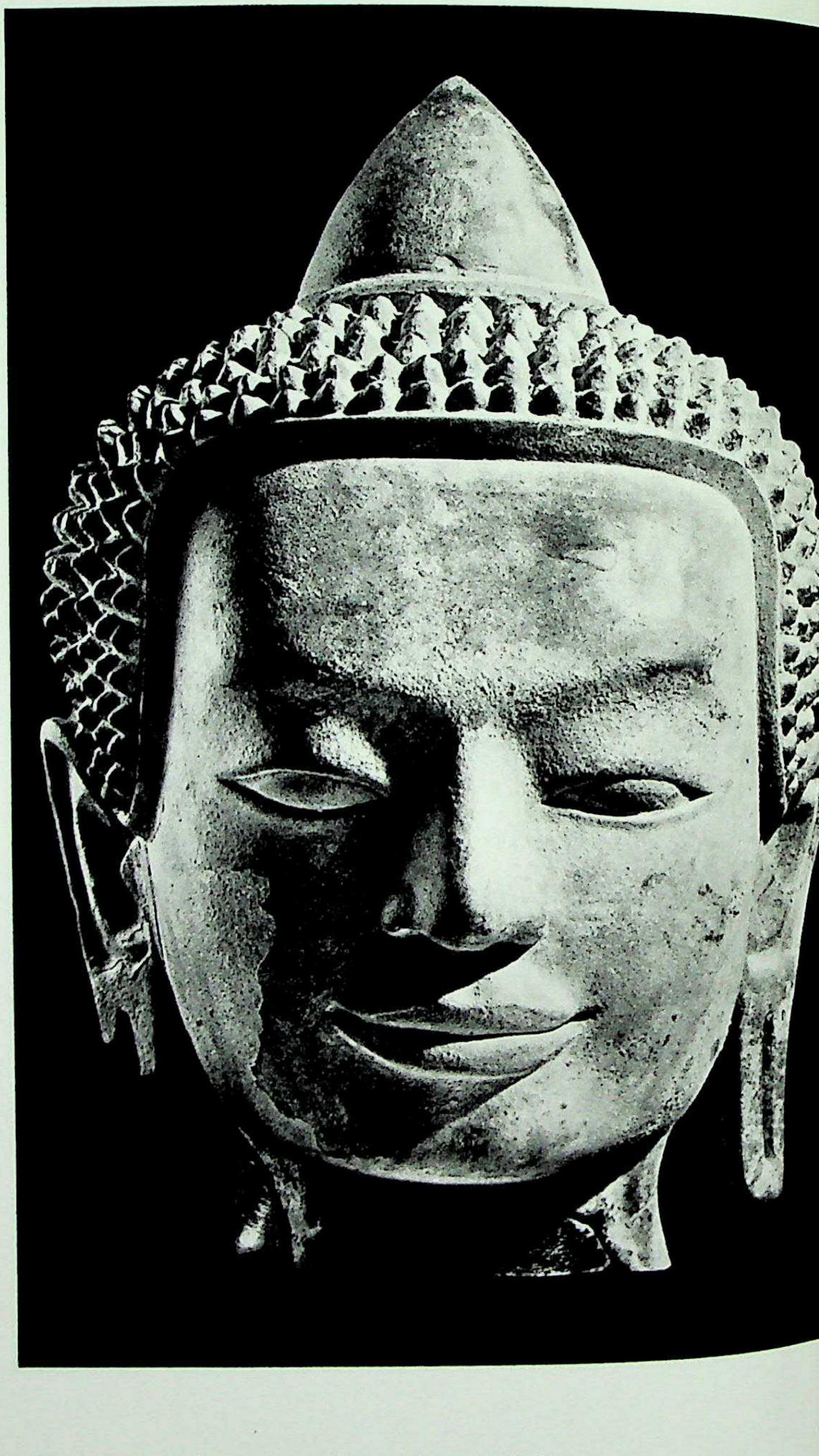
The U Thong style A is the one that depends most directly on the Khmerizing tradition of Lopburi, while apparently retaining some features surviving from Dvāravatī art. But, in view of what is known today of the general decline after the eleventh century of the Dvāravatī school in the regions under consideration, it is reasonable to wonder whether the Mōn ingredient in U Thong statuary of Group A may not have stemmed largely from the Mōn of Haripuñjaya. The unity of this group is by no means complete; indeed, the stylistic and aesthetic differences are such that they would justify further classification into several subgroups. Only really constant features distinguish Group A from Group B: the silhouette of the image, which is almost inscribed in a square, its height only slightly exceeding the spread of the knees; and the fact that the *ushnīsha* is never surmounted by a flame-top, except in the case of restored images. Generally speaking, the most characteristic images are strongly reminiscent of the Lopburi school in its post-Bayon phase (Plate 121), but they betray a tendency toward a rather cool serenity and, even more markedly, toward a geometric stylization of volumes. Unlike the Sukhothai school, which always softens the transitions and aims at the smoothest curves, U Thong A emphasizes changes of plane by rather sharply defined edges and creates an equilibrium based on the predomi-

122 Buddha Subduing Māra, National Museum, Ayuthya



nance of horizontals. Faces are broad, with a rather strong chin, often marked by a dimple running down the center; the large mouth and only slightly arched eyebrows further emphasize the firmness of the attitude. Invariably consisting of small curls, the hair is not always limited by a band: it sometimes develops into a fleuron over the ears and may even have similar fleurons at the base of the *ushnīsha*. The design thus evokes a kind of coif, open at the top and allowing the *ushnīsha* to be seen, surmounted by a low ornament. Coifs do, in fact, occur in the Khmer sculpture of the Bayon style, and the art of Lan Na can also boast a very fine example in gold enhanced with precious stones; a cap is also worn by the so-called Emerald Buddha (Pra Kèo Morokot). The strange design of so many headdresses in Group A may best be explained as an attempt to represent a coif.

A smaller series of bronze images, possessing an extraordinary sweetness of facial expression, is also assigned to Group A. It differs from the main group not only in its general aesthetic but also in the treatment of the headdress. The hair is depicted as salient curls and the *ushnīsha* is conical and quite smooth (e.g., Plate 123). These two particularities inevitably call to mind the iconography of Haripuñjaya-Lamphun. A word may therefore be inserted here concerning the traditional origins of the princes of U Thong. As mentioned earlier, they were related to the rulers of Chieng Sèn. Thus, they would also be related to the rulers of Chieng Mai. In studying the end of the Mōn kingdom of Haripuñjaya, it is tempting to surmise that, just as the ruler of Chieng Mai surrounded himself with Burmese artists and craftsmen, so the princes of U Thong may have carried off from Lamphun some of the local bronze-casters. At present, this is perhaps the most plausible explanation to account for the originality of these images, and in determining their dates and origins it may well be proper to set them in relation to the group of crowned Buddhas of Pāla inspiration traditionally associated with the Lopburi school (see Chapter VI). There are also a few sandstone statues belonging to Group A which, like the fine large head in the former James Thompson Collection in Bangkok, show close and obvious kinship with the Lopburi school of the latter half of the thirteenth century. At Sa Kosi Narai in the region of Nakhon Pathom, the excavation in 1966 of an unfinished monument datable to the reign of Jayavarman VII yielded a varied group of particularly instructive stuccos.[63] Although later in date than the monument itself, they reveal, together with survivals of Dvāravatī traditions, the appearance of the U Thong aesthetic and of several adornments inspired by

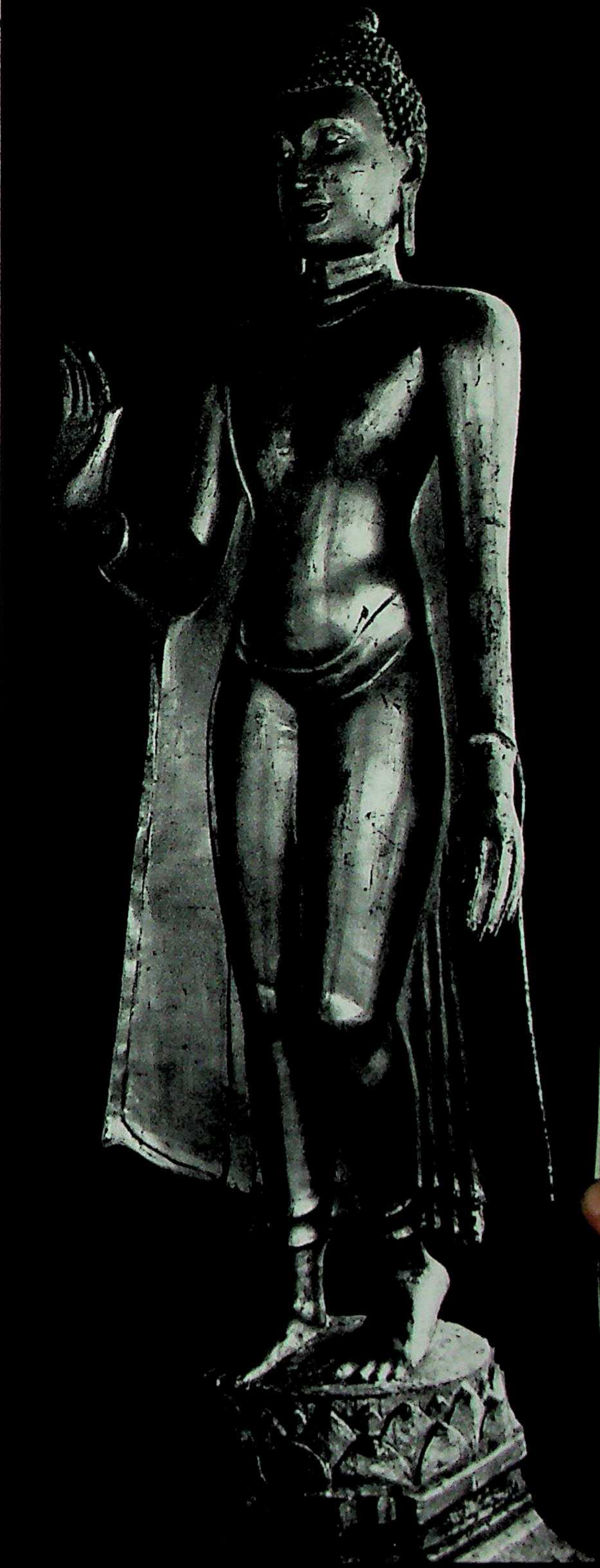


123 Head from a Buddha Image, National Museum, U Thong the Pāla tradition. So Group A may well have been fully constituted by the latter half of the thirteenth century, later receiving further influences from Haripuñjaya-Lamphun toward the end of the century or at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

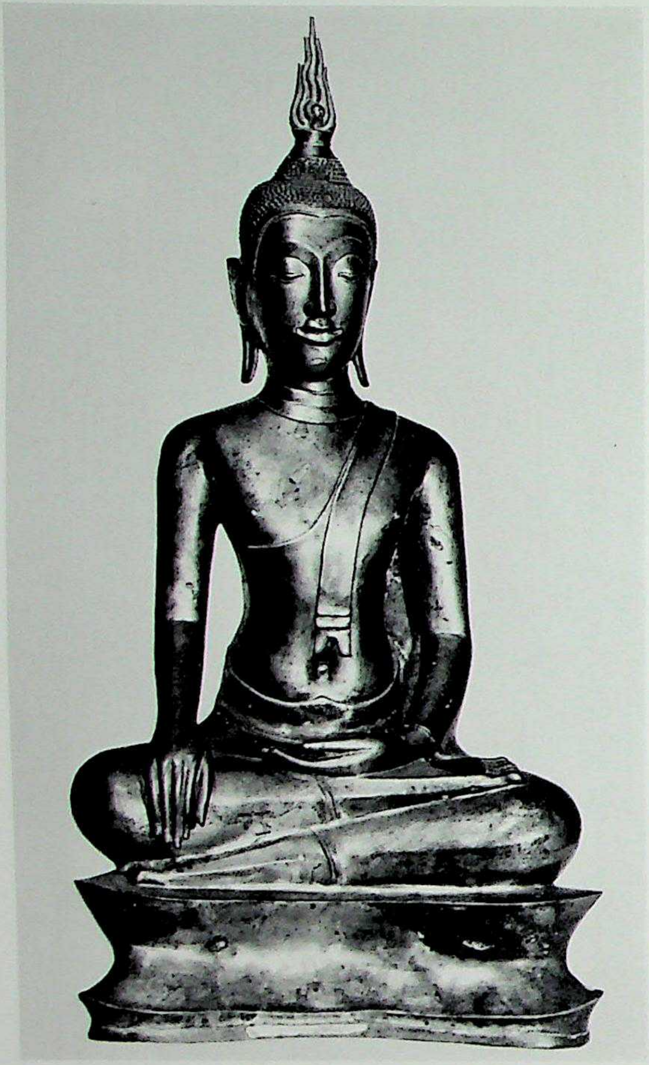
Group B is characterized by the adoption, for the *ushnīsha,* of a high flame ornament that is always very stylized and treated as a separate unit, supported by a small corolla-shaped cup (e.g., Plate 122). Most images in the group, which in this detail seems to reflect the ascendancy of Sinhalese Buddhism, also show another significant peculiarity, this time of an aesthetic nature. Instead of keeping to the massive proportions of Group A, most seated figures are considerably elongated and inscribed within a rectangle, their shoulders being less broad and the knees drawn more tightly together. A few colossal bronze statues, characterized by a drier handling of the lines, would seem to be assignable to this group; one of them comes from Wat Thammikarat in Ayuthya, a monastery that was probably built before the founding of the capital. While the large images show a tendency toward stylization, the type with a sweet facial expression by no means disappears and often seems to be distinguished by a rendering of the hair in curls so tiny that they might almost be mistaken for beading.

To the same group may doubtless be assigned a large walking Buddha (Plate 124), which, while betraying the probable influence of the school of Sukhothai, nevertheless reveals the profound difference separating the aesthetic and iconography of the two schools. The large standing statue from Sukhothai preserved at Wat Benchamabopit (Plate 94) is another special case. Apart from a flame-top added to the *ushnīsha* and the curiously interpreted attire, the attitude and adornments are distinctly "Lopburi", with only the aesthetic evoking the U Thong style.

The contacts which seem to have been established between Sukhothai and the Suphanburi-Ayuthya region may be explained in two ways: either the latter region came under the control of the Sukhothai king Rāma Kamhèng at the end of the thirteenth century or Sinhalese Buddhism was simply diffused there in the course of its advance into the Indochina Peninsula early in the fourteenth century. The truth probably lies in a conjunction of both circumstances. There are no grounds for assuming that the patriarch of Nakhon Si Thammarat, installed at Sukhothai by Rāma Kamhèng, actively promoted the



124 *Walking Buddha, Wat Suthat, Bangkok*



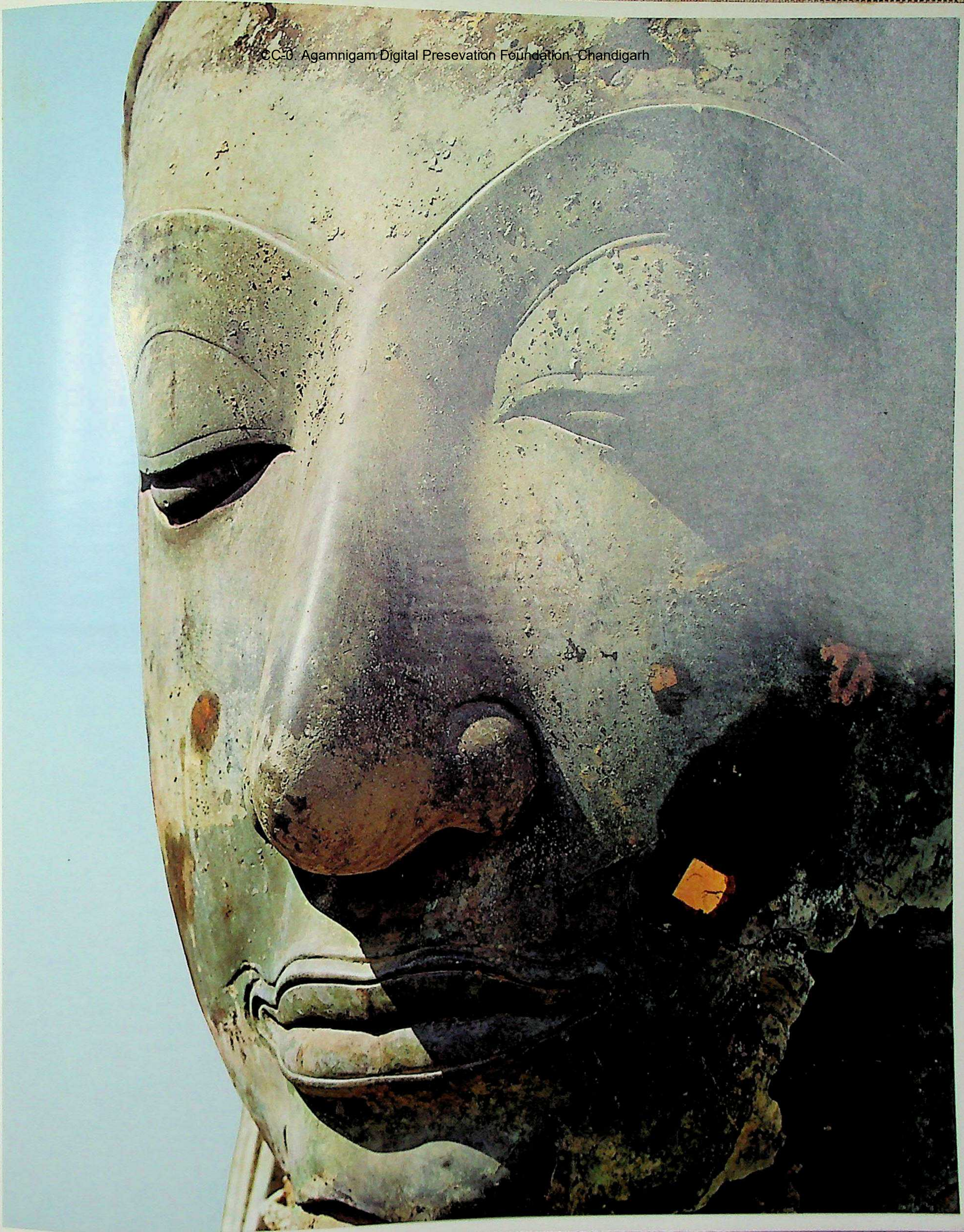
125 Buddha Subduing Māra, National Museum, Ayuthya

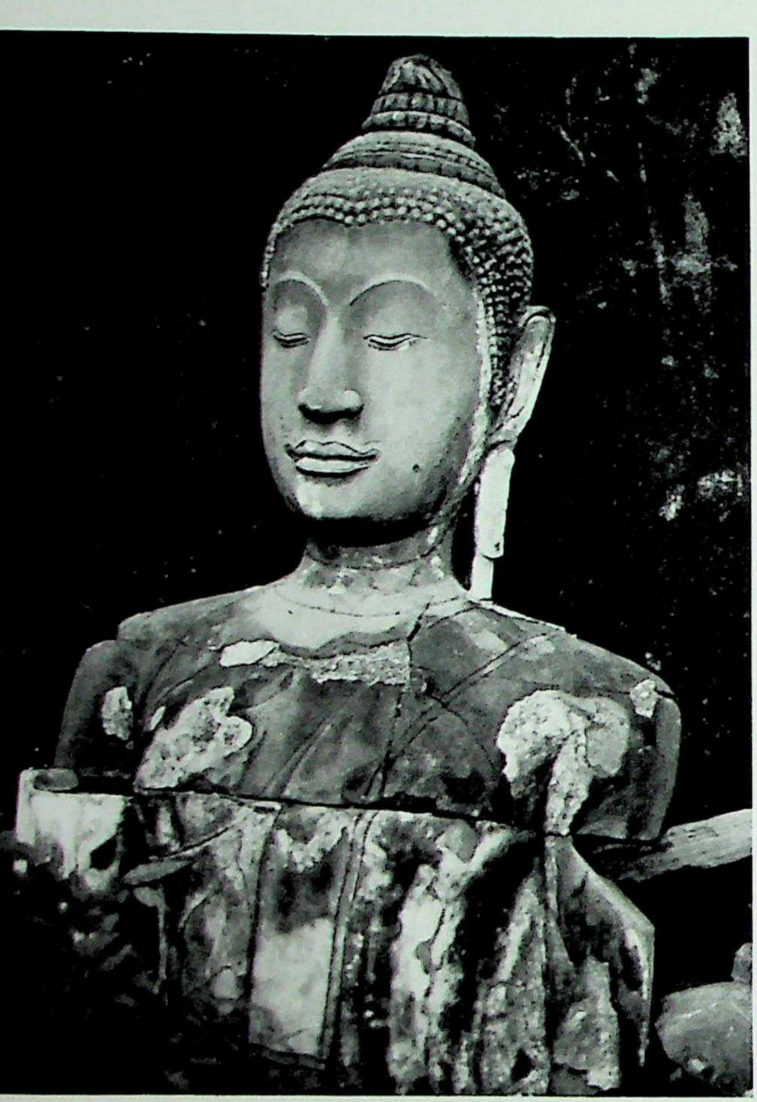
development of an iconography influenced by the Sinhalese tradition. Some particularities of Group B might, however, be accounted for by contacts with peninsular Thailand. Since the aesthetic (rather than the style) of certain images invites comparison with the famous Buddha of Grahi (Plate 67), it may not be immaterial to point out that the road connecting the southern peninsula with the kingdom of Sukhothai necessarily passed through the Suphanburi region, whose role as a relay station should not be underestimated.

Group C is by far the largest and also the farthest removed from the U Thong aesthetic. There is virtually nothing, except perhaps the shape of the pedestals, to connect Group C with Group A. To join them together in the same style would seem quite artificial were it not for the existence of Group B, which represents the indispensable link and transition between them. Indeed, the silhouette of the Group C statues is the same as that of Group B: it is characterized by the same elongation of forms (e.g., Plate 125). The attire is also the same, although the extremity of the scarf flap tends, more often than in Group B, to affect the accolade design of the Sukhothai tradition. But what is most distinctive of Group C images is the manifest effort made to adopt the Sukhothai aesthetic; unfortunately, it was an effort that usually brought disappointing results. Never, it would seem, did the U Thong ateliers quite succeed in assimilating the Sukhothai ideal. They took over the Sukhothai flame-top for the *ushnīsha,* instead of the highly stylized flame-top of Group B; they adopted softer forms and overly regular features with heavy cheeks and laboriously rounded eyelids. But in their art, which tends toward conventionalism, there is nothing of the spirituality of their Sukhothai models. In defense of the U Thong bronze casters, it must be said that this judgment applies only to a production which, though considerable in quantity and flawless in technique, never rises above the level of a handicraft. A very few works, a head from Wat Mahathat now in the Ayuthya Museum (Plate 28), for example, retain the qualities of serene distinction of the style, while adopting the new ideal. Already, however, they show something of that rather too cold and classical aloofness which characterized the school of Ayuthya.

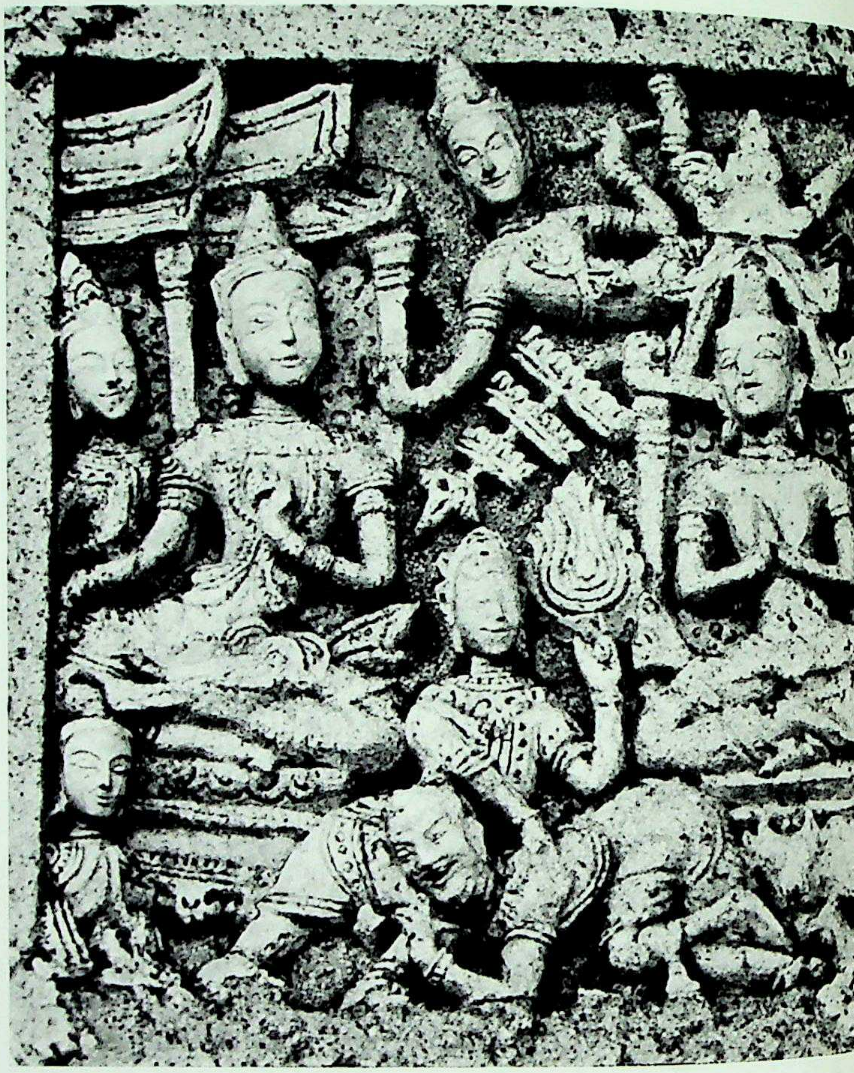
The deposits discovered in the crypt of Wat Rājapūrana, founded in 1424 according to the Chronicles, consisted of a considerable number of images. Some are much older than the monument itself, but most of them belong to Group C of the U Thong style, some ten or fifteen times larger than Group B, which is represented by only about thirty works, while Group A consists of far fewer. Group C thus seems to comprise a large share, if not the major share, of Ayuthya statuary made between the late fourteenth century and approximately the middle of the fifteenth. It might well correspond to the period when the cultural influence of Sukhothai on its suzerain was growing stronger, an influence which never quite became paramount. The removal of King Borom Trailokanath to Phitsanulok in 1493 might well mark the decline in the popularity of the

126 Head from a Buddha Image, Royal Palace Museum, Ayuthya



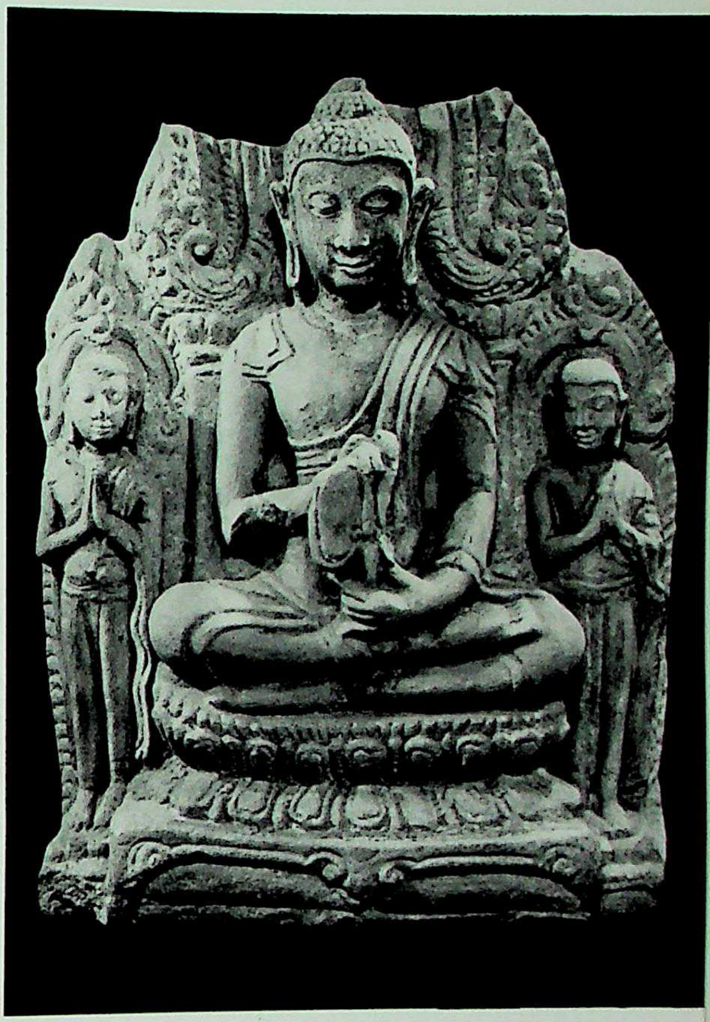


127 *Head from a Buddha Image, Wat Pra Rup, Suphanburi*



128 *Jātaka Scene, Wat Lai, near Lopburi*

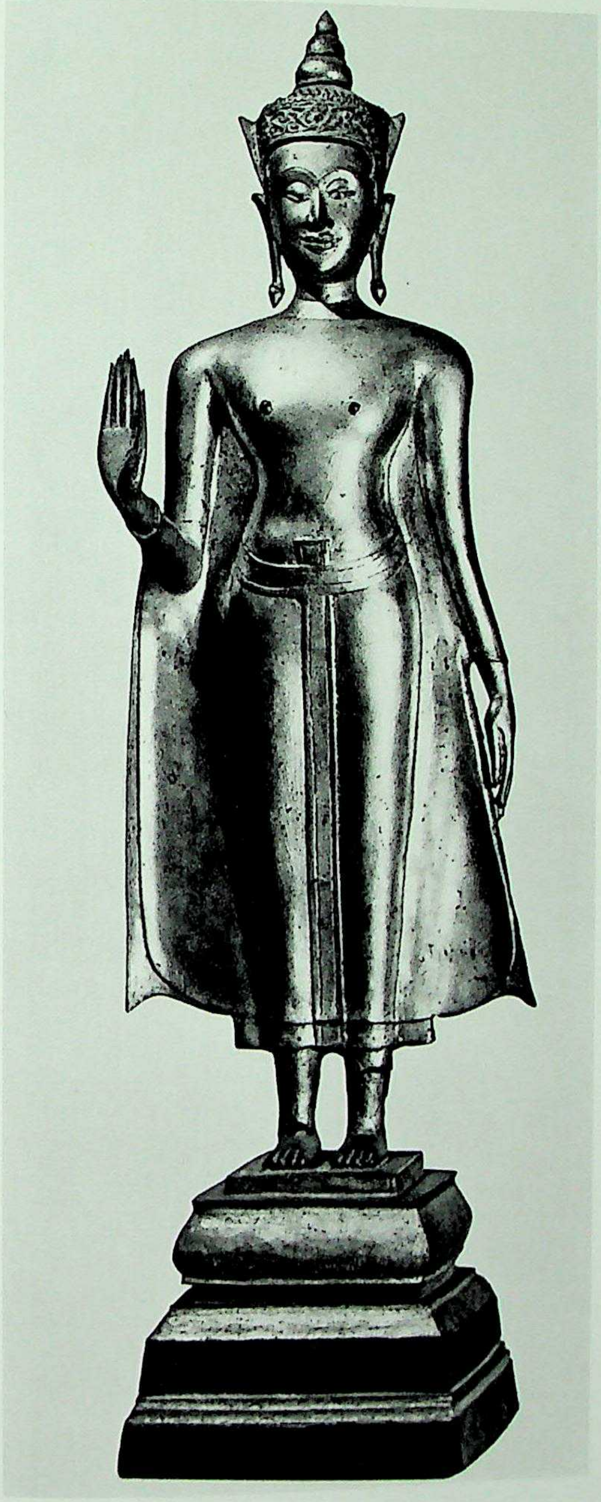
U Thong style and the real flowering of the Ayuthya school. Archaeological research in the regions that came under the control of Ayuthya in the first half of the fifteenth century seems to confirm these views. For Sukhothai, annexed in 1438, has yielded—like Kamphèng Phet—an appreciable number of Group B images and even more statues from Group C; these were either imported or copied locally. Furthermore, at Angkor, conquered in 1431, the large number of sandstone statues—or rather heads—found in deposits of the latter half of the sixteenth century,[64] and directly related with Group C, seems to reflect the favor and prestige enjoyed by the U Thong style at the time of the conquest. Although a number of sandstone statues of comparable workmanship also exist in Ayuthya, they cannot all be attributed to the U Thong C style alone. Obviously, and this is true for the bronzes as well, the style held its own for a long time and it is sometimes difficult to discriminate between works belonging to the aftermath of the U Thong C style and those actually belonging to its period of plenitude. Lacking any sound evidence of an aesthetic nature, the presence or absence of the band marking the hair-line would seem to provide a fairly reliable basis of judgment. Though the production often assumes an almost popular character, it is



130 Buddha with Two Disciples, James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok

a noteworthy fact that the craftsmen so perfected their technique that they were able to cast bronzes in which the thickness of the metal was often reduced, for reasons of economy, to a bare millimeter or so (see Chapter II). This technical proficiency, unfortunately not always accompanied by any particular aesthetic refinement, characterized the Ayuthya school to an equal degree.

No Votive Tablets belonging unquestionably to the U Thong style have been recorded. Nevertheless, among the large numbers of *Pra Pim* found at Wat Rājapūrana,



129 Standing Adorned Buddha, National Museum, Bangkok several series of them might well be attributed to U Thong. Made of pewter and usually representing the Buddha in the *Māravijaya* posture under an arch with fleurons rather reminiscent of the Lopburi tradition, all of them are believed to be the handiwork of undistinguished craftsmen and are devoid of genuine artistic merit.

No works of architectural decoration are known, apart from the stuccos of Sa Kosi Narai, which should be assigned to the U Thong A style. It has also been proposed to attribute the *cetiya* of Wat Pra Boromothat at Chainat to this style. The monument appears to combine elements reminiscent of the architecture of the Lopburi, Śrīvijaya, and Sukhothai schools, and would thus answer fairly well to what is known or presumed about the origins of the U Thong style. But if, as it would seem from the discoveries at Wat Rājapūrana, the style persisted down to about the middle of the fifteenth century, then one must assume that all the earlier monuments of Ayuthya represent an architecture contemporary with the U Thong B and C styles. These would thus appear more as a school of sculpture governed by a particular iconographical tradition than as a real school of art. All the unrestored stuccos of the earliest *prangs* at Ayuthya might, on that very account, be datable to roughly the same time as the images discussed here; it is still impossible to determine, however, whether they should be classified with the U Thong style or the Ayuthya school. This is particularly true of the fine, powerful *yakshas* of the base of the *prang* at Wat Rājapūrana; although all are unfortunately headless, they are probably contemporary with Group C. Actually, the problem of the transition from the U Thong style to Ayuthya art proper is not merely a question of sequence, for what occurred was not so much an abrupt changeover as a gradual transformation of style. The U Thong style does not simply vanish with the appearance of the first Ayuthya images; while Wat Rājapūrana has yielded an abundance of works belonging to the U Thong style, especially to Group C, these were accompanied by images belonging unquestionably to the Ayuthya school, which is known to have been fully constituted by the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century at the latest.

THE AYUTHYA SCHOOL

It is a curious fact, as George Coedès has pointed out, that Ayuthya statuary seems to have been little studied "because of its alleged mediocrity."[65] While it does not have so marked an originally as the Sukhothai school, the earlier Lan Na school, or even the U Thong style, Ayuthya nevertheless produced works of high quality and of unusual variety. Extremely rich, proficient in every technique of sculpture, and at the service of one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Thailand, the Ayuthya school displayed an astonishing vitality. True, its ideal was distinction rather than spirituality and its sources lay more in a vast literary culture than in religious meditation. Even so, the sculpture of Ayuthya by no means deserves the unsympathetic response that it has often received. It would be as pointless to judge it on a comparison with the finest works of Sukhothai or Lan Na as it would be to blame it for owing too much to the heritage of Angkor and Sukhothai. The Ayuthya school possesses an originality of its own, and the fact that it is the last of the great Thai schools does not detract from its merits. It is highly varied both in its means of expression and in its sources of inspiration. No other school availed itself more fully of all the materials available to the sculptor and modeler; none represented in sculpture a more varied world.

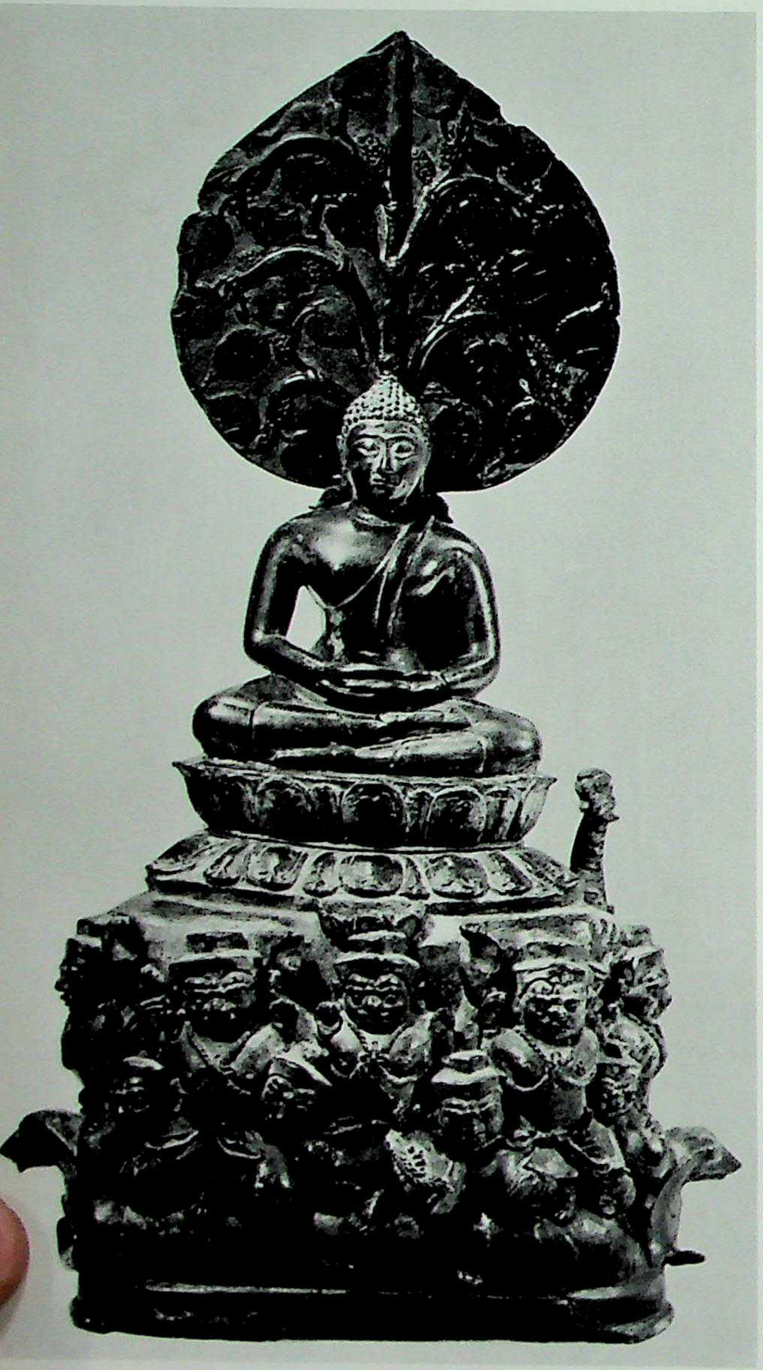
We have indicated above that the Ayuthya period is usually divided into four main periods. Instead of trying to define the artistic activity of each school as a whole, the main categories of images shall be examined one by one, the better to trace the development of each. One point, however, must be made at the outset: while bronze remained the favorite medium of Ayuthya sculpture, stone images—especially sandstone—appear to have occupied almost as prominent a place in this school as in that of Lopburi. They enjoyed particularly high favor at two different times at least: in the fifteenth century and in the seventeenth. As for stucco, it maintained a position that is often underestimated, for it appears to have been no less important now than it was in the Sukhothai school. While many works, especially in the capital, were destroyed in the course of wars and looting, a few provincial monuments in Phetburi and especially Lopburi (Wat Lai) preserve extensive stucco compositions of high quality. Even more remarkable is the importance of wood carving, which has been unexpectedly revealed. This importance is, no doubt, firstly a question of date, but it does also bring to light the many and varied uses of wood in the religious establishment: door leaves (Plate 137), carved pediments, religious equipage of every kind, statues of many different deities, and images of the Buddha. A freer art than that of the stone carvers and bronze casters because it was less subjected to the constraints of iconography, sculpture in wood reveals both a prodigious wealth of invention and an unusual sense of decoration.

131 Footprint of the Buddha, Wat Pra Rup, Suphanburi

No architectural ceramics comparable to those of Sukhothai have been found at Ayuthya sites. Ayuthya did, however, make quite considerable use of terra-cotta, not only for miniature edifices, such as *cetiyas* and *vihāras,* but even for Buddha images. At the same time, extensive series of human and animal figurines were made in terra-cotta; some were strikingly stylized, other surprisingly realistic, but all of them are full of verve and vitality. These figurines are part of the ancient tradition of such objects in Thailand, perpetuated by the Dvāravatī sculptors and associated as well with the Sukhothai school. The goldsmith's work drew on loftier sources. Known chiefly from the treasure hoards discovered in the reliquary chambers of Ayuthya monuments, such as Wat Mahathat, Wat Rājapūrana, and Wat Pra Si Sanpet, it consists of reliquary *stūpas,* miniature shrines, reliquary caskets (sometimes zoömorphic), and images of mythical beings, guardian divinities, and even the Buddha. It must be acknowledged that for these gold figures, the workmanship and the richness of the material often seem to have counted for more than the plastic quality of the sculpture.

Necessarily brief for a period whose artistic activity spans some four centuries, this survey of the different categories of Ayuthya sculpture begins with the Buddha images. In all their diversity, Buddha images naturally occupy the most prominent position in the art of the Ayuthya period. Furthermore, following a tendency already evident in the Lopburi and Sukhothai schools, Ayuthya art offered fresh developments to certain aspects of the iconography: on the one hand, it accorded a greater importance to the image of the Buddha crowned and wearing royal attire; on the other, it evoked more different episodes in the Buddha's career, namely, his final existence and his previous lives.

The Ayuthya Buddha image seems to derive primarily from that of the Sukhothai school and, by way of the U Thong style, the Lopburi school. Simplifying a great deal, one might be tempted to claim that it owes its aesthetic, in part, to the former and its attire to the latter. But this generalization fails to account for the truly original features of the school: its pursuit of a new aesthetic peculiar to itself. Although a more worldly aesthetic than that of Sukhothai, less remote from human reality, it remains, all the same, highly spiritualized and disengaged from the material world. The ideal that prevailed—and an exceedingly Buddhist ideal it was—seems to have sprung from an avoidance of excess: it eschewed the extreme realism of the Lopburi school (during the reign of Jayavarman VII) or even of U Thong styles A and B and the surrealism of the Sukhothai school. Although as much concerned as Sukhothai with depicting the "Marks of the Great Man", Ayuthya conceived them differently and arrived at a rather



132 *Buddha in Meditation Under the Bodhi Tree, National Museum, Bangkok*

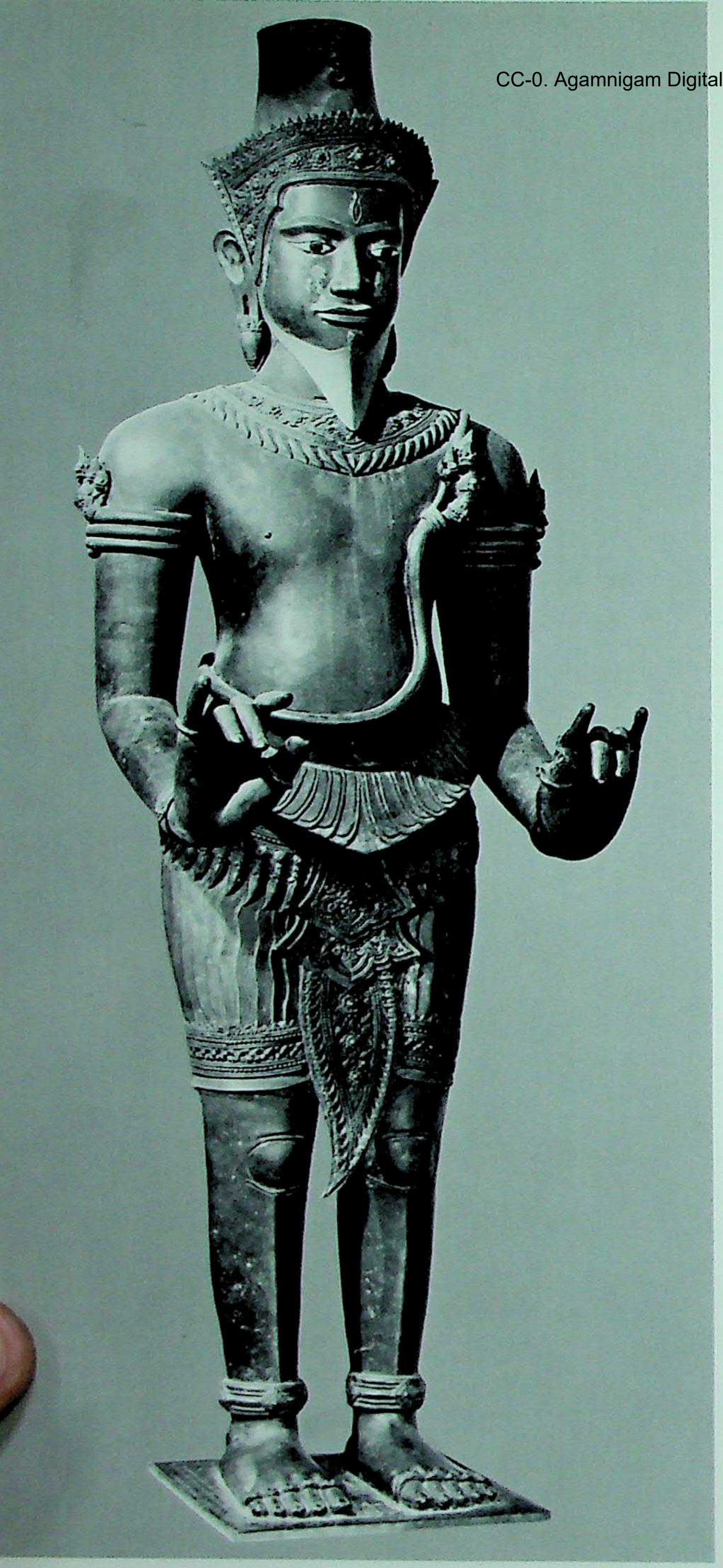
cold classicism. The school worked out an ideal of almost too perfect beauty, devoid of any sensuality and indeed verging at times on the mawkish. Whether seated or standing (the latter type of image is numerous), the Buddhas aim at a certain perfection of form and an overall equilibrium. The figures are literally obedient to an ideal canon that refuses to elaborate upon the texts or to draw any inferences from them. Avoiding both the unreal anatomy of Sukhothai and the elongated lines of the U Thong B and C styles, Ayuthya art appears sober and sensible, never departing from the norms. All the figures tend to adhere to the most classic proportions. Even that notable feature of the Buddha's physique, the fingers of equal length, was not immediately acceptable to the Ayuthya aesthetic, whereas Sukhothai appears to have taken it over by the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century (as evidenced by the Pra Buddha Jinarāja at Phitsanulok; Plate 10). Faces on Ayuthya statuary tend to remain in the tradition of the finest heads of the U Thong C style. The arcading of the eyebrows forms two fine ridges whose curves meet at the top of the nose, sometimes extending down to its tip. The eyes are half lowered, with markedly bulging lids. A very faint, subdued smile seems to enliven the medium-sized mouth of the typical Ayuthya Buddha image; the lips are surrounded by a pronounced outline and the corners of the mouth are well marked. On sandstone images, in particular, the upper lip is often adorned with a thin moustache, a single incised line above the lip (Plates 126, 127). The chin is strong, sometimes even heavy; it has a dimple running down the center or, more often, a curve marking its lower contour. The hair consists of small curls, as in the U Thong styles, but normally loses its edging and often curves to a point on the forehead. Above the *ushnīsha* rises the flame ornament; often, probably to render it more solid, it stands on the corolla-shaped base of the U Thong style. Apart from the fact that the stone statues differ in certain ways from the bronzes for technical reasons, there exist a good many stylistic features which are due as much to the diversity of the workshops as to the evolution of the school. Independently of the previously noted survivals of the Sukhothai school, the most characteristic example is provided by the school of Nakhon Si Thammarat (see Chapter V), the heir of solid local traditions and subject to the influence of its famous Pra Sihing (Plate 9).

Intended no doubt to illustrate a greater number of memorable moments in the life of the Buddha, the attitudes and gestures of Ayuthya statuary are much more varied than in any previous school. Most numerous of all are the

133 Head of a Hermit, National Museum, Bangkok

Buddhas seated in *vīrāsana,* making the gesture of *Marāvijaya,* or in the *samādhi* posture, which is represented more often than in the other Thai schools. Due to the interest taken in representing certain events, such as the offering of food from the hands of Sujātā and the miracle in the Pārileyyaka forest, the figures of Buddhas seated "in the European manner" regained the favor which they had lost since the Dvāravatī period. But it was the standing Buddhas, above all, that were to enjoy a growing popularity; this may be attributed less perhaps to the influence of the Dvāravatī and Lopburi traditions than to a desire to arrive at a greater differentiation of the images. Ayuthya standing Buddhas show an extraordinary repertoire of hand gestures: hands clasped over the chest, over the belly, holding the alms bowl, in *vitarka mudrā* or—much more often—in *abhaya mudrā*. The varying forms of the *abhaya mudrā*—right or left hand uplifted or both raised to chest level—each represented a different meaning. The walking Buddha, a legacy of Sukhothai, attained some importance early in the Ayuthya period, but later appears to have been gradually forsaken for more characteristic attitudes. Reclining images enjoyed a certain popularity, and some were made in colossal proportions.

The attire of Ayuthya statues reflects the dual influences exerted on the school. The seated images wear a garment that leaves the right shoulder bare; with certain minor differences, the robe is draped in the Sukhothai manner and generally includes the same long scarf flap, which is more often rectangular. Nearly all the standing images wear a robe that covers both shoulders, as in the Lopburi tradition, with the same belt and the same broad frontal flap (Plate 129). The back edges of the garment are greatly simplified and the two groups of lateral folds, deriving remotely from Dvāravatī, complete their evolution and form a hook-shaped pattern. On the reclining Buddhas, the right shoulder is uncovered, but there remains always an indication of the characteristic belt and frontal flap. In addition to this traditional attire, drapery in the Chinese fashion also occurs. Examples from Ayuthya and also from Ratburi indicate that such attire was used for seated figures, often of very large size and done, for the most part, in sandstone but also in bronze. The reasons for the success of this type of attire are not clear, and the images wearing it cannot be dated precisely. The right shoulder is undraped, and a small flap is brought from back to front over this same shoulder. Very different from that of other Ayuthya figures, this "Chinese" dress is distinguished by its naturalism, particularly in its realistic treatment of the pleats (Plate 130).



134 Standing Śiva, National Museum, Bangkok

Images in regal attire (e.g., Plate 129) figure prominently in Ayuthya art, and their increase in popularity with the progress of the era seems to reflect one of the essential orientations of this school. In fact, at the present time it is the evolution of the adornments that provides the only sound basis on which the relative chronology of Ayuthya images can be worked out. Starting out with a simplification of the adornments of the Lopburi school and with the adoption of original ornamentation, the adorned Buddhas of Ayuthya were progressively enriched with adornments directly governed by the evolution of fashion. Endowed with royal adornments, the increasing complexity of the attire of the Buddha images parallels that of the Ayuthya monarchs themselves. Beginning approximately at the end of the seventeenth century, the type of Buddha called *song krüang* ("clad in royal attire") acquired, over a monastic robe enriched with heavily embroidered bands, the same ornaments as the living rulers wore at their coronations; these were modified somewhat from reign ro reign. Whether seated or standing, the earliest images are much more sober than those of Lopburi and wear only the diadem, with the high, conical or bulbous *mukuta* and small eardrops. With its filigree decoration, its border of tiny fleurons, and its small ribs over the ears, the diadem is highly characteristic of Ayuthya and, in shape if not in decoration, it differs almost as much from that of Sukhothai as from the two Lopburi types. Early in the seventeenth century, the royal adornments of the Buddha again became more lavish and reverted to ornamentation that had been abandoned since the beginning of the Ayuthya period. Decorated with motifs in the fashion of the day and adopting new forms as well, there reappeared elaborate bracelets and broad necklets that were usually enhanced with a large pendant. The patterned belt and frontal flap also regained favor and never lost it again. To the necklet was added, in the course of the seventeenth century, a broad double baldric crossing over the chest. The *mukuta* headdress grew steadily higher and came to be decorated with various chiseled motifs. From the end of the seventeenth century, embroidery covered the borders of garments, and on the baldric, belt, and frontal flap were lavished intricate scrolls of inlaid ornamentation. Rings appeared on the ankles and on each of the fingers, and long pendants—a remote heritage from the Pāla tradition, were hung behind the ears. At the end of the Ayuthya period, even the part of the garment under the belt came to be

135 Pra Thorani, Wat Pra Rup, Suphanburi

decorated with heavy tracery. It is impossible here to set down all the details of a complex evolution which, continuing as it did during the Bangkok period, indicates how smoothly the transition from one era to the next was made.

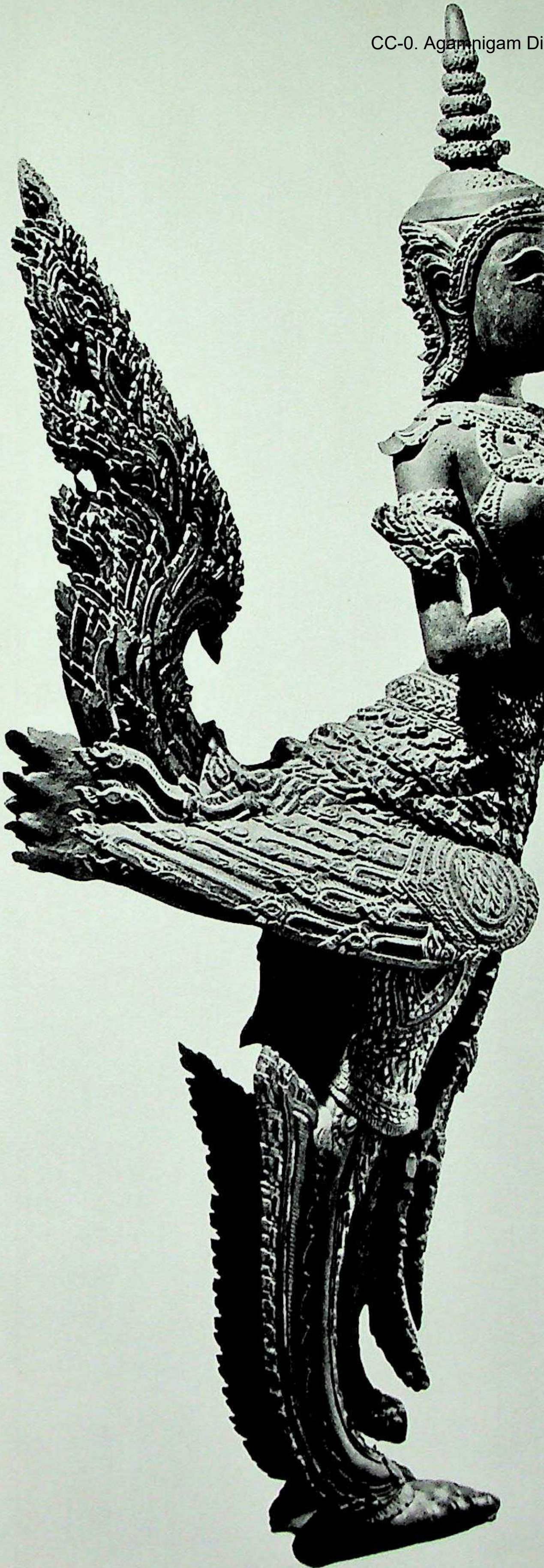
This succinct typological survey of the Ayuthya Buddha image cannot be concluded without some reference to the pedestals that support the figures. Very different from those of other schools, most Ayuthya pedestals show a tendency toward over-decoration, an upward elongation, and a multiplication of moldings. They often form a stepped pyramid, in which the base suggests a low table with curving legs and the topmost step is a lotus with sharp, narrow petals. For seated images, a patterned rug usually covers the central section of the pedestal. Even more interesting than these compositions, which were clearly influenced by the architecture of the *prangs,* are the "narrative" pedestals, on which scenes were illustrated in complex tableaux with many figures treated in high relief (Plate 132). The theme most commonly illustrated is that of the Attack and Defeat of Māra's Army, and one recognizes here in embryo a type of composition, rendered fully three-dimensional, which was later to be highly developed in the art of Bangkok.

The *Buddhapadas* (Footprints of the Buddha) are inseparable from the Buddha image itself, but do little more than carry forward a theme already remarkably well illustrated in Sukhothai art (Plate 131). A precise iconography having once been established, there was no doubt little room for innovation here, and the works of the two schools differ more in the figure style and workmanship than in the choice of themes.

One of the most interesting and original achievements of the Ayuthya period is the illustration of the 550 *Jātakas,* the stories relating the Previous Lives of the Buddha. Commissioned by King Borom Trailokanath to commemorate the 2000th anniversary of the Buddhist religion, these statues were cast in 1458. According to the description in the *Annals of Ayuthya:* "In 820 [of the Chulasakarāj Era, i.e., 1458], the Year of the Tiger, religious festivities were held and 550 statues of the Bodhisatta showing his 550 births were cast." The same occasion was marked in the kingdom of Lan Na by the establishment by King Tiloka of the monastery of Wat Chedi Chet Yot at Chieng Mai. The fact of illustrating the *Jātakas* was not really a novelty, even for Thailand, and precedents in the art of Dvāravatī (Plate 53) and Sukhothai (Plate 91) have already been noted. The originality of Ayuthya's achievement lay in illustrating each of the birth stories by the appropriate statue (animal, human being, or god) instead of resorting to the traditional composition in the form of a painting or a bas-relief. Unfortunately, of these bronze images only a very few survive, and these in fragmentary form (Plate 133); all of them were badly damaged or destroyed by fire during the sack of the capital in 1767. Were more of them available for study, their variety would no doubt prove most instructive in the analysis of the iconography of Ayuthya statuary.

Votive tablets serve to complete the series of Ayuthya Buddha images. The earliest, often difficult to distinguish from those which one is tempted to attribute to the U Thong style, reveal the strong influence of Sukhothai iconography. Made of pewter or terra-cotta, they represent the Buddha in the *Māravijaya* attitude seated in a stylized pavilion under the Bodhi tree; he is also often shown standing with right hand before his chest in the *abhaya mudrā* or walking in an attitude rather freely recalling Sukhothai images. There are many plaques representing the numerous Buddhas of the Past, all the figures being identical and very small. This series, like the *Pra Pim* in the U Thong style, is more interesting for its variety than for the quality of its execution. More remarkable by far is an extensive series of molded terra-cotta tablets, datable to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, which lacks neither artistry nor iconographical interest. These *Pra Pim* have an average size of about four inches. For the most part, they illustrate the great moments of the Buddha's career by representing a number of appropriate attitudes and gestures; thus, he is shown victorious over Māra, meditating on the diamond throne, sheltered by the *Nāga* Mucalinda, contemplating the Bodhi tree, reflecting on the utility of teaching the Law, settling the quarrel between the Śākya and Kolya clans, receiving offerings in the Pārileyyaka forest, and reclining. Finally, an adorned image, larger in size and probably somewhat later in date than the other tablets, completes the series; this figure is generally shown standing, making the gesture of dispelling fear, with hands raised in the *abhaya mudrā.*[66]

Grouped around the Ayuthya Buddha images are many representations of his disciples, wearing the same monastic robe, their heads covered with small hair-curls similar to those of the Buddha but lacking, of course, the *ushnīsha* (Plates 22, 130). Generally shown kneeling with clasped hands or—if standing—bowing slightly in an attitude of humility, these attendant figures accompany the large Buddha statues in the monasteries or take their place in small groups that seem to anticipate the more elaborate compositions of the Bangkok period. In about the eighteenth



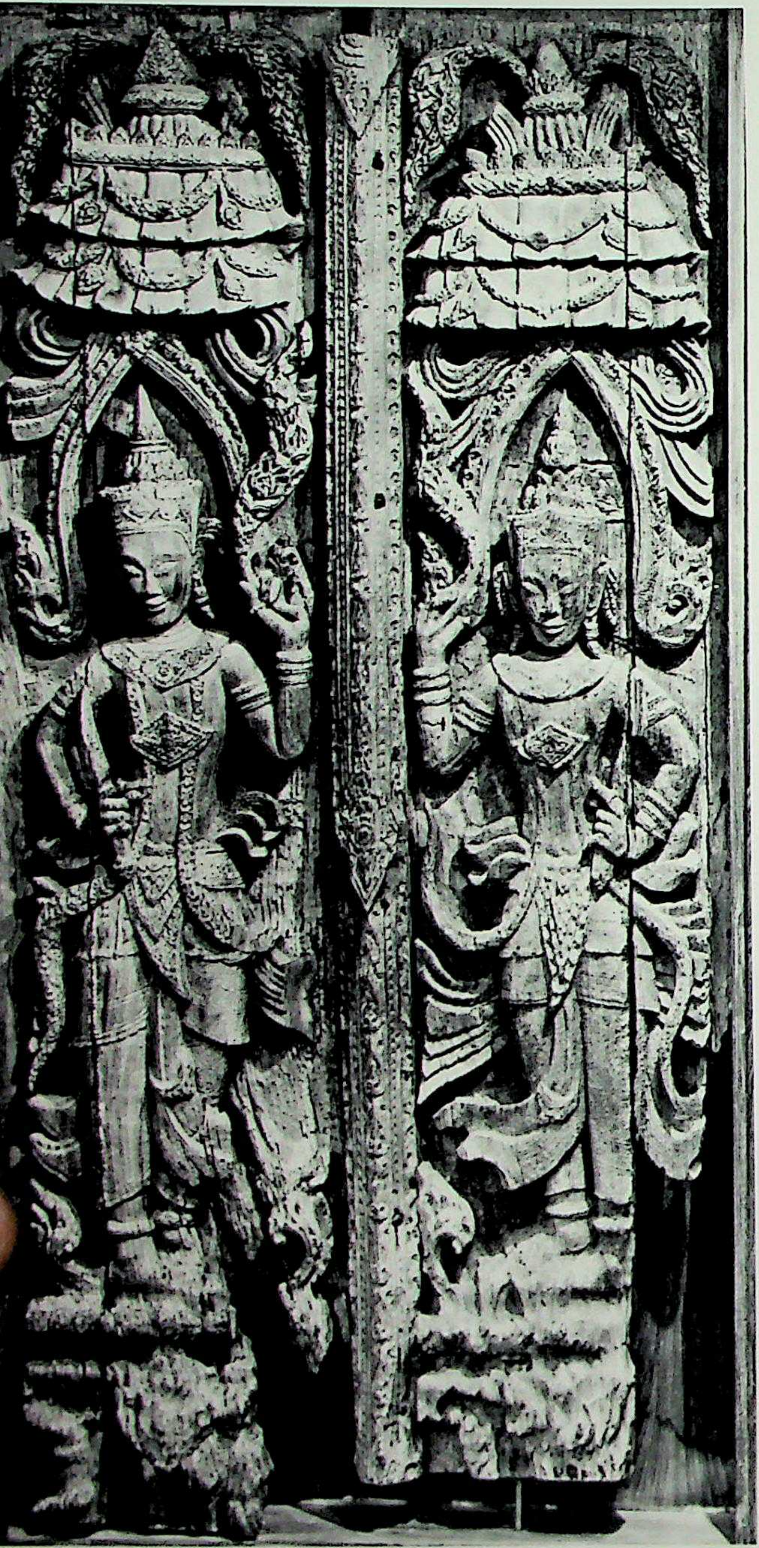
century, a variant appears in the attire. Inspired no doubt by a common monastic practice of the time, it shows the robe held by a narrow scarf tied over the chest, the right shoulder being left undraped. One of the disciples, named Kaccāyana, a fat seated figure already represented in the art of the Dvāravatī period, seems to have been especially popular.

Brahmanic images of the Ayuthya school are less famous than those of Sukhothai but, nonetheless, are of great historical significance. To those idols directly connected with Brahmanic cults and ceremonies must be added all those who take their place in the Buddhist cosmology or figure among the Buddhist zealots. Their variety reflects the diverse sources of inspiration. For the most part, these images—unlike those of the Buddha—owe very little to the Sukhothai tradition but a great deal to that of Angkor. This influence may perhaps be explained by the political and religious motives which had led Ayuthya to occupy Cambodia and present itself as the legitimate heir of Angkorian power. Beginning in the eighteenth century, an influence from South India also made itself felt in the art of Ayuthya. Although it may have been transmitted by way of the Peninsula, which, together with Cambodia, supplied the Ayuthya court with Brahmins, it seems more likely that it stemmed chiefly from a conscious attempt to renew Ayuthya art by drawing directly on the sources of the Tamil region.[67]

The images of the Khmerizing group continue well into the sixteenth century a tradition which directly prolongs, in attire if not in ornament, the Khmer style of the Bayon. Among such images are the famous Śiva (Plate 134) and Vishnu of Kamphèng Phet, referred to earlier in the discussion of Sukhothai art, as well as a large Śiva of rather dry design that is originally from Ayuthya but is now in the National Museum in Bangkok. To the same Khmerizing tradition belong the seated and standing statues of Ganeśa, relatively numerous in the Ayuthya school, in which iconography, however, is less varied than in Sukhothai art. Also in the Khmerizing tradition are the Ayuthya *dvārapālas* (door guardians), carved in-the-round in sandstone, all of which are unfortunately badly mutilated.

Idols of the group stemming from the Dravidian tradition seem to exist only in bronze. They illustrate what for Thailand were new themes, and introduce attitudes and attire which were hitherto unknown and which, in fact, enjoyed only a short-lived success. Though executed locally

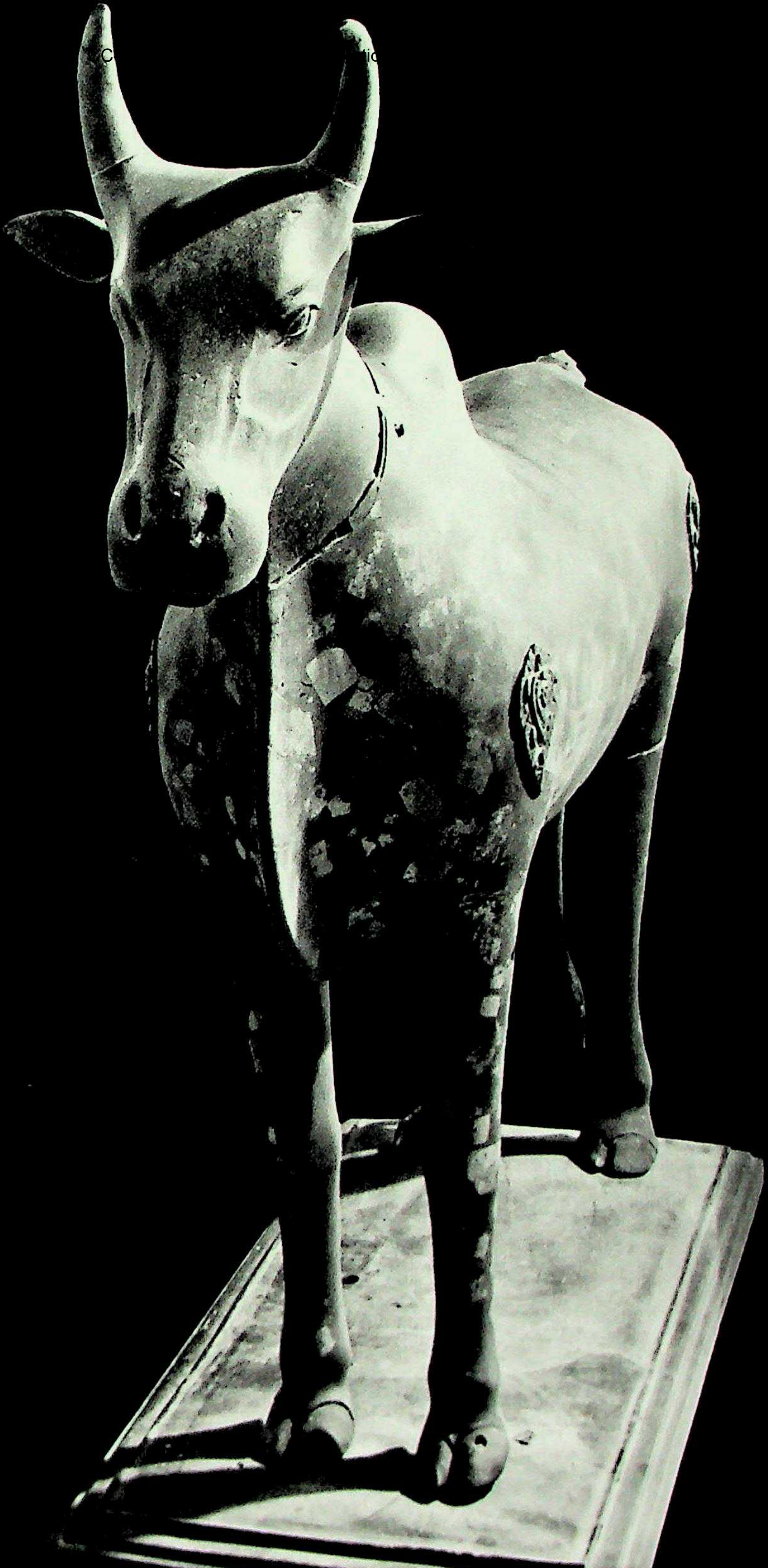
136 Kinnarī, National Museum, Bangkok



from Indian models, which were rather freely interpreted, these images obviously exerted no influence outside the Brahmanic milieu. The most interesting of them are the dancing figures of Śiva and those of Śrī.[68] On the whole, they are remarkable more for their iconography and their varying blend of Thai and Dravidian traditions than for their aesthetic qualities. Yet the finest Śrī (now in the National Museum in Bangkok), a large statue with a pronounced swaying movement and typically Indian dress, is a work of genuine artistry; it stands out distinctly from the rest of Ayuthya sculpture. As might be expected, the Brahmanic deities shown listening to the Buddha escape this influence; they also seem less marked by traces of the Angkorian tradition, as though only certain art forms—and those alone—were allowed to remain directly connected with the Brahmanic cults.

It is with the images of lesser deities, that Ayuthya art, especially in its later period, best reveals its originality and displays its remarkable powers of invention. These figures represent *yakshas* and *kinnarīs* (Plate 136) for the most part, but also include kneeling donors and other religious adherents. These statues, most of them wood carvings, testify most clearly to the richness and equilibrium of Ayuthya art, as well as to its intellectual content and refinement. The most authentically Thai of all works of Ayuthya statuary, they reveal the maturity and vitality of the style, and recall all the other wood carvings which share the same tendencies. Apart from the free-standing statues (Plate 136), mention must also be made of a whole series of carvings which, although designed for an architectural setting, keep nonetheless to a high standard of quality (Plate 135). It would be incorrect to credit the Ayuthya school with the flowering of wood carving, for it is evident that the same principles of construction, in use for centuries, had already long since fostered the progress of this technique. But apart from the fact that none of the wood carvings now extant appear to be earlier than the Ayuthya period, it is important to note that the style of the capital spread throughout the kingdom and that the carvings preserved at Sukhothai, Phitsanulok, or Phetburi are in no way inferior to those of Ayuthya. The few works remaining *in situ* (for example, at Wat Na Pra Men in Ayuthya) or preserved in the museums, none of which is earlier in date than the sixteenth century, make one regret keenly the loss of so many other fine wood carvings. The temple pediments,

137 Door Panels, National Museum, Ayuthya
138 Bull, National Museum, Bangkok



symmetrical compositions ordered around a central divinity, evoke the legends of the gods, Vishnu in particular. The door-panels (Plate 137) illustrate, for the most part, two themes: door guardians in symmetrical attitudes, often stiffly posed but with a great wealth of decoration; and scrollwork, sometimes patterned with small dancing figures. It is interesting to see that certain compositions, echoing as it were a tendency noted in the Buddha images, represent door guardians in the Chinese style, whose dynamism and attire forms a strong contrast with the traditional guardian figures. Little survives of the carved wooden panels that once adorned various pavilions. But the Lacquer Pavilion, presumably originating in Ayuthya as early as the eighteenth century and later reconstructed in the gardens of the Suan Pakkad Palace in Bangkok, incorporates the remains of buildings decorated with lacquer work and carved panels in which the mythical figures and foliage patterns seem derived from an iconography quite different from that known elsewhere.

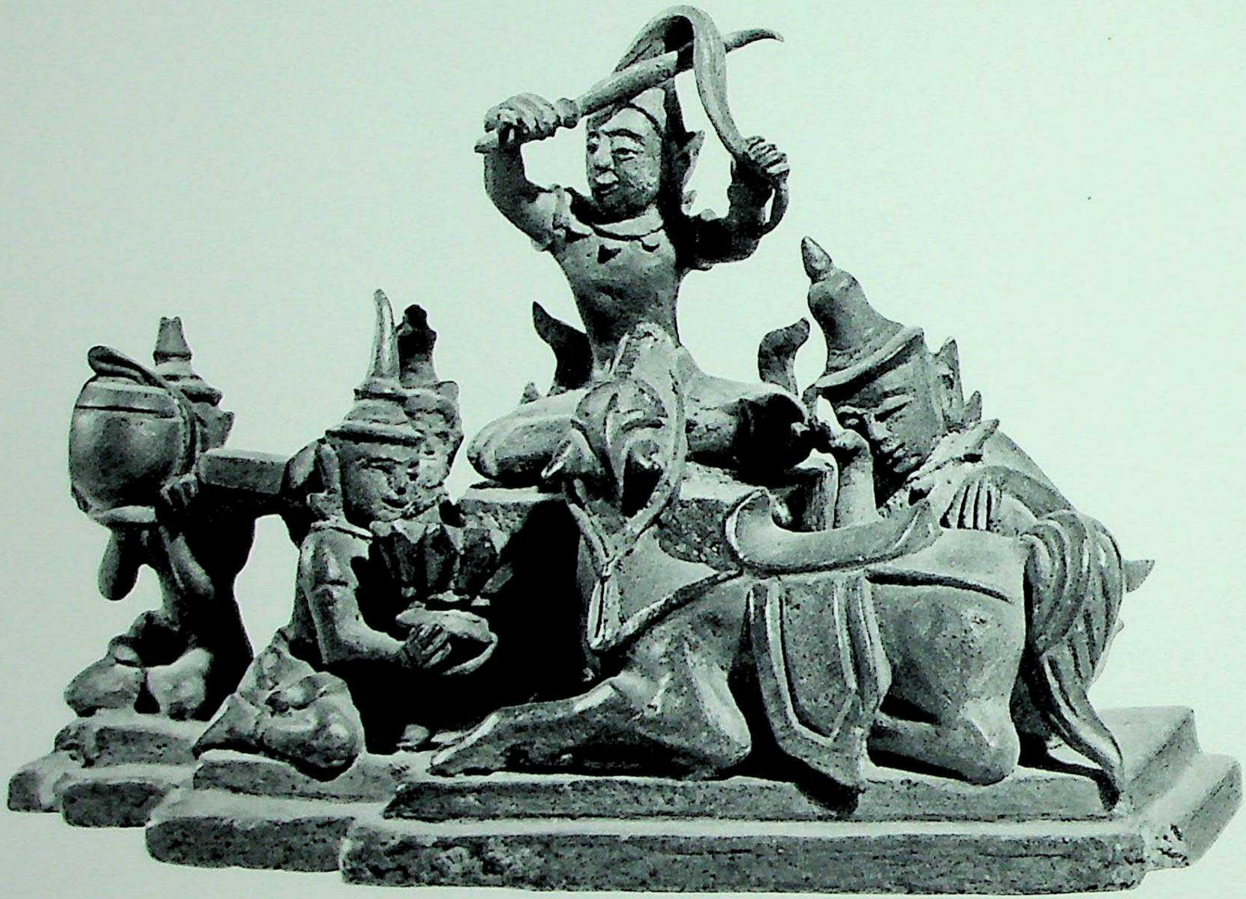
Animal figures, mythical or real, occupy a notable place in Ayuthya art. They were produced in every medium, and they illustrate the varied sources of inspiration of this school. Garuda, the fabulous bird, and the many-headed *nāga*—heirs of the Lopburi school—continue the evolution of Angkorian types. The *hamsa,* a mythical goose, figures prominently in certain monasteries where its image, highly stylized in an original way, stands at the top of a pole. The lion, rendered in sandstone, stucco, or bronze, is probably the one animal that remains closest to the Angkorian tradition. Among the sandstone lions preserved in the old museum of Ayuthya, it is very difficult to distinguish those belonging to Lopburi art from those of the early Ayuthya period. The stucco lions of the *stūpas* at Wat Nang Plüm and Wat Thammikarat are comparable in style. In others, however, chiefly bronzes, an important evolution can be discerned in the appearance of small flame-like pinions at the shoulder and hip joints. The elephant never enjoyed the same popularity in Ayuthya as it did in Sukhothai; it seems to appear only on the base of the *stūpa* at Wat Maheyang. Certain monasteries must have been adorned, as later during the Bangkok period, with large animals of stone or bronze. One of the most characteristic of them is the large standing bull (Plate 138) from Wat Pra Putthabat at Saraburi; this imposing statue appears to sum up all the tendencies of the style: excellent workmanship, simplified modeling, and elongated forms which render the animal quite unrealistic. To deal with the rich cult furniture of the Ayuthya period would take us too far afield. But we should, nevertheless, emphasize the great range and variety of Ayuthya art, which for too long has been unjustly underestimated and which is deserving of a thorough re-evaluation.

X THE SCHOOL OF THONBURI AND BANGKOK

The city of Ayuthya fell to the Burmese in 1767. For the Thai state, the consequences of this defeat were so serious that an immediate and complete restoration of political and religious structures was required while the enemy was warded off in a series of defensive campaigns. There could be no question of rebuilding the capital; it had been burned to the ground and totally devastated. For a time, the court was installed at Thonburi on the right bank of the Menam Chao Phraya River, some sixty miles downstream from Ayuthya; there, greater attention was necessarily paid to military efforts and to reorganization than to any serious art policy. The cultural and artistic revival of Thailand had to wait until the accession to the throne of Rāma I (r. 1782-1809), founder of the Chakri dynasty, during whose reign the capital was transferred to Bangkok, on the left bank of the river opposite Thonburi. Thus it is that the names of Thonburi and Bangkok must be joined in the heading of the present chapter in order to emphasize the fact that the religious foundations of the two cities are contemporary and of comparable importance.

The brilliant age that began with the transfer of the capital to Bangkok is designated by Thai historians as *Ratanakosin* ("Jewel of Indra"). Aesthetically, it was directly linked with the best traditions of the later Ayuthya period, and was distinguished by intense artistic activity that was by no means limited to the capital. The art of the Ratanakosin era may be divided into two periods. The first, ending in 1851 with the reign of Rāma III (r. 1824-51), is characterized by its fidelity to the lessons of Ayuthya, its traditionalism combined with efforts to re-establish a certain orthodoxy, and, most of all, its dynamism. The second period begins with the reign of Rāma IV Mongkut (r. 1851-68) and continues until the present day. It is marked by the increasing influence upon Thai art of Western aesthetic conceptions. Although they have not supplanted the traditional view of art, these tendencies have led to greater verisimilitude in the treatment of the human figure and to preoccupations of a more or less historical order, very different from those of the earlier styles, beginning with that of Sukhothai. What the religious images have lost in spirituality has, nevertheless, helped to preserve the arts of contemporary Thailand from the decay that has plagued the traditional culture of so many countries in South-East Asia. It is perhaps by virtue of this slow and cautious evolution that Thailand has been able to preserve its originality for so long.

The very special circumstances in which the revival of artistic activity took place in the reign of Rāma I, especially the zealous endeavor to retrieve Buddha images from abandoned monasteries and transfer them to the capital, have already been noted in the first chapter of this book. The king's motives in undertaking this vast rescue operation were no doubt extremely complex. This gathering up of 1200 statues seems indeed to have been the only way of immediately providing the many newly erected monasteries with suitable cult images. Even so, it cannot have been mere expediency alone that prompted the endeavor. The casting of a great number of images would unquestionably have been a long and difficult undertaking: great quantities of bronze would be required, and accumulating the bronze would have necessitated the destruction of numerous existing images. But to reduce the operation to its material aspect alone is greatly to diminish its scope, for it was undoubtedly prompted by loftier motives. The need was felt to rescue the statues that lay neglected in ruined monasteries throughout the country and to re-establish them as objects of worship; to this objective was certainly added the desire to bring together in the new capital all the merit accumulated in those statues. Bangkok, or Krung Tep Pra Maha Nakhon ("the City of Gods, the Eminent Holy Capital") to give its official name, thereby was legitimized, both in a religious and political sense, as the true heir of the earlier kingdoms of Thailand and especially of Ayuthya, its immediate predecessor. Moreover, by calling for the transfer to the capital of venerated images and relics, King Rāma I was consciously repeating the gesture attempted many centuries earlier by Rāma Kamhèng, a gesture intended to demonstrate the ruler's legitimacy as



139 *The Cutting of the Hairlock, National Museum, Bangkok*

an authentic, universal monarch. In the Buddhist tradition, based on the legends of the emperor Asoka, a universal ruler alone has the power to extend his conquests peacefully and to move and distribute relics. Thus there can be little doubt of the importance of such an operation for a new dynasty that was attempting to establish itself in a kingdom engaged in spiritual and political reconstruction. It should be noted that the new dynasty even took as patronymic the name Chakri—the very title of the universal rulers.[69]

Like their predecessors, the artists and craftsmen of Bangkok made abundant use of all the traditional techniques. Yet, while bronze casting and wood carving maintained the same high level of quality and stucco benefited from interesting developments owing to a more generalized use, stone carving seems to have lost something of its former favor. In the large monasteries, the main works in stone, although certainly not devoid of interest, are Chinese in style, rather than Thai. During and following the reign of Rāma III, there seems to have occurred a craze for Chinese art, but it did not displace anything of the originality of the native art of Bangkok. On the contrary, it was during the same reign that there began in Thailand a renewal of traditional iconography; this movement continued down to the reign of Rāma V Chulalongkorn (r. 1868-1910), and affected not only the Buddha image but all the divinities and all the real or mythical beings in the Buddhist cosmology. Unfortunately, little attention has so far been paid to this endeavor, although it was considerable in scope and often of great interest. Many of the works produced have already disappeared, victims of the

140 *Standing Buddha, National Museum, Bangkok*

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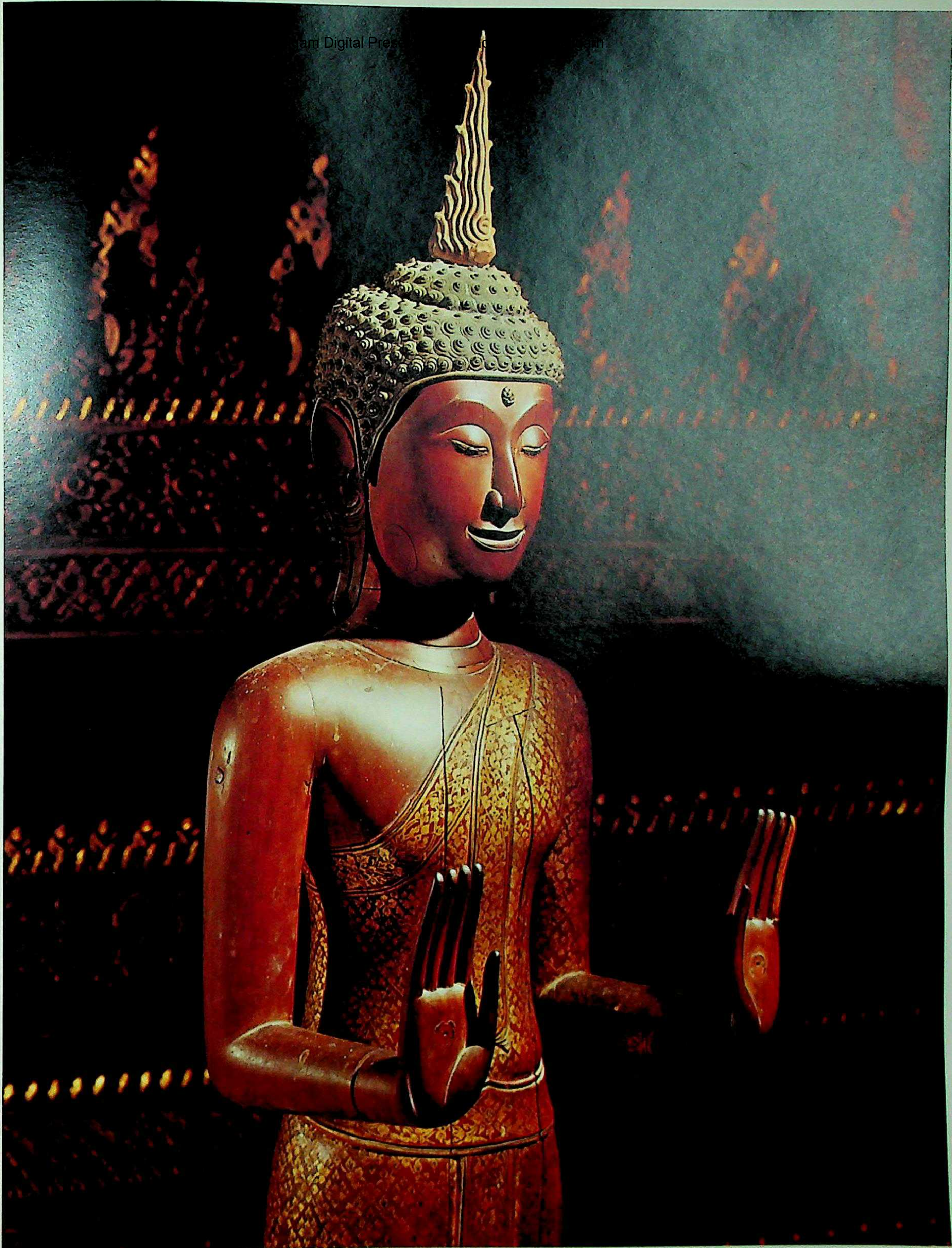
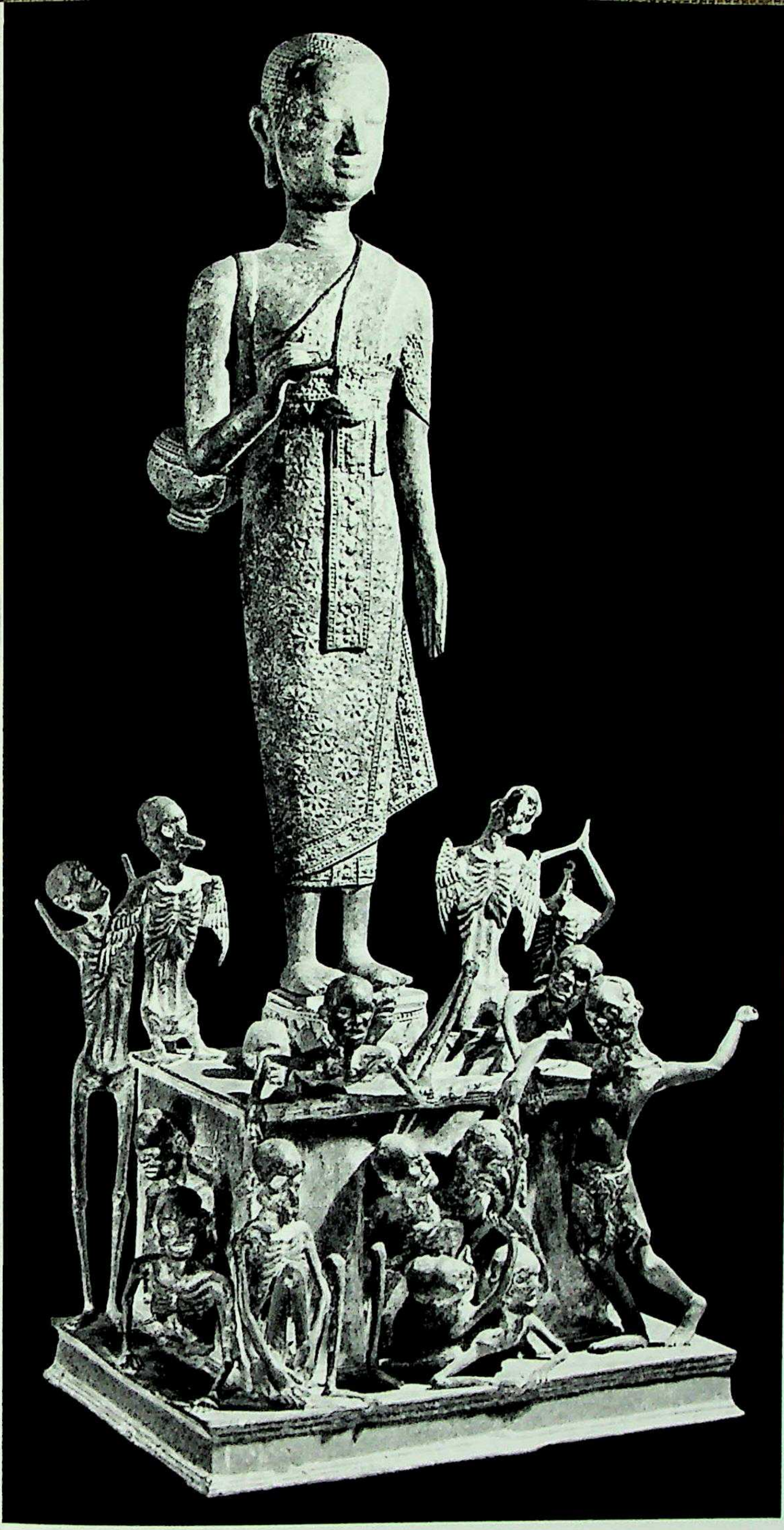


neglect and prejudice which all too often afflict the art of the recent past.

As with the previous period, clarity requires that the main categories of images be described one by one, noting the changes and innovations occurring in each with respect to the established tradition. The Buddha images of the early Bangkok period owe little or nothing to the diversity of styles demonstrated by the older statues that were newly installed in the monasteries of the capital city and of Thonburi. The statuary of the early reigns, whether the images are adorned or not, continues the art traditions of Ayuthya. In the large statues done in stucco over a brick-masonry foundation, such as those erected at Wat Mahathat in Bangkok during the reign of Rāma I, a highly simplified anatomy prevails, coupled with faces of a rather cold serenity that recalls the increasingly conventionalized stylization of facial expressions of the U Thong A and B types. The attire is traditional as well, and reveals a similar tendency. The colossal statues cast during the reign of Rāma III at Wat Suthat and Wat Ratchanadda in Bangkok, Wat Ratcha Orot in Thonburi, or Wat Chalerm Pra Kit, demonstrate nearly the same norms and are distinguished only by the quality of their execution. More interesting is the reclining Buddha of Wat Po (also known as Wat Pra Chetubon), perhaps because the ideal is more in keeping with the monumental size: it is an image some 150 feet in length, done in stuccoed brick and gilded. As on the *Buddhapadas,* the feet of this gigantic statue are adorned with the 108 auspicious signs, represented in mother-of-pearl inlays over lacquer. Contrasting with these works is the so-called Gandhārarattha (pronounced Kanthararat) Buddha, the Buddha of the country of Gandhāra. Attributed to the reign of Rāma I, it is wholly different in spirit, as unexpected in its gesture as in its aesthetic and attire. Housed in the Royal Palace, this statue is taken out for the agrarian ceremonies of the First Plowing and the Rain Festival. Seated in the *vīrāsana* attitude, it is not really reminiscent of Gandhāran art, which was probably little known at that time and place, but it does differ profoundly from contemporary images. These differences lie not so much in the facial expression, which is mild and smiling and which remains in the good Ayuthya tradition, as in the statue's gesture and attire. With the right hand raised to shoulder level and its fingers half opened in a gesture recalling that of *abhaya mudrā,* and with the left hand cupped over the knee, the attitude is obviously inspired by the role devolving upon the image. The attire, with its complicated drapery and the evident emphasis laid on the pleating, looks like a deliberate attempt to evoke the art of Gandhāra, although such an attempt is most unexpected at that early date.[70] The attitude enjoyed a certain favor during the nineteenth century and was used for standing images, in particular. One of these, cast to the order of King Rāma V, is a good example of the artistic aspirations of the later Bangkok period in its concern with verisimilitude; it is naturalistic in its modeling, and it evidences an attempt to suggest local color by adopting the Apollonian headdress of the Gandhāra school. While the Gandhārarattha Buddha seems to indicate a certain desire early in the Bangkok period to diversify attitudes more than in the past, the canons generally tend to depart more and more from reality. This trend points toward a later decadence, even though the finest works (e.g., Plate 140) attain in the sparseness of their form a very real grandeur and possess an undeniable distinction.

In order to establish sound foundations for the religious iconography and to encourage a diligent renewal of Buddhist art while avoiding any laxity, King Rāma III asked the Prince Patriarch to seek out the forty attitudes which, following the sacred texts and the iconographical tradition, would best illustrate the forty events of greatest importance in the Buddha's life (see Appendices). Thirty-four statues designed to provide models were executed as a result of these findings and were erected in the Royal Chapel at the Palace. Surprising both in gesture and attitude, the images generally adhere to the Ayuthya tradition in their attire, and they display little aesthetic originality or merit. Their influence on contemporary art was minimal; certain statues, such as those of the Buddha draping his robe, do not even correspond to the attitudes listed. But while this concern with iconography and greater fidelity to the texts prepared the way for the later Bangkok period, it also led to certain curious innovations. One of the most remarkable, exemplified by an image at Wat Suthat, was an attempt to provide a more faithful illustration of the miracle of the Buddha's seven-day period of meditation while he was protected by the *Nāgarāja* Mucalinda. The texts describe how the serpent king, anxious to acquire special merit, had coiled his great body seven times around the Buddha and sheltered him with his great hood so that the meditation might continue undisturbed by the weather. The Bangkok sculptor took pains to follow the text to the letter, instead of simply representing the Buddha seated atop the coiled serpent as in the past. The body of the Buddha is therefore wholly concealed by the coils of the serpent, and all that remains of him is his bust, seen beneath the outspread, many-headed hood; the entire work is rendered in a highly sinicized style.



During the Bangkok period, Buddhas in royal attire (e.g., Plate 142) were subject to the same iconographical rules as those of the later Ayuthya period. The large, handsome statues erected by King Rāma III in the Royal Chapel of Wat Pra Kèo for the benefit of his predecessors Rāma I and Rāma II (Frontispiece) differ from the earlier series only in the details of adornment and a concern for perfection so meticulous that it detracts from the overall quality of expression. The images of the adorned Buddha might be compared with certain statues which, representing not only the Buddha but also some major disciples (Plate 141), follow and even outdo the late Ayuthya figures with robes entirely embroidered and edged with heavy braid. The removable adornments of the Emerald Buddha, the national palladium (Frontispiece), represent a special case. First placed in Wat Arun in Thonburi in 1780, on its arrival in Thailand after many vicissitudes that cannot be related here, the image was transferred to Bangkok in 1785. Set up in the Royal Chapel, its presence justified the name *Ratanakosin* ("Jewel of Indra") that has been given to the Bangkok period.[71] Its adornments are changed according to the season. Two of them were presented by King Rāma I: one, for the rainy season, is a monkish robe; the other, for the hot season, is a royal ceremonial vestment, corresponding to that worn by the crowned Buddhas. A third, offered by King Rāma III for the cold season, is a mantle made of a network of gold beads. The garment is changed in the course of special rituals in November, March, and July, on days determined by the lunar calendar.

To conclude this brief discussion of the Bangkok Buddha image, mention should be made of an interesting series of small bronze statues attributed to the reign of Rāma III. This series again illustrates the main events of the Buddha's Last Existence, but this time from the Birth to the *Mahāparinirvāna* (the Great total Extinction of the Buddha); the various scenes are represented as three-dimensional tableaux, often grouping several figures (e.g., Plate 139). In a lively and spontaneous style, full of a vitality that does not exclude real religious feeling, these frequently slighted works are among the most engaging objects produced by the Bangkok school.

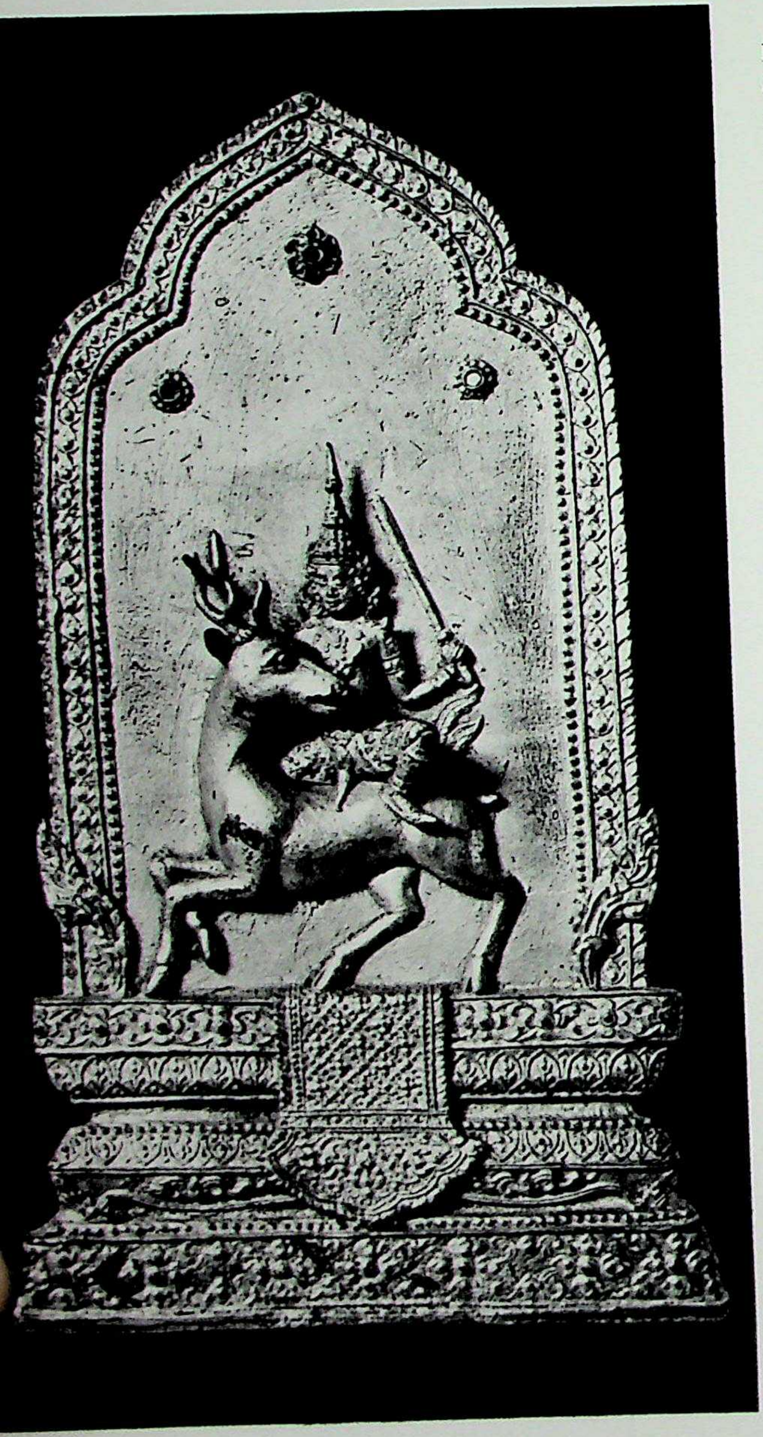
During the later Bangkok period, a realistic tendency and a concern for historical accuracy came to prevail, partially in reaction perhaps to the excessive stylization of the early-nineteenth century, but prompted primarily by

141 Pra Malai, National Museum, Nakhon Pathom the development of critical and art historical studies. King Rāma IV Mongkut had personally devoted himself to scholarly research before ascending the throne, and no doubt it was his preoccupations rather than the influence of Western art that fostered this new orientation in Thai art. Having had the Sambuddhabarnī image executed while he was still a monk, the king was intent on achieving a historical accuracy and authenticity which tended to strip the Buddha image of all extraneous allusions to the miraculous. Preserved in Wat Pra Kèo, this statue has no *ushnīsha* but retains the flame ornament. Executed somewhat later, the Pra Nirantarāya gives further definition to the type elaborated by King Rāma IV. Still characterized by the absence of the *ushnīsha,* the image is represented in *samādhi*; seated in the *vajrāsana* attitude, it is clad in a robe treated with realistic accuracy. Personally commissioned by the king, and contrasting sharply with the age-old traditions, these statues exerted no widespread influence on contemporary statuary. It would not be exaggerating to say, however, that his endeavor had a salutary effect on Thai art by encouraging resistance to the facile solutions which other Oriental countries adopted all too readily. Official art from the reign of Rāma V on, although it maintained the same aesthetic, generally preferred to retain the *ushnīsha.* More characteristic of that reign was a new tendency to copy famous images of all styles and origins, and to copy them in the Western sense—that is, with complete fidelity to the external form. One famous group of statues illustrating this tendency are the attendant figures made to accompany the principal image, itself an exact copy of the Pra Buddha Jinarāja of Phitsanulok, in the Monastery of the Fifth Reign, Wat Benchamabopit (the "Marble Temple").[72]

The representation of the Buddha's disciples and the *rishis* (ascetics) seems to have been of greater importance in the art of Bangkok than in that of Ayuthya. Already in the earlier Bangkok period, both types of figures show a variety that is characteristic of the school. In addition to the traditional major disciples, there is at Wat Suthat, for example, a whole group of extraordinary diversity. These bronze statues, executed with the customary brio, show a range of attitudes that indicates the great novelty of the theme and seems to correspond to the aesthetic orientations proposed by King Rāma III. The same variety is to be seen also in the *rishi* images, and though certain of their postures are physically impossible, these works remain both noteworthy and unexpected in an art otherwise characterized by hieraticism and uniformity. Among the great Buddhist monks, Pra Malai occupies a foremost position in the art of Bangkok, owing to the popularity of legends about him in the first half of the nineteenth century and to the curious iconographical developments which they inspired.[73] The images usually show the monk visiting Hells (Plate 141). Dressed in traveling attire, with his scarf tied horizontally over his chest and his alms bowl slung over his shoulder, Pra Malai stands above a cluster of figures representing the damned; these contorted beings illustrate some of the pains and afflictions suffered in Hells. This, of course, is edifying imagery, designed to have a strong emotional impact on the observer; but the power with which the infernal torments are depicted draws on long-standing traditions and rises to the level of great visionary art. In the art of Bangkok, and perhaps even in that of the later Ayuthya period, there is a current of inspiration that recalls the work of Hieronymus Bosch; it comes as something of a shock in a school whose refinement and decorativeness might otherwise lay it open to charges of superficiality or lack of seriousness. Leading contemporary monks and even pious laymen also became the subject matter of sculptors during the Bangkok period. Although the notion of portraiture in the Western sense was scarcely entertained in Thailand before the early twentieth century, it may be noted that two stucco images at Wat Arun commemorate the piety of two laymen who, for religious motives, committed suicide by fire in 1791 and 1817, respectively.

The *rishi* images are indicative also of other preoccupations of Bangkok sculptors. Some, with subject matter drawn from the *Jātaka* stories, seem derived from those executed at Ayuthya in 1457 and testify to the evolution of attire and hair-style. Others are intended to illustrate particular texts. For the monastery of Wat Po, in which King Rāma III wished to assemble what amounted to a visual encyclopedia of all the traditional knowledge and science of Thailand, a series of eighty *rishi* images was commissioned in 1836. They were to be executed in an alloy of zinc and tin and were intended to represent all the physical exercises followed in the practice of *yoga* that were believed to have curative effects on the body.[74] Only a few of these figures are extant. All of them were done in stucco over a brick core, rather than the metallic alloy that had been projected, but the variety of attitudes demonstrated, or perhaps mimicked, by these figures served a clear educational purpose. The group vouches once again for the vitality of Bangkok art, as well as for the decisive part played by royal patronage.

142 Adorned Buddha, National Museum, Bangkok

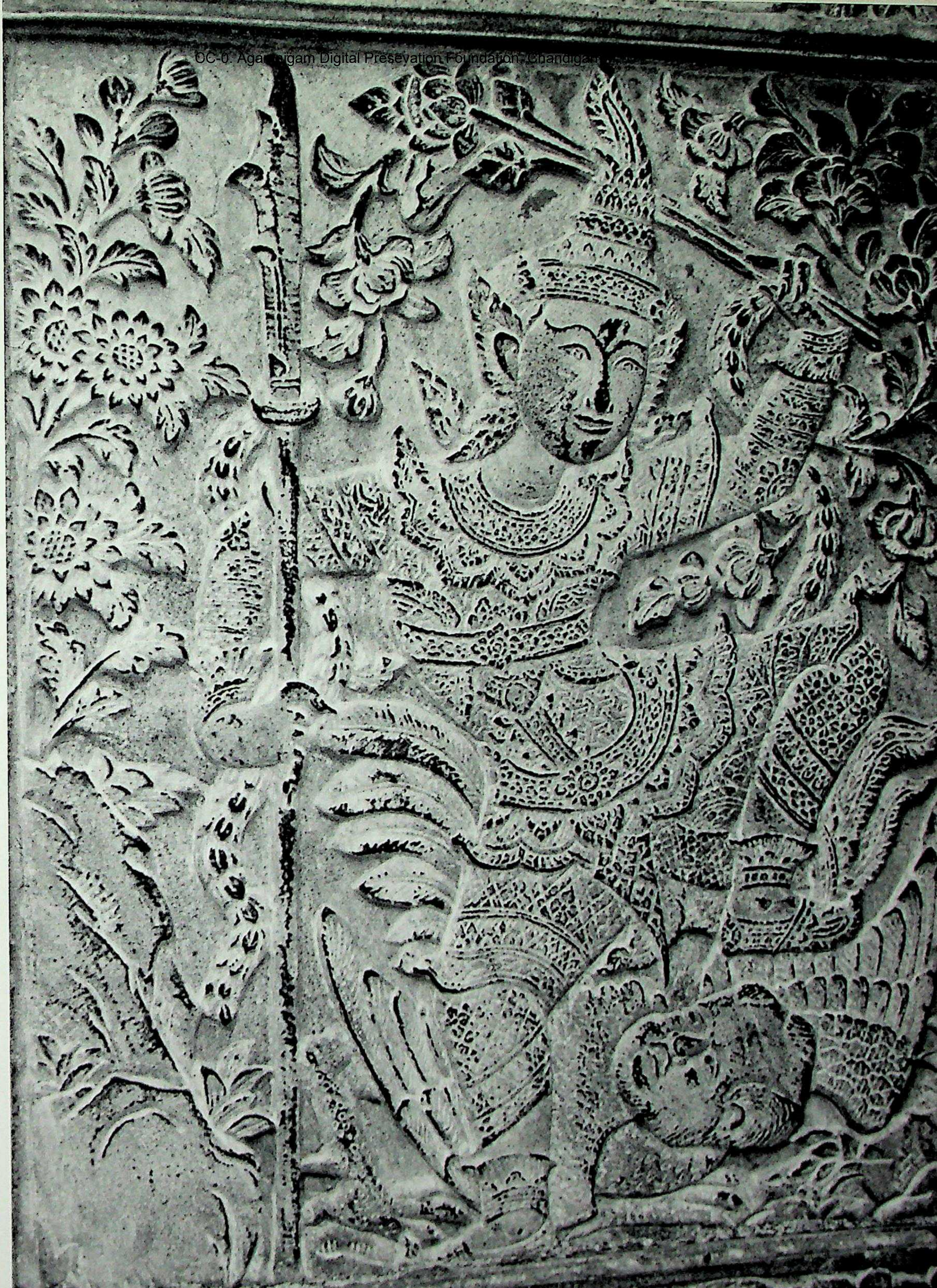


143 Ceremonial Candle-Holder, National Museum, Bangkok

The Brahmanic images further illustrate the scope of Rāma III's patronage and the importance of his initiatives in the field of art. It was from about the time of his reign that a new iconography, far more Thai than in the past, was developed in relation to the Buddhist ceremonies or in order to illustrate the Brahmanic epics. While the Brahmanic art of the later Ayuthya period was divided between two general tendencies, one Khmerizing and more or less a continuation of the Lopburi school, the other inspired by the iconography of South India, the Bangkok school created an original and unique Brahmanic art. The choice of images shows that a new and distinctive tradition, strongly influenced by the Buddhist cosmology, was in the process of being worked out. In attire and adornments, the Brahmanic deities now became authentically Thai, but without departing entirely from the traditions of the Ayuthya school. Furthermore, the images of Brahmanic divinities were much less affected than those of the Buddha by the naturalistic inclinations of the later Bangkok period, for they were never the object of the same preoccupation with historical and anatomical accuracy as the latter. The iconographical texts, *Tāmrā Devarūpa,* written and illustrated during the Fifth Reign,[75] reveal how contemporary Brahmanic art remained quite traditional as compared with the evolution of the Buddha image. The bronzes representing the Brahmanic divinities, executed in considerable numbers at the time (e.g., Plate 143), were inspired by these manuscripts, and their iconography remains remarkably similar to what it had been fifty years earlier. It has often been assumed that the *Khōn* (masked play) exerted a determining influence of this imagery. Although there is obviously a close kinship between the two iconographies, it would probably be more accurate to surmise that the Thai classic dances and sculpture, rather than influence one another directly, both drew on the same sources.

To this group of varied but small-sized Brahmanic idols, one may compare the fine series of bas-reliefs in the *ubosoth* of Wat Po (Plate 144), illustrating the *Ramakien* (or *Rāmakīrti*), the Thai version of the *Rāmāyana,* written between 1770 and 1780 by King Phraya Tak; the first complete text of it dates from the time of Rāma I.[76] The Wat Po series numbers 152 panels carved in low relief in a variety of marble; each panel represents a different episode from the *Ramakien.* Treated in a technique which depends almost as much on line as on carved mass, these scenes show a happy sense of composition and of plastic form in the rendering

144 Scene from the Rāmāyana, Wat Po, Bangkok



of the attitudes. It has been suggested that these *Ramakien* panels may have been done during the later Ayuthya period, but following the view of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, it seems safe to regard them as one of the prime masterpieces of the reign of Rāma III. In fairness, one must point out, however, that three very similar panels have been found at Ayuthya and that the style of the Brahmanic images, being very stable, provides no evidence in support of either dating. Still, the close parallels between the dress worn by the divinities of Bangkok art and that of the chief bas-relief figures at Wat Po would seem to bear out the attribution to the art of the Third Reign.

All the minor divinities who belong to the different levels of the world of the gods, and who are generally associated with the main events of the Buddha's Life, are governed by the same iconographical data. During the Ayuthya period, they already had assumed a growing importance, and they quickly came to figure prominently in the great monasteries of Thonburi and Bangkok, for example at Wat Arun and above all at Wat Pra Kèo (the Temple of the Emerald Buddha). In addition to *yakshas,* worshipping divinities, *kinnarīs,* "heavenly maidens," and *garudas,* all sorts of real or mythical animals enliven courtyards and buildings, from foundations to pediments. The *yakshas,* giant door guardians rendered in stucco over a brick core, are the distant heirs of the *dvārapālas* of the Lopburi school. Wearing the frightening mask ascribed to them by the scriptures, and enhanced with colors that vary according to the sector which they protect, they also serve occasionally as atlantes. Their dress and adornments may be further elaborated with overlays of multicolored bits of porcelain, giving them and the female figures who sometimes accompany them a highly decorative character. This might well be called the "baroque" expression of Thai art. At Wat Pra Kèo, some large bronze *kinnarīs,* though very Western-looking, contrive to preserve the essentials of the Thai tradition and above all its incomparable sense of the marvelous. The animal figures are more traditional: the *garudas,* like those on the base of the *ubosoth* at Wat Pra Kèo, have stiffened into an attitude representing the outcome of an evolution that had been unfolding continuously since the Lopburi period; the lions, door guardians of the same edifice, depend still more on the Khmer tradition. Certain *nāgas* on the partition walls, however, show a curious attempt to renew the theme: making play with their innate ambivalence, the sculptors have rather unexpectedly given the serpents human faces. The real animals—elephants or horses—are much more sober in form. They apparently were less susceptible to stylization, and so the Bangkok artists, following the lesson of their predecessors at Ayuthya, were content to simplify volumes without altering the primary features of their models.

This sculpture being so closely associated with architecture, a few more words may be said about the part it played in the decoration of buildings. Stucco seems to have regained something of the importance which it had lost to wood during the Ayuthya period. Stuccoed pediments are common in Bangkok art, often decorated with plant motifs and enriched with multi-colored bits of porcelain. These lively, decorative compositions recall the seventeenth-century scenes from Wat Lai at Lopburi (Plate 128). The favor they enjoyed was due in part, no doubt, to the ease with which they could be executed. During the reign of Rāma IV, stucco was used for the fine pediments of such great monasteries as Wat Mahathat at Phetburi and Wat Yan Ang Thong at Ang Thong. Stucco was not reserved for pediments alone, but was also used for the low-relief lacquered and gilt compositions adorning the door-posts of the *ubosoth* at Wat Pra Kèo—a remarkable example of the modern use of a technique inherited from Thailand's most distant past. The popularity of stucco in the nineteenth century did not mean, however, that wood carving was abandoned. On the contrary, it remained in the service of the same lavish patronage and maintained the same standard of quality as the superb wood sculpture of the Ayuthya school.

No survey of sculpture in the Bangkok period would be complete without some reference to the works of Chinese inspiration, which enjoyed such prominence and popularity, especially during the reign of Rāma III. Certain monasteries, such as the royal sanctuary Wat Ratcha Orot (Thonburi), accord a leading role to Chinese art. In fact, there are almost no monasteries at Thonburi and Bangkok that do not contain at least a few statues of Chinese workmanship. Aside from the fact that these statues are practically the only stone sculpture of the Bangkok period, their diversity is in itself worthy of note. In addition to guardians and lions in the most authentic Chinese tradition, there are images interpreting local themes, often quite successfully; such are the *garudas* and *kinnarīs* of Wat Arun. Others are surprising in their novelty: the uniformed figures of European soldiers and sailors at Wat Arun and, above all, the astonishing door guardians at Wat Suthat show a keen sense of observation that has been carried to the point of caricature. Other figures, such as the lute-playing girl on horseback at Wat Po, introduce a note of delicate mannerism which is but one of the many seductive qualities of the highly varied art of the Bangkok period.

CONCLUSIONS

The prominence assumed by the Buddha image throughout the history of art in Thailand might leave the superficial observer with a misleading impression of monotony. In a sculptural tradition remarkable for its abundance, the presence of so many late or mediocre works of a popular character has proved an obstacle to impartial judgment and has caused the unique qualities of many unquestionable masterpieces to be diminished or overlooked. Moreover, the complexity of the historical evolution and the part played by the Mōn, Indonesian, and Khmer civilizations, which preceded the flowering of the first Thai kingdoms, have in the past prompted a number of scholars to minimize the originality of art in Thailand and to accord it only a secondary place in publications devoted to the art of Southeast Asia. The mere fact that so many different schools have followed each other or coexisted in Thailand in the course of so many centuries seems to have worked to the detriment of serious and thoroughgoing study of Thai art, inciting scholars to take greater interest in arts that have been at once less subject to historical vicissitudes and more varied in their iconography. But it is a false view that sees only the variety of the component elements or the numerical importance of one or another image, failing to recognize the distinction and originality of Thai art, an originality due as much to inspiration as to the means of expression employed. Largely because of this failure of perception, the art of Thailand has not been known and loved as it deserves to be.

Anyone beginning to study the sculpture of Thailand with any diligence or care will quickly perceive how rich and varied it is, so much so, in fact, that it seems impossible to give an accurate account of the art without dwelling at great length on certain special aspects. The schools are often so different and so abundantly represented that almost every one of them, to be properly dealt with, would require a volume to itself. On the level of scholarship, such exhaustive treatment is indispensable and no doubt will someday be accorded to the subject, for the innumerable problems raised by the art of Thailand cannot be dealt with indefinitely in sporadic studies that necessarily rule out any comprehensive view. But pending the appearance of an investigation of that scope—one chiefly destined for a narrow circle of specialists in art and archaeology—it seemed useful that a work like the present book be compiled, summing up the basic state of our present knowledge of the sculpture of Thailand in a more modest form and intended for all connoisseurs responsive to the particular and highly seductive qualities of the art. In the foregoing chapters, noting frequently that Prince Damrong Rajanubhab has anticipated the problems facing us, we have constantly tried to assess the implications of the latest findings and of our own researches, while laying emphasis on the works which seem to be of greatest interest. Thus, we have endeavored to identify the original features of each of the schools, while defining the connections, whether technical or cultural, which knit them together in spite of divisive political events.

What we have tried to offer here is as broad a survey as possible of the sculpture of Thailand, without delving into abstruse or scholarly questions but also avoiding excessive superficiality.

In this book, our aim has been to present only such views as accord with the great progress made in the study of the art of Thailand during the past few decades. Skeptical of the approach taken in so many popular books, which attempt to describe in a striking and compelling manner notions that are decades or more out of date, we have preferred to dwell on whatever may help shed light on a subject of quite extraordinary scope and complexity. Instead of touching on all the problems without going deeply into any of them, it seemed more interesting, after the broad outlines were clearly sketched, to develop a number of particular points in such a way as to illuminate the originality of the subject. We have thus been led to discuss at some length several recent discoveries and several schools of a rather regional character—those of Si Tep and Haripuñjaya-Lamphun, for example—which have generally been neglected because of their isolation and because of the relative scarcity of works connected with them. The fact is that the Si Tep school displays so great a technical mastery that it alone would suffice to give the sculpture of Thailand a lofty reputation indeed. As for the school of Haripuñjaya-Lamphun, it seems to carry so many implications that the evolution of Thai art proper, with the exception of the Sukhothai school, can hardly be explained without it. This being so, the length of the different chapters in this book could not be determined merely by the time-span of the schools or by their productiveness. Besides the fact that some schools, like the Khmerizing school of Lopburi and the properly Thai school of Sukhothai, have been fairly well known and clearly defined for many years, similar considerations have led us to discuss the Ayuthya and Bangkok schools at some length.

In a book dealing with art more than archaeology, it seemed necessary also not to restrict the discussion to the schools of the early periods alone. There is no justification in the field of art history for such exclusivity; it would occur to no one today to limit the general study of any Western art form to the eighteenth or nineteenth century, for example. Any such limitation would be particularly inappropriate in Thailand, for it was in the two latest periods, too often ignored or treated only cursorily, that the artistic personality of the land is most clearly expressed and, by taking on a national dimension, achieves its full equilibrium and stature. The interest and refinement of Ayuthya art, moreover, did not escape the European travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even though they were little inclined to admire what was so alien to their own outlook on life and apt to pay closer attention to material wealth than they were to aesthetic values.

While we have tried to show where the greatness of each school lies, for each school indisputably has its authentic masterpieces, our aim has been not so much to rehabilitate in Western eyes an art which belongs almost to the present as to focus attention on its unusually varied manifestations. At a time when art lovers find themselves drawn to the least creations of the most recent past, it would seem particularly incongruous and regrettable that the art of Ayuthya and Bangkok should continue to be neglected. The art of Thailand is the most dynamic of any in the Indochinese Peninsula, and the only one which preserved nearly intact, down to the very beginning of the twentieth century, its vitality and its powers of renewal, without repudiating any of the best features of its traditions or exchanging them for alien forms. It fully deserves the interest and admiration not only of the archaeologist and art historian, but of the art-loving layman as well. It is with this conviction that these pages have been written. We do not claim to have solved, or even to have touched upon, all the problems involved in studying the sculpture of Thailand. We do hope, however, that we have been able to arouse greater interest in an art whose originality, quality, and variety are still too little valued, and thereby help them to become better understood.

APPENDICES

I. THE BUDDHA IMAGE

The significance of the Buddha image in Thailand has been emphasized repeatedly throughout the text of this book. So important are the rules governing the iconography of Buddhist art that it may be useful to set out here certain additional details that are indispensable for a proper understanding of Buddha images but were touched on only briefly in describing the abiding features of Thai sculpture and the particular characteristics of each school.

In general, the Thai Buddha image follows an iconography that appears to have been worked out originally by the Buddhist communities of South India. Yet, perhaps because of the very diversity of the influences which happened to converge at the great crossroads formed by central Indochina, a genuine local tradition seems to have arisen quite early. It is safe to say that as early as the seventh century the Dvāravatī images show all the essential characteristics that define an authentic school of Buddhist art. Although various subsequent external influences modified the initial orientation, turning it in one direction or another, they never stifled the deep-seated originality nor interrupted the underlying continuity that are the essential features of Buddhist imagery in Thailand.

A point of some interest is that Sinhalese Buddhism, having exerted a preponderant influence upon doctrinal matters from the fourteenth century on, left only faint traces on the art of Thailand. It is in the attachment to local traditions that one must look for the full significance of the reform undertaken in the nineteenth century by King Rāma III and his successors. Having gradually taken form over the course of centuries that were rich in the production of true masterpieces and highly venerated images, Thai Buddhism duly set itself the task of safeguarding the originality of its iconography and arresting the decay that everywhere threatened Theravāda art. For a clearer understanding of the Buddhist aesthetic, we shall consider—item by item—the various iconographical details that were mandatory features of every Buddha image, laying particular emphasis on those attributes that were peculiar to Thai iconography. Simplifying the terms of the problem and disregarding the problems raised by the practice of copying highly venerated images, one may say that the image-makers were bound to adhere to immutable rules in portraying the Buddha's physical appearance, attire, gestures, and attitude.

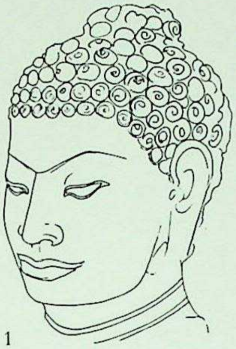
The Buddha's physical appearance is determined primarily by the *lakshanas* (*lakkhana* in Pāli), the physical marks or signs listed in the scriptures as attributes of the Great Man or the Superman (Skt., *Mahāpurusha;* P. *mahāpurisa*). Displayed from birth and resulting from merits acquired during the course of innumerable previous incarnations, all of these marks are to be found only in a man destined to become a Universal Monarch, or, if he renounces the world, a Buddha. Thirty-two in number, complemented by eighty secondary marks, the *lakshanas* enabled the seers to prophesy to King Suddhodana that his son Prince Siddhartha would fulfill one of these two destinies; and they enabled the wise old man Asita to recognize the newborn child as one who would attain Buddhahood. Apart from a few variants, the lists in the Sanskrit and Pāli canonical texts differ principally in their order. Here, by way of example, is the list of thirty-two *lakshanas* as given in the *Dīgha Nikāya,* a Pāli text translated into English as *Dialogues of the Buddha*:

> "And what, brethren, are the Thirty-two Marks of the Superman, wherewith endowed two careers lie open to him and none other:—that of a Monarch, Turner of the Wheel . . . that of Buddha Supreme?
>
> 1) He hath feet with level tread. That this is so counts to him as one of the marks of the Superman. . . .
> 2) Moreover beneath, on the soles of his feet, wheels appear thousand-spoked, with tyre and hub, in every way complete and well divided. That this is so. . . .
> 3) He has projecting heels. . . .

4) He is long in the finger and toes. . . .
5) Soft and tender in hands and feet. . . .
6) With hands and feet like a net. . . .
7) His ankles are like rounded shells. . . .
8) His legs are like an antelope's. . . .
9) Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand. . . .
10) His male organs are concealed in a sheath. . . .
11) His complexion is like bronze, the color of gold. . . .
12) His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body. . . .
13) The down on it grows in single hairs one to each pore. . . .
14) The down on his body turns upward, every hair of it, blue-black in color like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right. . . .
15) He has a frame divinely straight. . . .
16) He has the seven convex surfaces. . . .
17) The front half of his body is like a lion's. . . .
18) There is no furrow between his shoulders. . . .
19) His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan tree: the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and the compass of his arms is equal to his height. . . .
20) His bust is equally rounded. . . .
21) His taste is supremely acute. . . .
22) His jaws are as a lion's. . . .
23) He has forty teeth. . . .
24) Regular teeth. . . .
25) Continuous teeth. . . .
26) The eyeteeth are very lustrous. . . .
27) His tongue is long. . . .
28) He has a divine voice like the karavīka bird's. . . .
29) His eyes are intensely blue. . . .
30) He has eyelashes like a cow's. . . .
31) Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole white and like soft cotton down. . . .
32) His head is like a royal turban. (or: His head is crowned with a protuberance.). . . .[77]

It will be noticed that some of these marks cannot be represented in visual terms; others require the use of color; still others are susceptible to various interpretations. Finally, certain other features that regularly appear in representations of the Buddha—the hair-curls and particularly elongated earlobes, to cite only two examples—are not mentioned among the *lakshanas.* Without going back as far as Gandhāra or Mathurā imagery, one finds that the hair-curls do not necessarily always appear, even in the iconography of Thailand, where one may encounter Buddhas with "shaved" heads (Dvāravatī and Lopburi schools) and Buddhas with braided hair (Lopburi). Based on details of Mark 14, the hair-curls evoke a tradition according to which, after the Cutting of the Hair and subsequent rejection of a worldly life, the Buddha's hair ceased to grow and remained always the same length. As for the elongated earlobes, this is an allusion to the Great Departure and especially to the abandonment of the princely adornments. The image-makers of Thailand generally disregarded the *ūrnā* (Mark 31). They sometimes added a moustache (Dvāravatī, Haripuñjaya, and Ayuthya schools), which also occurs at Gandhāra and in the traditions of Far Eastern Buddhist art. The very imprecision of the descriptions and similes in such lists clearly left the way open to various interpretations and favored the differentiation of the schools and the evolution of a separate aesthetic in each. One thus can see from what starting point the supernatural anatomy of the Sukhothai school (e.g., Plate 93) gradually took form—a creation unique in the history of Buddhist art, and yet one that was perfectly orthodox.

Other special features of the images denote the Buddha's psychic qualities, which were even more important perhaps than the physical marks, since the latter were, in a sense, but the visible indications of the former. Light phenomena were of special interest to image-makers, not only painters but sculptors as well. The Mahāyāna text entitled *Lalitavistara* (translated by Ph. Foucaux, *AMG,* Paris, 1884), for example, notes repeatedly the light emanating from the Buddha's person in all important circumstances; spreading throughout the universe, this light illuminated "the three thousand great myriads of worlds" at the moment of the Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law. A glow "radiates all round the Buddha's body to the breadth of a span and dims the brightness of a thousand suns". In images of the Buddha, this light was conveyed by various conventions: the nimbus circling the head, sometimes completed by a mandorla surrounding the body; the transparency of the garments; the flame or the jewel issuing from the *ushnīsha,* the protuberance on the top of the Buddha's head. In the sculpture of Thailand, however, this radiance, which is only the luminous essence of the *tejas*—the fiery energy, the power of concentration, the magical or spiritual glow of every superior being—was seldom represented by a nimbus. This feature occurs only in a few images of the Dvāravatī school: specifically, a meditating Buddha in the Ayuthya Museum, a high-relief piece that associates nimbus and mandorla, and a few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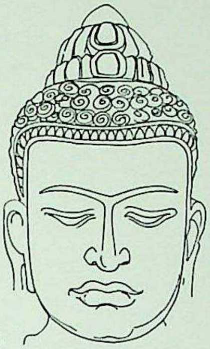
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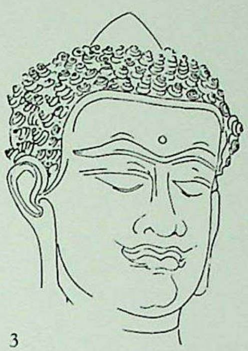
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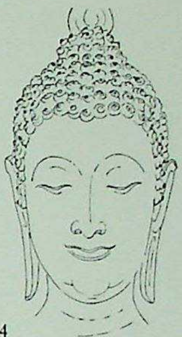
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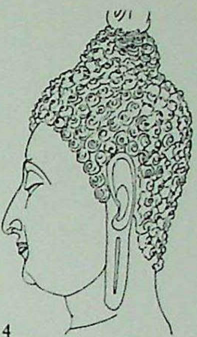
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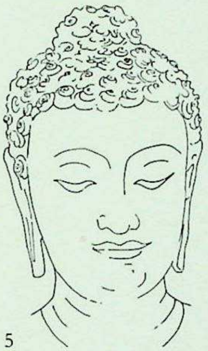
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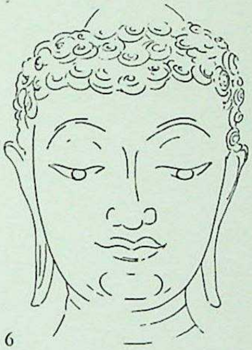
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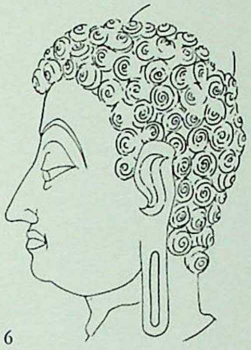
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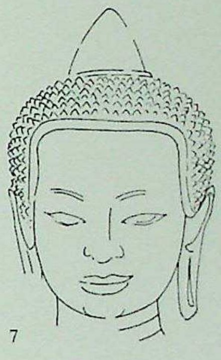
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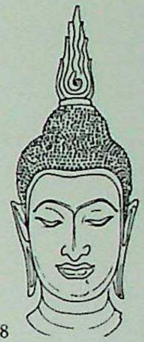
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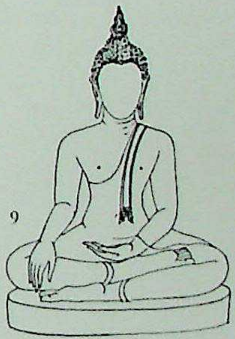
Aesthetic of the Buddha Image

Faces:

1 Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th c. (stone)
2 Lopburi school, 13th c. (stone)
3 Haripuñjaya school, 13th c. (terra-cotta)
4 Sukhothai school, 14th c. (bronze)
5 Lan Na school, 13th c. (Chieng Sèn, bronze)
6 Lan Na school, 13th-14th c. (Chieng Mai, bronze)
7 U Thong A style, 13th c. (Suphanburi, bronze)
8 U Thong C style, late-14th and early-15th c. (Ayuthya, bronze)

Proportions:

9 Sukhothai school (bronze)
10 Lan Na school, early period (bronze)
11 Lan Na school, mixed style (bronze)
12 U Thong A style (bronze)
13 U Thong B style (bronze)
14 U Thong C style (bronze)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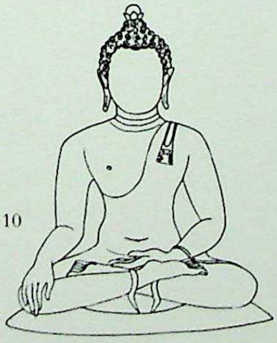
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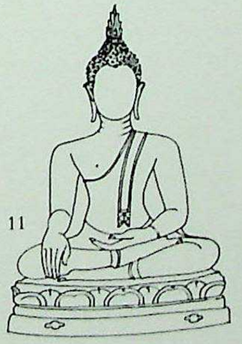
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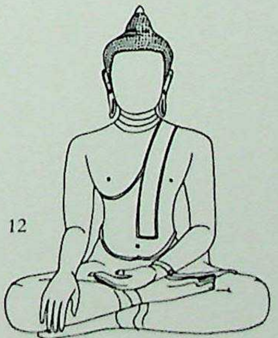
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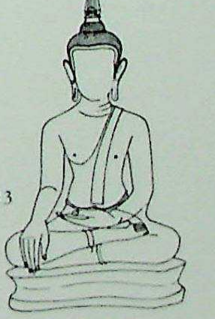
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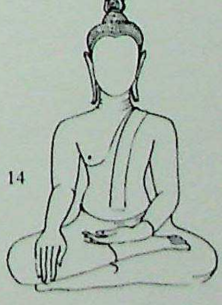
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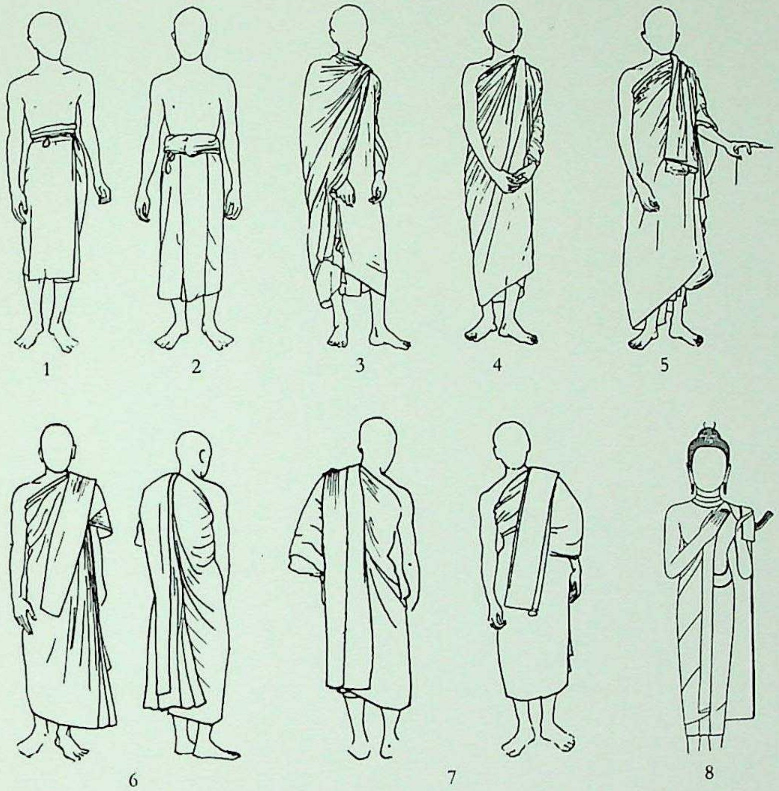
bronzes distinctly marked by Indonesian influence (e.g., Plate 41). It should be noted that all the known examples, be they reliefs or bronzes, confirm the fact that the nimbus answered solely to an iconographical concern. It acts as a supporting surface only in the colossal Dvāravatī statue of Wat Na Pra Men at Ayuthya.

The transparency of the garments worn by the Buddha images is somewhat reminiscent of the *lakshanas* (11) and (12), and is a means of suggesting the exceptional radiance of his body. According to the texts, the light was so intense that it dimmed the brilliance of the golden garments offered by the gods at the moment of the Enlightenment and again by a pious layman shortly before the Great Decease. This convention arose in Thailand with the passing of the vogue for the pre-folded drapery of the Amarāvatī style (Plates 35, 37), and led the sculptors to envelop the body in a tight-fitting garment devoid of folds and bearing merely a slight indication of the thickness of the cloth, as if these alone provided a certain opacity—a highly skillful stylization for all its apparent inconsistency. It would seem responsible, however, in the Lopburi school of the twelfth century, for a curious and surprising audacity: the bust of some Buddhas sheltered by the Nāga is shown quite naked, without any trace of a garment; even the reserved area of stone between the left arm and the torso was suppressed. Abandoned at the end of the century, this convention nevertheless reappeared occasionally in certain adorned Buddhas (e.g., Plate 117).

The ornament (a flame or jewel) atop the *ushnīsha* also served to represent the radiance emanating from the Buddha. Often designated as *rasmi* in the iconography of Thailand, this ray emerges "through the chinks in the skull protuberance" and, according to the *Lalitavistara,* is "the ornament of wisdom and supreme knowledge". The notion of its being an "ornament" helps to explain its two aspects: a flame in the imagery of Ceylon and a jewel in that of the Pāla tradition; the latter is often improperly described as a lotus-bud. Both forms are well represented in Thailand, but the flame-top finally came to prevail. It may be noted that the stylization adopted by the Sukhothai school, and maintained by that of Ayuthya, only faintly recalls the flat, lyre-shaped flame of Sinhalese iconography. We have already referred to the curious stylization of the *ushnīsha,* in the form of a smooth cone, in the Haripuñjaya school and in certain images of the U Thong A style; it occasionally occurs as well at Nakhon Si Thammarat in works produced by the Chaiya workshops. Its origins are not clear, and it enjoyed only a very limited success. The same is true of the bizarre forms, complex and highly developed, often suggesting a baluster, which appear in the U Thong B style together with the flame ornament, and which were eliminated with the rise of the C style.

While the aesthetic was influenced as much by the image-makers' conception of the *lakshanas,* the secondary marks, and indeed by the whole image of the Buddha as by the actual evolution of style, certain stylizations show how great was the importance attached to the literal and plastic interpretation of the scriptural texts. The treatment of hands in the sculpture of Thailand provides a good example, revealing the different interpretations to which Marks 4 and 6 and some ten secondary signs lent themselves. The small Buddha of the Sārnāth school (Plate 39) seems to be the sole example in Southeast Asia of "webbed" hands, an interpretation of Mark 6 that had been especially popular with certain Indian schools, beginning with that of Gandhāra. A Dvāravatī Buddha in *vara mudrā* (Plate 42), for example, shows a quite different interpretation of the "net" referred to in Mark 6. In regard to Mark 4, while it chiefly prompted artists to dwell on the beauty and delicacy of the hands (e.g., Plate 15), it also led them to render all fingers but the thumb equal in length. This convention arose at the beginning of the fifteenth century with the famous Pra Buddha Jinarāja (Plate 10), and was generally followed by the Ayuthya and Bangkok schools. The provincial workshops of the East and Northeast had no qualms about carrying it one step further, however: disregarding all aesthetic considerations, they extended the thumb so far that all five fingers became nearly the same in length.

This is not the place for a thorough or extended study of the aesthetics of the Buddha image in Thailand; any such study would do well to pay more attention to the secondary marks than has been done to date. These, being less remote from human reality, often provide a relevant complement to the ideal data of the *lakshanas*. A list like the one given by the *Lalitavistara* is particularly informative. For example, signs 52 to 66, concerning the facial features, afford a better understanding of the Sukhothai ideal. It is a curious fact that, for all the wealth of details, none of the lists of major and minor marks makes any reference to the ears. All the early sculptors seem to have been intent on rendering them realistically, while those of the Khmer and Lopburi schools developed a stylized treatment of the ears that provides information particularly useful in dating their works. The Thai schools, on the contrary, always show a great variety of stylizations, apparently without reference to any precise iconographical data and without any distinct signs of evolution.



Draping of the Monastic Robes (based upon photographic documentation by A. B. Griswold)

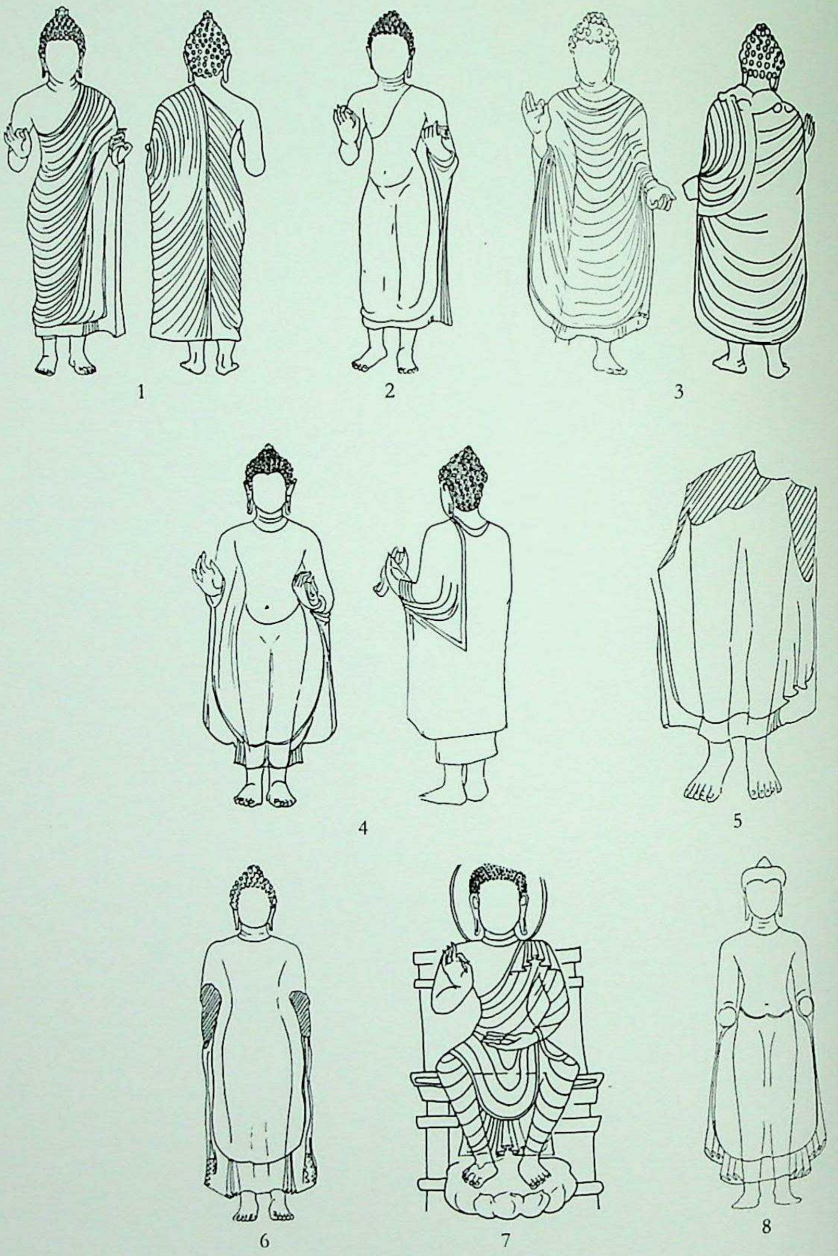
- 1-2 Two ways of draping the *antaravāsaka*
- 3 Draping of the *uttarāsanga*
- 4 *Uttarāsanga* draped so as to leave the right shoulder bare (same mode of draping as 3)
- 5 Another mode of draping the *uttarāsanga*, with flap in front
- 6-7 Two ways of wearing the *sanghāti*
- 8 The "reversed" mode of draping the *uttarāsanga* (common figure in Bangkok-period statuary)

The Buddha's attire is, as a matter of principle, that of a Buddhist monk. The dress of the monastic community was believed to have been fixed by that of the Buddha; conversely, every image of the Buddha shows him wearing the robes of a monk. As observed by the Chinese pilgrim I-ching in the late-seventh century (cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion . . .*, trans. by J. Takakusu, London, 1896), the monastic garb was modified somewhat by local conditions and was adapted to regional climates and customs. While it may therefore show some notable differences from one place to another, the monastic dress normally consists of the three rectangular pieces of cloth called for by the scriptures: an undercloth (*antaravāsaka*) covering the lower part of the body; the robe (*uttarāsanga*), a large draped garment worn in the same manner as the Greek himation or the Roman pallium; and a kind of shawl (*samghāti*), a duplicate of the robe and worn as a cloak in cool weather. In South India and Southeast Asia, this third garment is usually omitted or, in a few special circumstances, is worn folded over the left shoulder. Influenced by the tradition and rules peculiar to different sects, the manner of draping these garments also changed over the course of time. Always highly stylized in art, chiefly because of the necessity of representing the transparency and radiance mentioned above, the form of the Buddha's attire adhered nevertheless to the rules laid down by the monastic communities. Thus, in spite of the influence exerted by one or another school of art, the drapery of any given statue tends to evoke the practices of the sect commissioning the work. The attire, then, may provide sounder evidence of the influences at work than the plastic character of the image; often it may even reveal a connection with a particular sect.

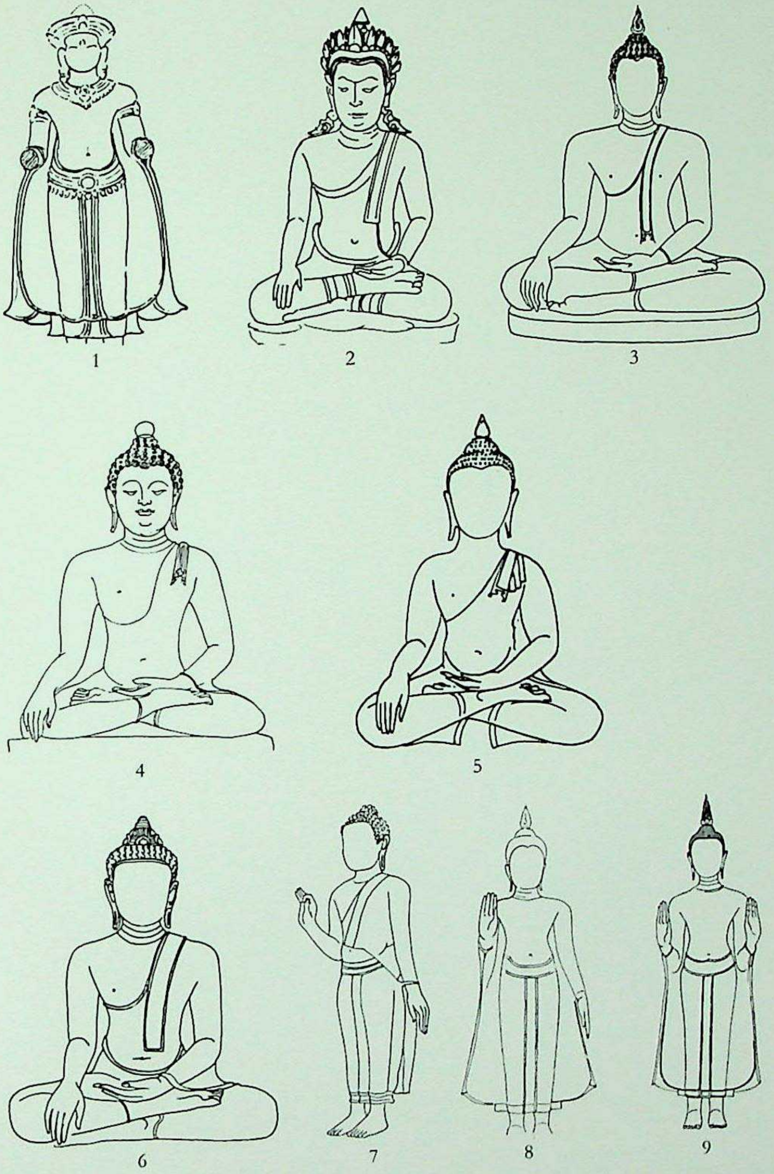
The *antaravāsaka* is secured around the waist by a knot in front or by a belt. As it is a full, ample garment, the surplus of cloth is tucked in at the side (forming one bunch of folds in Amarāvatī statuary, two in that of the Dvāravatī school) or is allowed to hang down in a frontal panel (later Dvāravatī period and thereafter). Nearly always covered by the *uttarāsanga*, only its lower part is usually visible, but the convention of transparency allows the belt and frontal panel to be seen, chiefly from the eleventh or twelfth century on. The various aspects of the *uttarāsanga* are more instructive and, especially in the earlier phases, reveal far more about outside influences. As is still true today, several different ways of draping the robe were apparently in vogue simultaneously among the various sects. But, no matter how it is draped, the robe can always be worn in two ways: in the covering mode, draped over both shoulders, or in the open mode, leaving the right shoulder bare. In principle, when a monk is outdoors in a village or town he wears his robe in the covering mode; in his monastery, when paying homage to a superior or living in seclusion, he wears it in the open mode. The change from one to the other involves no more than a quick reordering of the drapery, but it results in an extensive change in the overall appearance of the robe. Despite rather elaborate stylizations in the sculpture of Thailand, the different ways of draping the robe always conform, if not exactly to reality, at least to definite models. Beginning with the Dvāravatī school, standing images were generally represented with both shoulders covered and seated images with the right shoulder bare. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. Since these modes of drapery have been carefully analysed by A. B. Griswold in several articles, we shall refer here only to those which are most important for the sculpture of Thailand.[78]

The "Amarāvatī" mode of draping leaves the right shoulder bare even in standing images. Treated with a certain naturalism, the robe falls in a broad puckered curve in front of the legs and extends up over the left forearm; behind, its free edge falls vertically. In a relatively late phase, corresponding to that of the images imported into Southeast Asia, the drapery was held in place by grasping part of the hem with the left hand. For a long time only pre-folded materials were used; the folds, parallel and very regular, resulted not from the way the robe was modeled over the body but from what appeared to be a previous creasing. In no way connected with the use of pre-folded cloths, the "Amarāvatī" drapery survived long after they had been abandoned. When the Gupta influence came to prevail, the covering mode and the use of smooth materials tended to become the regular practice for standing images. Very different from that of Amarāvatī, the "Gupta" drapery covering both shoulders is characterized by the sweeping curve which the lower part of the *uttarāsanga* forms in front of the legs and by the dissimilarity of the groups of folds formed on either side of the figure. The end of the garment is gathered up in the left hand, reducing the free flap in the back to a single point or to a kind of pucker clinging to the curve of the arm. As we have pointed out, there were few images in Thailand deriving directly from the Gupta tradition; they suffice nevertheless to show its diversity. In the Dvāravatī school proper, the general simplification of the garment (elimination of the back flap and of the end held in the left hand or wound over the wrist) and the perfect symmetry of the side flaps of the *uttarāsanga* testify to a more advanced stage of development, which was probably related to the post-Gupta period in the formative phase of the Pāla iconography (c. seventh century).

A study of the seated images with their right shoulders bared tends to confirm these views, for as early as the Dvāravatī period they reveal the adoption of dress which in India only made its appearance in post-Gupta art. In Thailand, two ways of draping the robe were developed and remained in use throughout the course of its art history. The first, which differs hardly at all from the Gupta attire, is the simpler of the two: one corner of the



Attire of the Buddha Images
1 "Amarāvatī" drapery (bronze from the Korat region)
2 Tradition of South India (bronze from the Songkhlā region)
3 Pāla drapery of Nālandā (bronze from Pong Tük)
4 Gupta drapery of Sārnāth (bronze of unknown provenance)
5 Gupta drapery (stone statue from the Chainat region)
6 Dvāravatī drapery (stone statue at Wat Benchamabopit)
7 Dvāravatī drapery (relief from Nakhon Pathom)
8 Haripuñjaya drapery (stuccoed terra-cotta from Wat Kukut, octagonal *chedi*)

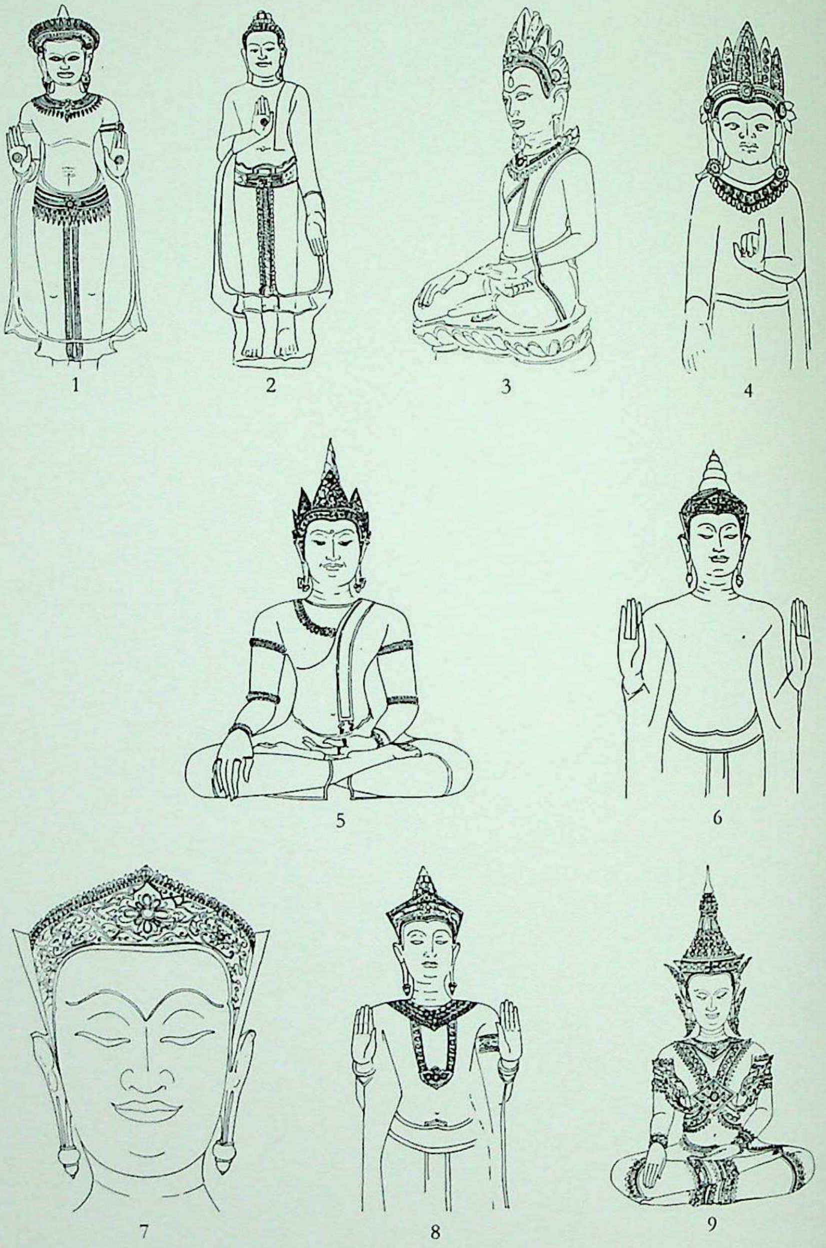


Attire of the Buddha Images
1 Lopburi drapery, 12th c. (bronze from the Korat region)
2 Lopburi drapery, 13th c., Pāla-Sena influence (unknown provenance)
3 Sukhothai drapery (bronze from Sukhothai)
4 Lan Na drapery (bronze from Chieng Mai)
5 Drapery of Nakhon Si Thammarat school, "Khanom Thom" type (bronze from Nakhon Si Thammarat)
6 U Thong drapery (bronze fron Ayuthya)
7 U Thong drapery (bronze of unknown provenance)
8 Ayuthya drapery (bronze at Wat Benchamabopit)
9 Ayuthya drapery (bronze at Wat Benchamabopit)

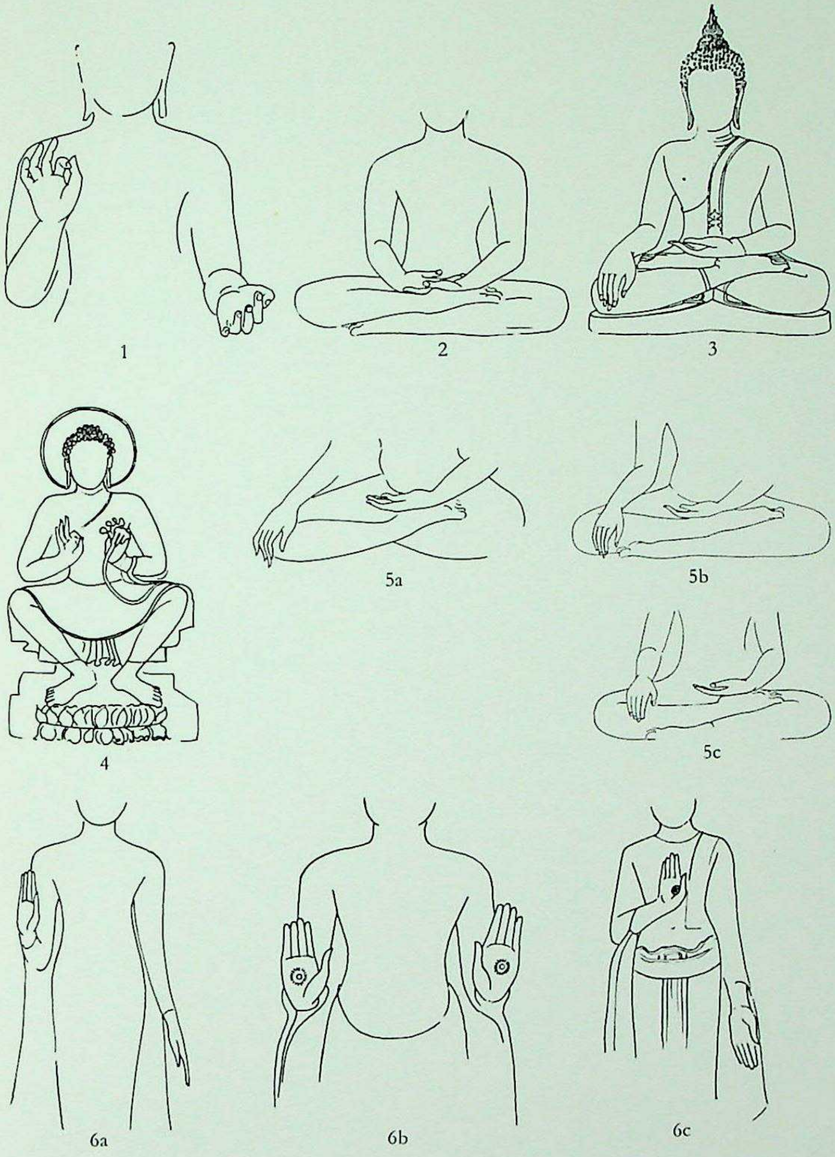
robe is held over the left shoulder while the rest is draped around the body, from back to front; the free corner is thrown backwards over the left shoulder. While proceeding in the same way, the second mode, which we have called the "reversed" mode, consists in throwing the free corner over the left shoulder and slipping it underneath the cloth that is already there. Becoming visible, this shoulder flap is usually arranged in a more or less developed and stylized group of folds. It may happen that the shoulder flap of the robe is entirely covered by the folded *saṃghāti,* and it is often very difficult to tell whether the statue is supposed to be wearing the folded *saṃghāti* or not.

The royal adornments, which are so frequently seen on Thai Buddha images from the Lopburi period on, present an iconographical problem that has inspired a good deal of speculation and conjecture. It seems surprising, first of all, that the Buddha, who had renounced the adornments and regalia of his princely life in favor of the mean dress of a mendicant monk, a form of dress that he imposed on the monastic community as a whole, should ever be represented wearing the finery of a monarch. While we need not set much store by the early theories, which interpreted the adorned figures as representations of the Bodhisattva before the Great Departure, we cannot dismiss the explanation proposed by George Coedès on the basis of certain Khmer Buddhas, the lengthy analysis by Paul Mus, or the testimony of the Laotian work, the *Jambupatisutta,* apocryphal though it may be.[79] While the first two studies consider the matter from a Mahāyāna point of view, which seems to correspond to the spirit in which the earliest adorned Buddhas of Thailand were conceived and executed, the third approaches the matter from a Theravāda point of view and is thus of special interest for the later images. In fact, there does not seem to be any real opposition between these different explanations, for all three are based on the same notions. Choosing the path of renunciation, Prince Siddhārtha refused the destiny of universal ruler, which lay open to him by virtue of his birth; but, having become a "perfectly and completely" Enlightened Buddha and having taught the Law at Sārnāth, he entered into possession of a far higher kingdom. So, although the Buddha is clad like the most ordinary monk, the faithful are entitled to see him as the greatest of monarchs. Such is the meaning which may be attached to the earliest Buddhist imagery, in which an anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha's person did not even appear, from the pillar erected by Aśoka at Sārnāth on the site of the First Sermon to the Amarāvatī reliefs associating the *cakra* pillar or *cakrastambha* with the royal throne. From a large amount of concordant evidence, one may single out the stanza which, according to the Buddhist canon, was spoken by the Buddha himself to the Brahman Śaila: "Śaila, I am a king, the sublime king of the Dharma; in the circle of Earth, I turn the Wheel of the Dharma". In view of the importance assumed by the victory over Māra the Tempter, one cannot but acknowledge the excellent grounds for imagining the Buddha as the world ruler *par excellence*. In fact, there is really nothing contrary to the spirit of Buddhism in the adorned images, which were also well known in India, at least from the end of the Gupta period. For the art of Thailand, the Buddha image in regal attire is the one that is most instructive as regards chronology, for the adornments closely parallel the fashions of particular periods. Probably the earliest adorned Buddha, one without a diadem moreover, is a teaching Buddha in the Indonesian tradition, found at Kosum Pisai (Plate 61) and originally identified as "Maitreya" by G. Coedès. The fact is that adorned Buddhas without the diadem are to be met with throughout the history of this art, particularly in the U Thong style (Plate 94). But it was only with the Lopburi school that the adorned Buddha became firmly established and took on two distinct forms: firstly, figures of the Buddha sheltered by the *Nāga* (Plate 18), that lost favor as the Khmer influence disappeared from the Lopburi school and soon gave way to the Māravijaya Buddhas influenced by Pāla art (Plate 19); and, secondly, that of standing statues which, after suffering an eclipse in the Sukhothai period, enjoyed a growing popularity during the Ayuthya and Bangkok periods. Ultimately, adorned standing figures even supplanted the seated ones.

The gestures and attitudes of a Buddha image permit identification of a particular moment in the Buddha's career, even when there is no other narrative context for the figure. They are fully intelligible only to Buddhist worshippers or to those with adequate knowledge of the main events of the Buddha's life. In the first chapter of this book, we described the gestures and attitudes most often seen in the Buddhist statuary of Thailand. It should be emphasized here that the frequently employed term *mudrā* has no real meaning except in the context of Mahāyāna, where each *mudrā* is, in the strictest sense, the mark of a particular Jina and thus a means of differentiating the Buddhas who, by nature, are all alike. The *mudrās* do not suffice to represent all the great miracles, and in the Theravāda—especially in the iconography of Thailand—the term *mudrā* is not used. We have retained it here only as a means



Adornments of the Buddha Images
1 Lopburi school, Khmer tradition, 12th c. (bronze)
2 Lopburi school, Khmer survivals, 13th c. (stone)
3 Lopburi school, Pāla-Sena influence, 13th c. (bronze)
4 Haripuñjaya school, Pāla-Sena influence, 13th c. (chased bronze)
5 Lan Na school (bronze)
6 Ayuthya school, 15th-16th c. (bronze)
7 Ayuthya school, 15th-16th c., detail of a diadem (bronze)
8 Ayuthya school, 16th-17th c. (bronze)
9 Ayuthya school, 17th-18th c. (bronze)



Gestures and Attitudes of the Buddha Images
1 *Vitarka mudrā* (Dvāravatī school, quartzite)
2 Seated attitude of *vīrāsana*, gesture of *samādhi* (Lan Na school, bronze)
3 Seated attitude of *vajrāsana*, gesture of *bhumisparśa mudrā* (Lan Na school, with Sukhothai influence, bronze)
4 Seated attitude in the "European" manner, gesture of *vitarka mudrā* (Dvāravatī school, rock bas-relief)
5 *Bhumisparśa mudrā*: a) Lan Na school, early period (bronze); b) Sukhothai school (bronze); c) U Thong style (bronze)
6 *Abhaya mudrā*: a) "Restraining the kinsmen" (Ayuthya school, bronze); b) "Restraining the waters" (Lopburi school, bronze); c) "Subduing Māra" (Lopburi school, sandstone)

of simplifying the descriptions by keeping to a fairly precise and familiar vocabulary, explained more fully in the Glossary.

Gestures and attitudes are practically inseparable; a particular gesture, in most cases, can only be performed in a given attitude. One is struck by the importance attached in the art of Thailand to figures seated in "European" fashion, with their legs hanging down. Appearing fairly frequently in the Dvāravatī school, this posture occurs even more often in the art of Ayuthya and Bangkok, presumably because it permitted certain episodes to be better differentiated. The peculiar problem faced by the iconography of Thailand seems to lie in its having sought to provide, without necessarily resorting to narrative compositions, the largest number of edifying scenes for the veneration of the faithful. In the view of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, this is the significance which must be attached to the "forty attitudes of the Buddha", defined at the behest of King Rāma III. But the tendency certainly arose much earlier. In the later Lopburi school and in the U Thong style, we find gestures which convey a very precise meaning even though they do not adhere strictly to the definitions proposed for Indian art. In this respect, we cannot overlook the importance of the walking Buddha in the Sukhothai school (e.g., Plate 93). The differentiation of the three *abhaya mudrās* on such figures may not be remarkable aesthetically, but iconographically it is of great significance. Performed with both hands, the gesture traditionally signifies the "calming of the waves"; with the right hand alone, it represents the "appeasing of the quarrel between the Kolyas and Śākyas", with the left hand alone, it indicates the notice given to the sandalwood statue (made during the Buddha's visit to the Heaven of the Thirty-three) not to come forward and revere him. Similar to these variants is the gesture performed with the right hand by the seated Buddha, signifying "the restraining of Māra", on the evidence of the iconography of the thirteenth century.

It was clearly the desire for differentiation and the need to fix its limits that justified the compilation of a list of forty attitudes in the nineteenth century. The conflicting tendencies and internal contradictions of this list are surprising: it appears to ignore certain events of considerable importance in the history of Buddhism, placing emphasis instead on other relatively minor occurrences. The explanation would seem to be that the choice was primarily intended to put an end to the religious laxity that had arisen among both worshippers and artists portraying Buddha images. The new range of attitudes, though broad, nevertheless set limits that were no longer to be overstepped. This rather disconcerting list probably answered to some such definite intention, which, as King Rāma V himself observed, is no longer known to us. One may note that the events are listed without much chronological order, beginning with the practice of austerities and ending with meditation on approaching death; further, the list seems designed to provide monks, rather than laymen, with edifying examples and subjects for meditation.

Here is the list of forty attitudes, originally promulgated during the reign of King Rāma III and compiled anew by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab from a manuscript preserved in the National Library in Bangkok:

1 *Performing austerities:* seated with folded legs, the hands crossed in front of the chest.

2 *Accepting the rice-gruel offering:* seated in the "European" fashion, the hands resting on the knees with palms turned upward to receive the offering.

3 *Setting the dish afloat:* kneeling, holding the dish in the right hand, with the left hand resting on the thigh.

4 *Accepting the bundle of grass:* standing, with the right hand held forward to receive the offering and the left hand hanging down.

5 *Subduing Māra:* seated with folded legs, the left hand lying palm upward in the lap, the right hand with palm placed on the knee and fingers pointing downward.

6 *Meditating:* seated with folded legs, both hands lying in the lap with palms turned upward.

7 *Gazing at the Bodhi tree:* standing, with hands crossed over the thighs.

8 *On the jeweled walkway:* standing, with the left foot raised and the hands crossed over the thighs.

9 *Making the four alms bowls into one:* seated with folded legs, with the left hand under the alms bowls and the right hand touching their rim.

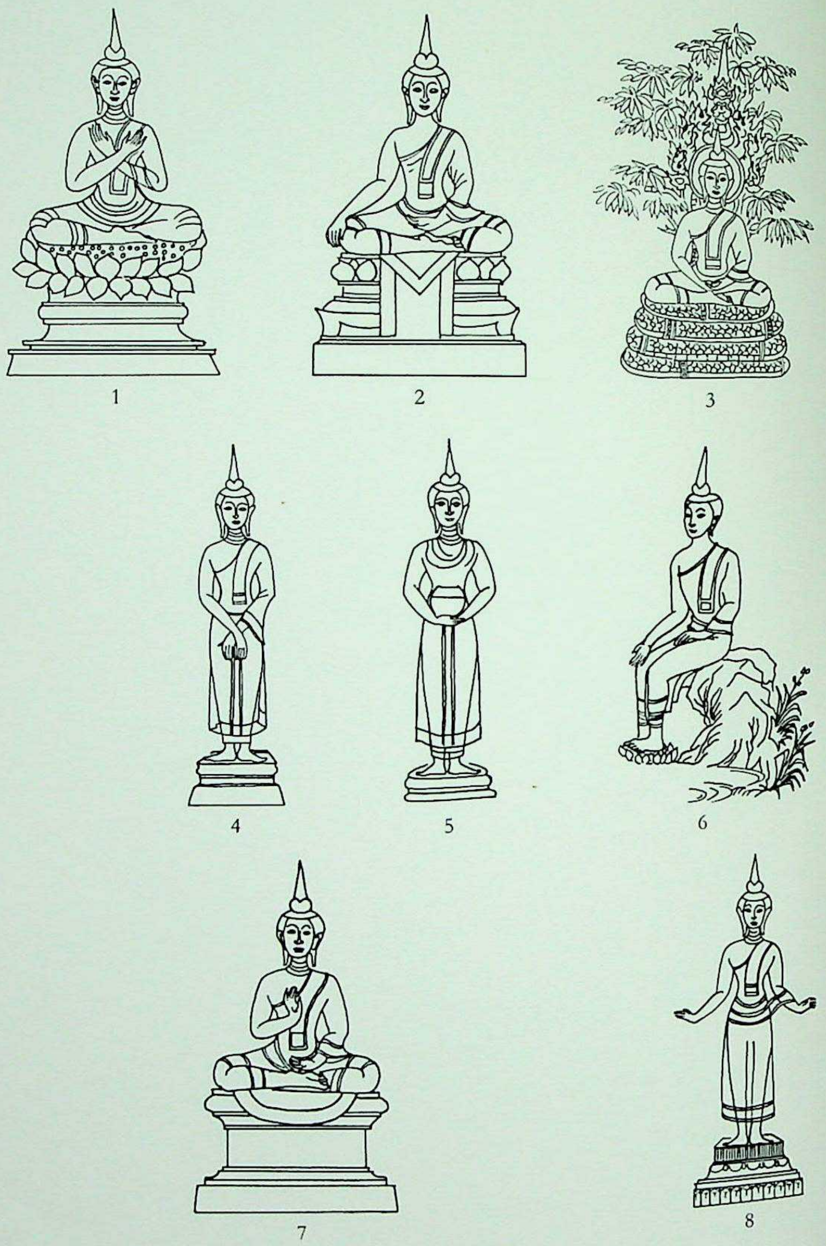
10 *Eating the myrobalan fruit:* seated with folded legs, with the left hand lying palm upward in the lap and the right hand held outward holding the fruit.

11 *Walking:* the left foot raised, with the left hand hanging downward and the right hand raised in front of the breast.

12 *Bestowing ordination by saying "Ehi bhikkhu:"* seated with folded legs, the left hand lying palm upward in the lap and the right hand beckoning.

13 *Contemplating the corpse (of the dead slavegirl):* standing, with the left hand on the breast and the right hand held forward as if to take hold of something.

14 *Restraining the waters:* standing, with both hands raised to breast level in the posture of affording protection.



Attitudes of the Buddha Images (after the manuscript in the National Library, Bangkok)

1 Performing austerities (No. 1)
2 Subduing Māra (No. 5)
3 Meditating, sheltered by the *Nāga* Mucalinda (No. 6)
4 Gazing at the *Bodhi* tree (No. 7)
5 Carrying the alms bowl (No. 15)
6 In the Pālileyyaka Forest (No. 20)
7 Stopping Māra (No. 37)
8 Revealing the Worlds (No. 40)

15 *Carrying the alms bowl:* standing, holding the bowl with both hands.

16 *Partaking of food:* seated with folded legs, the left hand holding the alms bowl and the right hand dipping into the bowl.

17 *Making a gift of the hair relic:* seated with folded legs, the left hand lying palm upward in the lap and the right hand touching the hair.

18 *Traveling by boat:* seated on a throne in the "European" manner, the left hand lying palm downward in the lap and the right hand raised to the level of the breast.

19 *Restraining the kinsmen:* standing, with the left hand down and the right hand raised.

20 *In the Pālileyyaka Forest:* seated in the "European" fashion, with the left hand palm downward in the lap and the right hand palm upward on the knee in the gesture of receiving something.

21 *Restraining the sandalwood image:* standing, with the right hand down and the left hand raised in the gesture of affording protection.

22 *The elephant Glance:* standing, with left hand down, right hand raised to breast level, and head turned to look back.

23 *Contemplating the approach of his own death:* seated with folded legs, the left hand lying palm downward on the knee and the right hand on the breast.

24 *Receiving the offering of water:* seated with folded legs, the left hand lying palm downward on the knee and the right hand holding the alms bowl.

25 *Bathing:* standing, wearing the bathing-cloth over the left shoulder, the left hand hanging down and the right hand touching the breast in the gesture of washing.

26 *Standing:* with both hands hanging down.

27 *The Gandhārarattha posture:* seated with folded legs, the left hand beckoning and the right hand in a gesture of expecting rain.

28 *Reflecting:* standing, with the hands crossed over the breast.

29 *The adamantine posture:* seated with crossed legs, the left hand lying palm upward in the lap and the right hand on the knee (as in the posture of subduing Māra).

30 *Discoursing on the decrepitude of old age:* seated with folded legs, the hands grasping the knees.

31 *Stamping his Footprint on the ground:* standing, pressing the end of the foot on the ground, with hands crossed at the thighs.

32 *Expounding the constituent elements (to Ānanda):* seated with folded legs, the left hand on the breast and the right hand resting on the knee.

33 *Receiving the mango:* seated with folded legs, the left hand on the knee and the right hand holding the mango.

34 *Making the Venerable Vakkali move away:* seated with folded legs, the left hand on the knee and the right hand hanging at the level of the legs in a gesture of signalling someone to move away.

35 *Reclining:* the right hand supporting the head, the left hand lying along the body, and the left foot lying on top of the right.

36 *Eating the rice gruel:* seated with folded legs, the left hand holding the dish and the right hand dipping into it.

37 *Restraining Māra:* seated with folded legs, with the left hand in the lap and the right hand raised in front of the breast.

38 *Threading a needle:* seated with folding legs, both hands raised to chest level in the gesture of holding thread in one hand and a needle in the other.

39 *Choosing the chief disciples:* seated with folded legs, with the left hand in the lap and the right hand pointing as if selecting someone.

40 *Revealing the worlds:* standing, with both arms hanging down alongside the body and with hands pointing outward.[80]

It can readily been seen that, whatever the didactic intentions behind this list, its primary purpose cannot have been to supply artists with models. Since it was not meant to provide a complete iconographical outline (it makes no reference, for example, to the First Sermon or to the Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three, two scenes which are often represented), one is not surprised to find that it did little to renew the themes. One may note, however, that the *Gandhārarattha* (pronounced *Kanthararat*) gesture, devised no doubt as early as the reign of King Rāma I, enjoyed considerable popularity and was given both to standing and to seated figures.

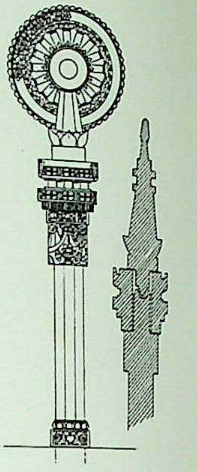
II THE WHEELS OF THE LAW

The Wheels of the Law (Plate 58) are one of the most remarkable achievements of the Dvaravati school of sculpture. About forty examples in a more or less complete state survive today, spread over an area extending from the Menam Plain to peninsular Thailand but concentrated chiefly in Nakhon Pathom and the western region. Since we have already dwelt at some length on the originality of these Wheels (p. 58, p. 89 sqq.) and the compositions to which they belong, we shall attempt here to show the extent to which they remained dependent on carpentry techniques; our data is based primarily on the specimen discovered at site No. 11 at U Thong.

In view of the period to which they may be assigned (roughly the seventh to the ninth centuries, going on stylistic criteria), these Wheels of the Law appear to be one of the latest manifestations of the most venerable iconographical tradition of Buddhism. The tradition extends back in time as far as the reign of Aśoka (lion-capital at Sārnāth), and no such works are known in India subsequent to the Amarāvatī period. There, apart from the many examples of *cakrastambhas* provided by bas-reliefs representing figured *stūpas,* the only example of a free-standing Wheel of about the same date seems to be the one discovered some twenty years ago at Lingarajupalem, east of the Godavarī Delta. Just over fifty-one inches in height, that Wheel is closely similar to those of Thailand, although its decoration is generally more sober. Consequently, we are once again led to infer that a South Indian influence was at work in the Indochina peninsula. This inference is borne out by the inscribed pieces: two Wheels (see also Note 16), an abacus from Kanchanaburi, and fragments of pillars from Nakhon Pathom (now in the National Museum, Bangkok) and from Sab Champa (now in the Lopburi Museum). With the exception of a pillar from Lopburi with a Mōn inscription (now in the National Museum, Bangkok), Pāli is the only language used in the inscriptions, which make reference to canonical texts of the Theravāda or repetitions of the formula "*ye dhamma* . . ." from the famous Buddhist "Credo".

The U Thong discovery made it clear what compositions the Wheels belonged to. It thus permitted the identification of many pieces of carved stone-work (in particular, those at Pra Pathom Chedi) and a number of pillars scattered over most of the sites, some of them recarved as figure stelae during the Lopburi period. The most remarkable composition thus identified consists of two sculptures from Nakhon Pathom, preserved in the National Museum in Bangkok: a fragment of an inscribed column of considerable size, and large fragments of the corresponding abacus. The latter represents some celestial palace and may symbolize the various levels of Mount Meru.[81] It is possible that this unusual composition may have supported the largest known Wheel of the Law (nearly seventy-seven inches in diameter), which is also preserved in the National Museum in Bangkok.

While we now know something of the importance of the *cakrastambhas* in Thailand during the Dvāravatī period, we still cannot determine exactly where they stood in contemporary monasteries. The sites where the earlier ones were found have not been recorded; the ones more recently discovered were usually found in immediate proximity to the *stūpas.* It seems doubtful that the *vihāras,* of which only a few vestiges have been identified in any case, housed the pillared Wheels of the Law, as was the practice in ancient India, as illustrated by reliefs of the Śunga and Kānva periods. Judging by a few reliefs in Thailand, a clay votive tablet from Ku Bua (site No. 1), and a fine bronze in a private collection in Bangkok, the column with the Wheel would seem to be directly associated with a Buddha image, but nonetheless the compositions appear much more symbolic than realistic. The votive tablet, of rather indifferent execution, belongs to the Dvāravatī period and represents a Buddha seated in meditation between a *cakrastambha* and a votive *stūpa.* The bronze, a large one (twenty-two inches high), shows a combination of features from the Lopburi school and the U Thong A style. It represents a *Māravijaya* Buddha in a very Khmerizing setting; the figure is seated cross-legged in tailor-fashion (a rare but not entirely exceptional attitude) and wears the robe over both shoulders. The large *ushnīsha,* surmounted by a smooth cone, is related to the aberrant types of the U Thong style. But the main interest of the composition lies in the fact that it makes use, as the nimbus and back-frame of the Buddha, of an ornamental *cakrastambha,* stylized in a highly decorative manner but entirely figured on the back part. This composition does not appear to be earlier than the thirteenth century and would thus provide the latest evidence currently available for the columns with a Wheel outside any properly "Dvāravatī" context. In view of its symbolism, however, the composition does not entitle us to infer that similar works may have existed in the ancient *vihāras.*



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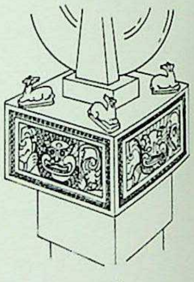


2

Wheels of the Law

1 Elevation and cross-section of the *Cakrastambha* from site No. 11 at U Thong
2 Reconstruction of an abacus preserved at Pra Pathom Chedi

ADVICE TO COLLECTORS

by Jean-Michel Beurdeley

What invariably appeals first to any collector is the aesthetic qualities of a work of art. But that initial appeal may prove deceptive. Without penetrating deeply into questions of scientific analysis, it may be helpful to lay down a few guidelines regarding the sculpture of Thailand. These are based upon personal experience and should prove quite sufficient, in most cases, to spare the collector some sad disappointments and useless regrets.

BRONZES

Since bronzes in Thailand are invariably cast by the *cire perdue* or lost-wax method—either by hollow casting or solid casting—a brief description of that process may be in order here. In solid casting, the artist first models the statue in soft warm wax, which is then left to cool and harden. In the warm, damp climate of Thailand, it is sometimes necessary to dip the wax figurine into water to cool it sufficiently. The hardened wax may be reworked with a modeling tool until the artist obtains a figure that corresponds exactly to the finished work desired. The model is then coated with fireproof clay, the clay fitting closely around every detail of the enclosed wax core. At each end a small vent is left open. The molten bronze is poured into the clay mold through the vent at one end; liquified by the heat, the wax flows off through the outlet at the other end and is replaced by the bronze. After cooling, the clay coating is broken away to reveal the solid bronze statue.

Hollow casting is the more common technique. Over a rigid armature, the sculptor roughs out the core of his statue in fireproof clay. When this core has dried thoroughly, he covers it with a coat of wax, in which he carefully models every detail of the desired statue: hair, facial features, ornaments, and accessories. As in solid casting, cold the hardened wax is often reworked with a modeling tool. The wax figure, which must correspond exactly to the finished work, is then coated with more clay, again carefully applied over every detail of the modeling. A vent is left open at each end and the molten bronze is poured in as before. The bronze replaces the wax, but the clay core remains and takes on a sooty aspect. Traces of this core should always be visible inside an ancient statue, but not, of course, in statues recently manufactured by industrial processes. Larger works may be cast in several parts, which are later fitted together and joined to one another by mortise-and-tenon joints. In the case of any fragment, a head or torso for example, the existence of such an interlocking joint may be considered a good indication of authenticity (see Plate 111). After casting, the bronze has a rough, scabby surface, not at all metallic in appearance. This "epidermis" must be smoothed away and the surface polished. Any flaws in the casting may be due to the composition of the alloy, to overheating of the molten metal, or to the varying thicknesses of the metal on different parts of the body. Such differences may lead in the course of cooling to unequal shrinkage and cracking; cracks formed in this way may be mended with strips of metal. Genuine works often show traces of mending and retooling; fakes seldom do.

A modern recasting of an older bronze can usually be detected by its lack of sufficient weight, by its sloppy modeling, by the absence of tooling, and by the generally poor quality of the casting. The fitting together of different parts leaves visible "seams" both inside and out. The eyes of the image may provide a further test of authenticity. Different materials and several techniques were used to vary the gaze and further heighten its intensity (Plate 100). Often made separately, in stone, stucco, shell, glass paste, or even precious metal, the eyes were generally inserted into sockets provided for them in the finished bronze. In the common run of fakes, the eyes are never treated with the same care as in authentic pieces; or, conversely, they may be overemphasized and may produce an oddly provocative effect.

Certain pieces, such as masks or hands, were originally designed separately. Since they were not intended to form part of a definite whole, they show no signs of breakage or assemblage; nor should their dimensions necessarily answer to the same logical proportions as if they were fragments from a whole statue.

THERMOLUMINESCENCE

Certain works of art may be authenticated by the dating techniques of thermoluminescence, as practiced in the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art at Oxford. In the field of Thai statuary, this technique is valid only for hollow-cast bronze images, where a sample of clay from the inner core can be removed for testing. Analysis will yield a date with a margin of error of two or three hundred years. This approximation is quite sufficient to distinguish a genuine work from a modern fake. The clay sample must, of course, be taken from an unrestored part of the work. Since it may happen that a cunning forger will have placed in his copy the core of an ancient statue, it is important that the testing sample be taken by a specialist.

PATINA

Unlike present-day collectors, the Thai people formerly appreciated a bronze for its lustre, not for its patina. A statue was always coated with lacquer or mercury gilding in order to give it a fresh look, and the coating was frequently renewed. Early works often show traces of lacquer or gilding (e.g., Plate 145). The damp climate of Thailand has given a natural patina to nearly all the early bronzes (Plate 26), but it may vary greatly in color and thickness, depending on the composition of the alloy and the place where the bronze has been kept. A sculpture preserved in a monastery will not have the same patina as bronze excavated from the ground, even if both were cast from the same alloy. The collector should always be wary of a patina that is too attractive or too uniform, or of one too skillfully heightened with gold. The forger is always tempted to prettify his work, and this frequently betrays him. It will be found, moreover, that the color of a simulated patina is not fast: it is easily removed with a wad of cotton dipped in alcohol, ammoniac, or acetone. Some artificial patinas, with an acid base, eat into the bronze more deeply than would a natural patina.

BRONZE DISEASES

A bronze buried in the ground takes on a patina which, if it does not totally disfigure the work, may be regarded as enhancing its beauty (Plate 17). The patina is formed by the reaction of the metal to the mineral salts contained in the earth. The surface is gradually covered with cuprite (red copper oxide) and later with malachite or azurite (basic carbonates of copper). From these successive formations comes the patina, its color varying with the composition of the alloy. Chlorine sometimes penetrates these formations. Coming into contact with the cuprite, it forms coats of cuprous chloride, a hard but unstable substance which, in contact with damp air, changes into the stable but powdery cupric chloride. Depending on the thickness of the coats of cuprous chloride accumulated in the course of centuries, the object may be largely transformed into the powdery green cupric chloride, which eats into the surface of the object, forms holes, and may eventually destroy it.

According to Jean-Michel André, a restorer consulted by the French National Museums, the number of ailing bronzes is greater now than in the last century. The present trend is, quite justifiably, to clean and bring out the volumes and the fine patina. But cleaning entails the risk of exposing the coats of cuprous chloride to the air, where hitherto it had been protected by layers of grime and stable corrosions from direct contact with the dampness in the air. As soon as it is exposed to such dampness its latent virulence comes into action and disaster quickly follows.

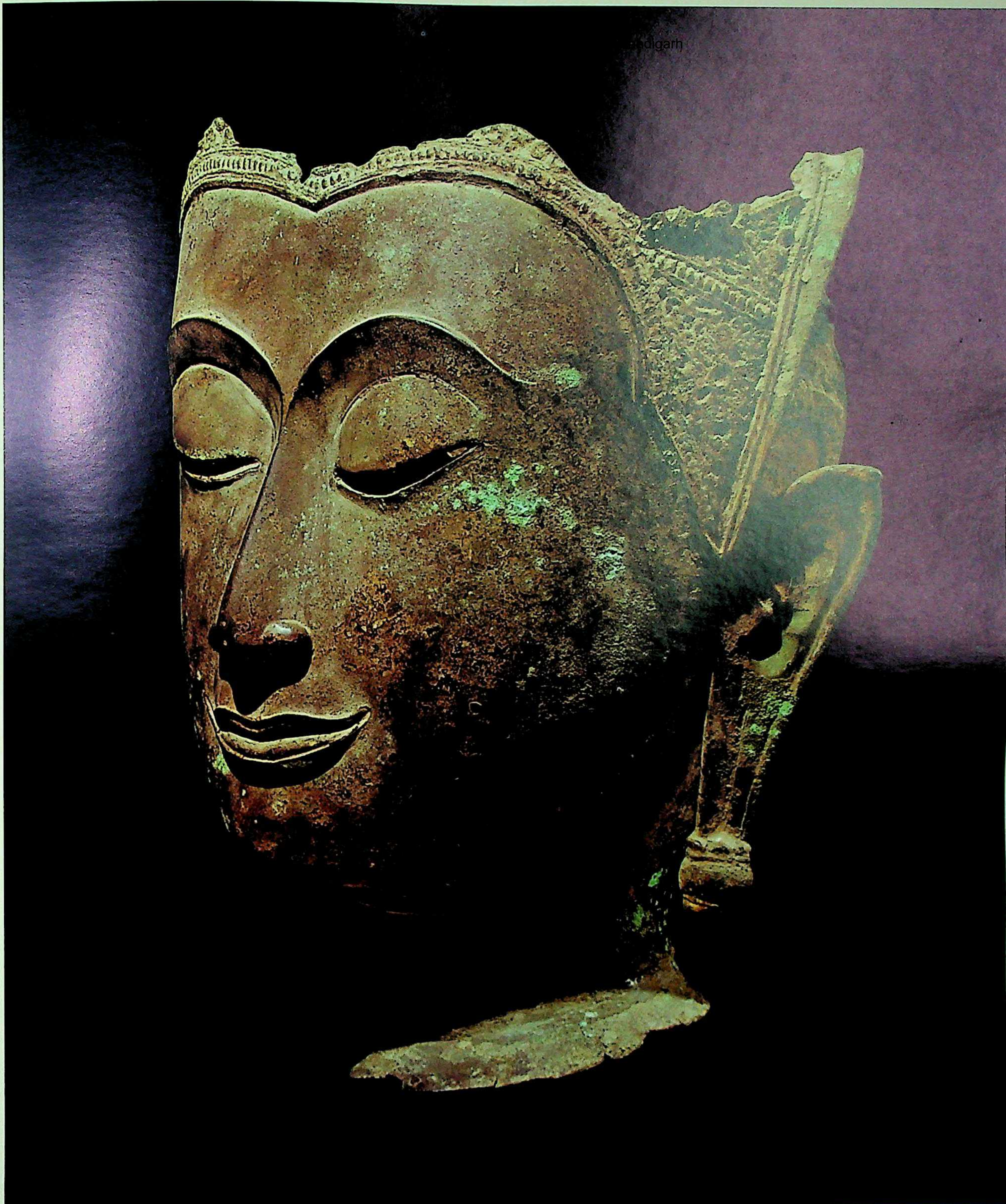
Finally, certain later works of the Dvāravatī period may have flaws due to the poor quality of the alloy or to the surrounding conditions. It is difficult to reproduce such flaws artificially, and hence their presence is often an indication of authenticity. Some collectors proceed to have them mended. We would advise against such practices, for the wiser course in most cases is to leave the object exactly as it is and to take pains simply to keep it perfectly dry.

STONE

The stone carvers of Thailand produced both three-dimensional statues and bas-reliefs; they always worked by methods of direct carving. Most statues were carved from a single block of freshly quarried stone (this being more easily worked than stone that has aged). Only very large

145 Head of an Adorned Buddha, National Museum, Lopburi

ndigarh



statues were sometimes executed in several sections, from different blocks. However, this procedure was taken over in later periods—as, for instance, in the Ayuthya period—for medium-sized sculptures as well. The materials employed at all periods were usually sandstone and limestone. The latter seems to have predominated in the Dvāravatī period. The forger generally uses two techniques: direct cutting and casts. The works that he carves are usually done in a rather soft, yellowish sandstone, less difficult to work than hard sandstone. As a rule, he chooses agreeable subjects, to which he adds a few details borrowed from other models (the fake is rarely a close copy of any specific work). But he almost invariably commits iconographical errors, for out of ignorance he combines elements from different styles. The surest way of detecting a fake is to subject it to close stylistic scrutiny. Any anachronism reveals it as a fraud.

Another test lies in the study of certain details which, depending on the school, are generally carefully executed. Some of the details to be carefully examined are as follows:

Hair curls in the Dvāravatī period are often carelessly rendered, especially at the back of the head. On a fake they are apt to be carved with meticulous care in front, behind, and on both sides of the head. As a general rule, one may assume to be genuine any statue of this school in which those parts that are invisible from the front (back, back of ears and headress) are merely roughed out. Statues of the Lopburi school, by contrast, are characterized by carefully executed headdress.

The lower part of the garment, between the ankles, is usually better finished in a fake than in a genuine work of sculpture. By running one's hand under the folds, one feels the polished surface in a fraudulent piece. In a genuine early work, the stone here is always rough to the touch.

Breaks caused artificially to simulate authenticity are calculated not to detract from the overall harmony of the image; no mutilation will occur at the joint of a limb, for example. A genuine work, on the other hand, may be broken anywhere. The fact is that breaks are rare in the case of fakes; if they do occur, they are apt to be studied or unnatural fractures.

Forgers prefer to deal with bas-reliefs (those of Lopburi are particularly common) rather than statues that are fully three dimensional. Being carved on one side only, bas-reliefs are easier to reproduce. Many genuine but broken statues have been reworked with the chisel, especially around the face. But, having aged and hardened, the stone does not lend itself so well to the carver's hand and the strokes are often sharp and coarse. This recutting also removes a fresh quantity of stone and may result in a noticeably disproportionate effect: a head too small for the body or overly narrow shoulders. Certain deficiencies in the material may have been disguised with agglomerated stone. However skillful the mending, however, the inferior modeling or carving can usually be detected.

Forgers' workshops ply an active trade in present-day Thailand; the one at Ayuthya is perhaps the best known. Certain images have been recarved by forgers with a view to adapting them to new criteria of taste or fashion; this results in a certain incoherence in the iconography that is easily detected by experts.

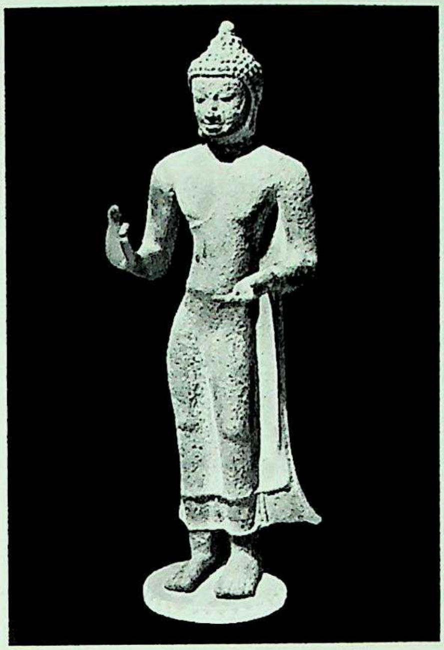
AGGLOMERATED STONE

In this medium the fake is made in two parts from a mold, usually based on a known model. Into the mold is poured an agglomerate of crushed stone bound together with cement. But the texture of this "paste" is not homogeneous. Breaks are not sharp. The surface of the object is rough, never smooth and polished. The weight, furthermore, lacks the density of true stone. Often the object is given a coat of wash imitating the color of stone. Sometimes one can detect on the sides of the statue the seam between two parts that were cast separately.

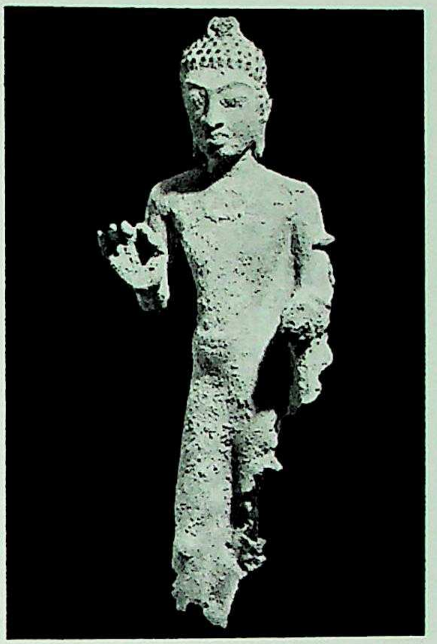
STUCCO AND TERRA-COTTA

These two materials have played an important part in the sculpture of Thailand, whatever the school. Stucco was used both for Buddha images and for the ornamentation of monuments and buildings in brick and laterite. Being easily worked, stucco provided a means of decorating vast surfaces rapidly. Terra-cotta, too, was used for architectural decoration in earlier periods, but more widely for votive tablets that were cast in molds.

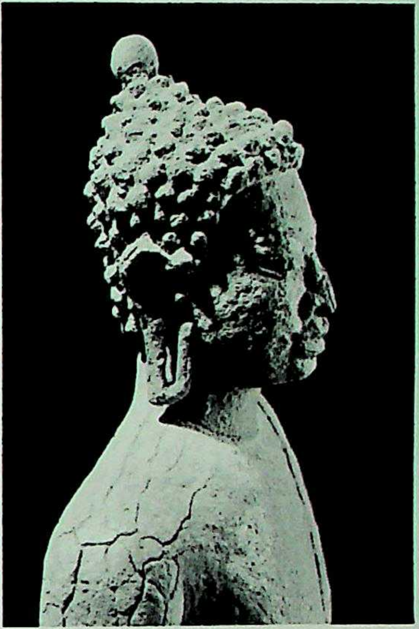
The architectural decorations were usually in the open air, exposed to the elements. They thus underwent weathering and erosion that has generally worn away the original smoothness of the surface. All that remains is a rough, uneven cast of fine sand strewn with small dark spots (Plate 164). The back of a relief should show traces of the armature on which it was mounted. Fakes have too smooth a surface, and are sometimes coated with a uniform mud-



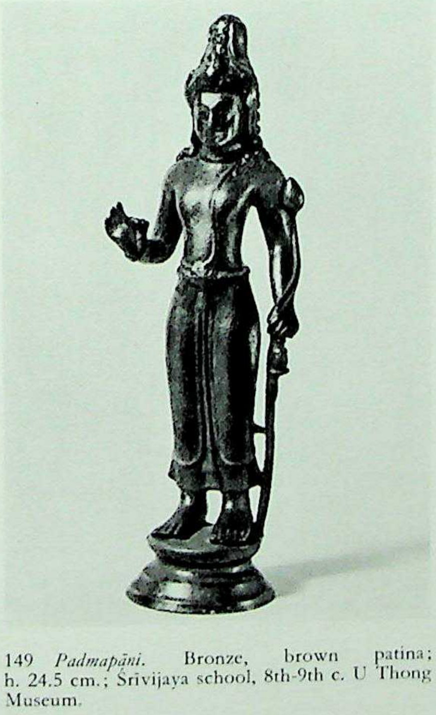
146 *Standing Buddha.* Bronze; h. 40 cm.; Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th c. H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala Coll., Bangkok.



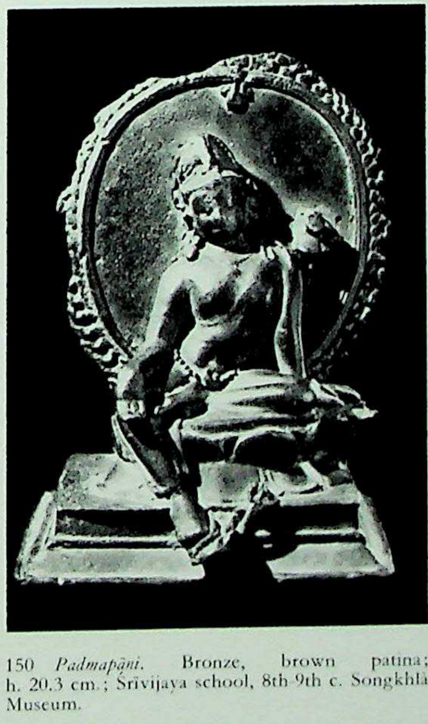
147 *Standing Buddha.* Bronze, gray-green patina; h. 49 cm.; from U Thong (*chedi* No. 3); Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th c. U Thong Museum.



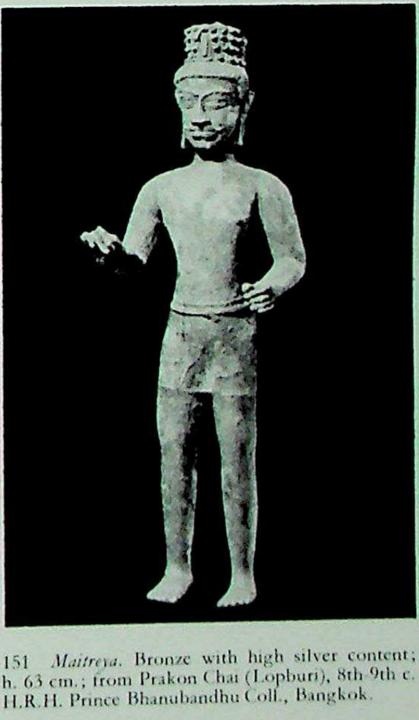
148 *Māravijaya Buddha.* Bronze, green patina; h. 27 cm.; Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th c. Dr. Viroj Kanasut Coll., Bangkok.



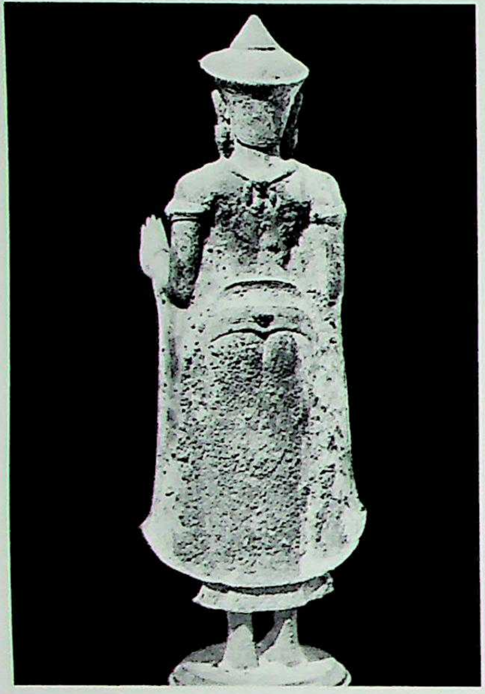
149 *Padmapāni.* Bronze, brown patina; h. 24.5 cm.; Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th c. U Thong Museum.



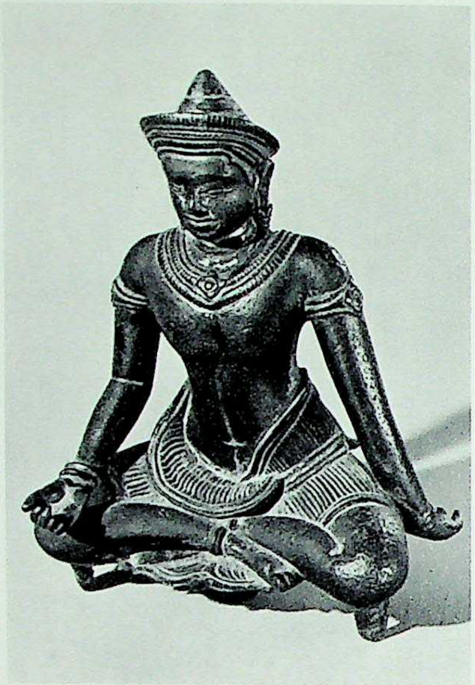
150 *Padmapāni.* Bronze, brown patina; h. 20.3 cm.; Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th c. Songkhlā Museum.



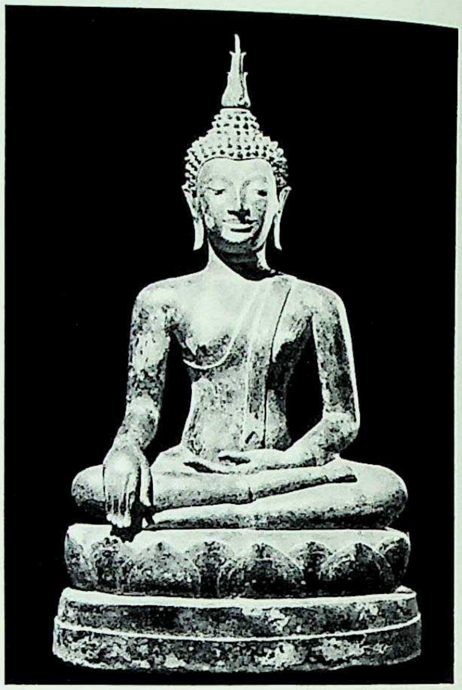
151 *Maitreya.* Bronze with high silver content; h. 63 cm.; from Prakon Chai (Lopburi), 8th-9th c. H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Coll., Bangkok.



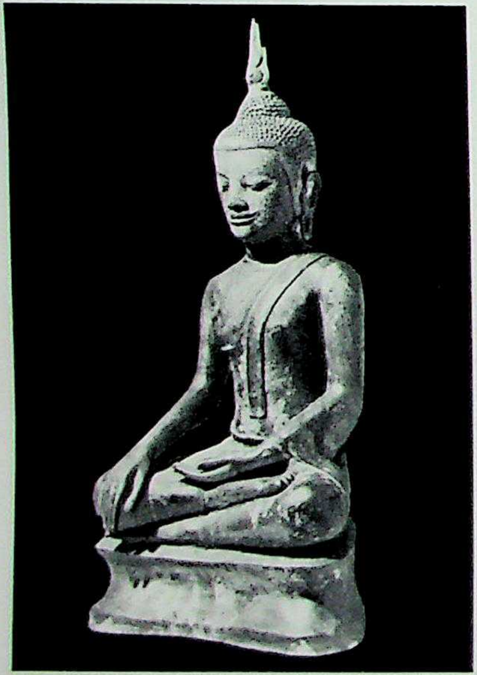
152 *Adorned Buddha.* Bronze, green patina; h. 43 cm.; Lopburi school, 12th-13th c. H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala Coll., Bangkok.



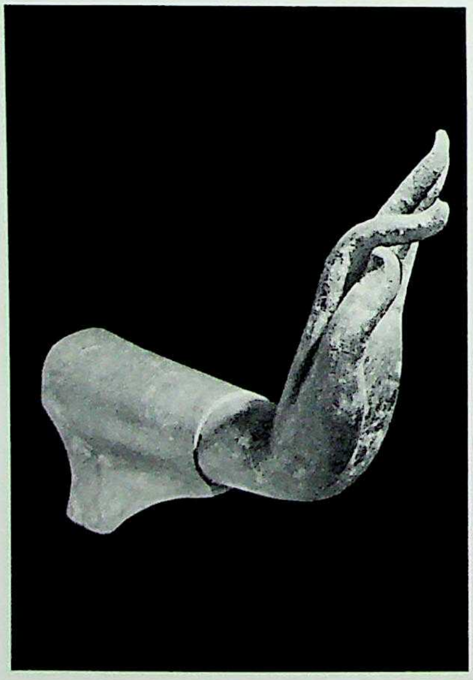
153 *Seated Divinity.* Bronze with traces of gilding; h. 16.5 cm.; Lopburi school, 12th c. James H. W. Thompson Coll., Bangkok.



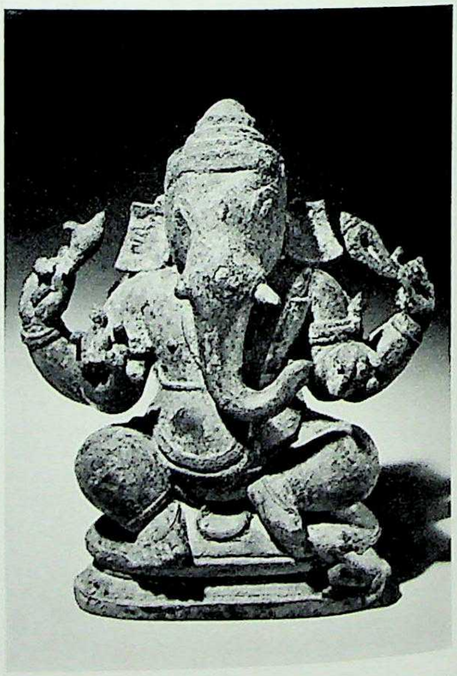
154 *Māravijaya Buddha.* Bronze; h. 79 cm.; Lan Na school (later style), 15th c. Chieng Mai Museum.



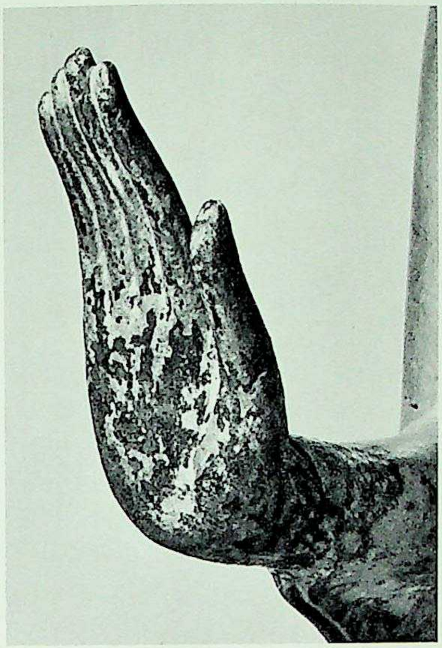
155 *Māravijaya Buddha.* Bronze; h. 25 cm.; U Thong B style, 14th c. Ayuthya Museum.



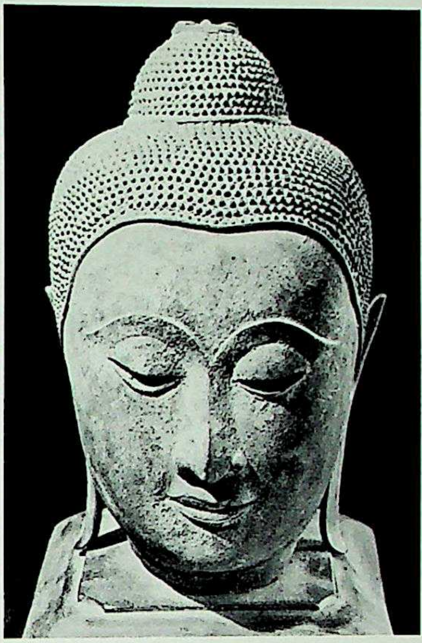
156 *Hand in Vitarka Mudrā.* Bronze, brown patina; h. 12 cm.; Sukhothai school, 14th c. Chieng Mai Museum.



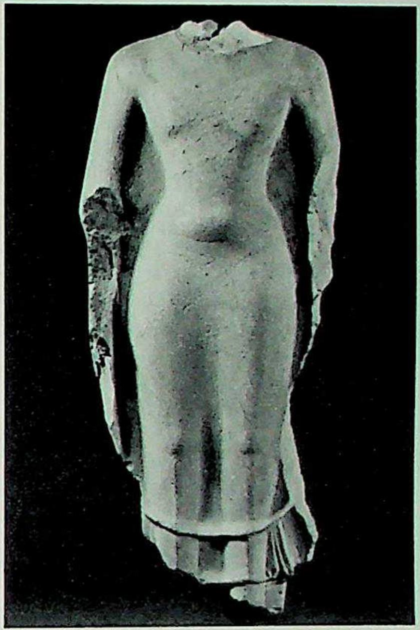
157 *Ganeśa.* Bronze; h. 16 cm.; Ayuthya school, 14th-15th c. Ayuthya Museum.



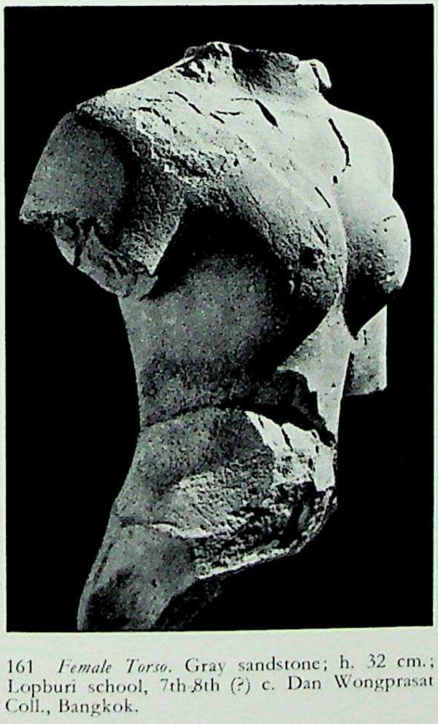
158 *Hand in Abhaya Mudrā.* Bronze with traces of lacquer; h. 20 cm.; Ayuthya school, about 16th c. Sukhothai Museum.



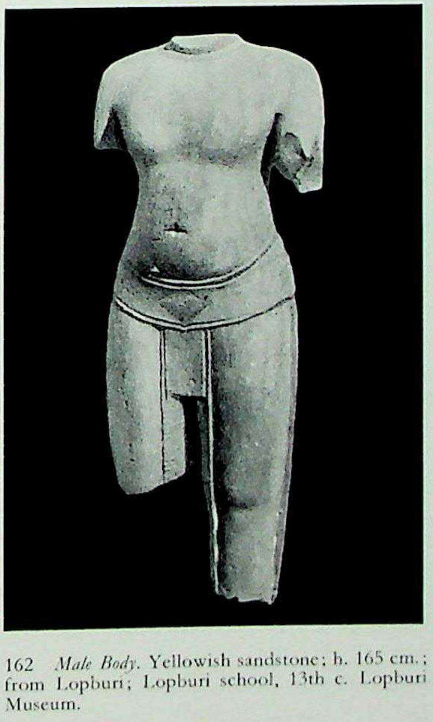
159 *Head of a Buddha.* Bronze; h. 25 cm.; Ayuthya school, about 16th c. Palace Museum, Ayuthya.



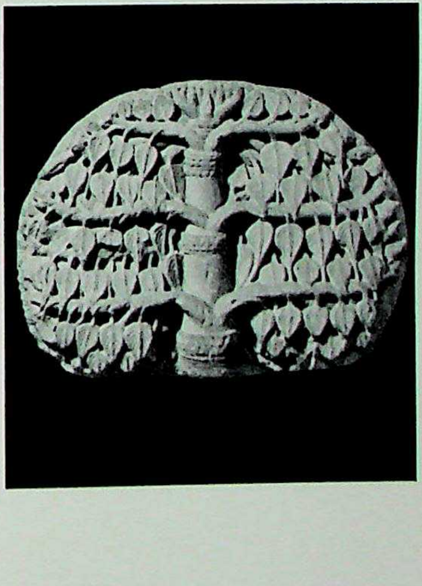
160 *Body of a Buddha.* Gray limestone; h. 59 cm.; Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th c. Biancardi Coll., Paris.



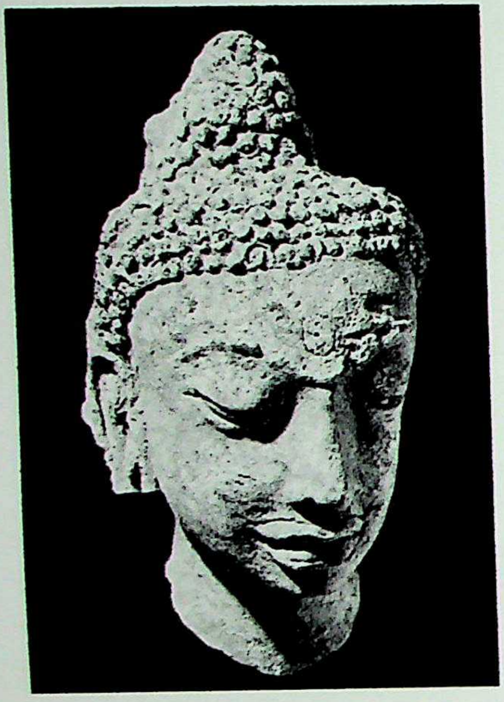
161 *Female Torso.* Gray sandstone; h. 32 cm.; Lopburi school, 7th-8th (?) c. Dan Wongprasat Coll., Bangkok.



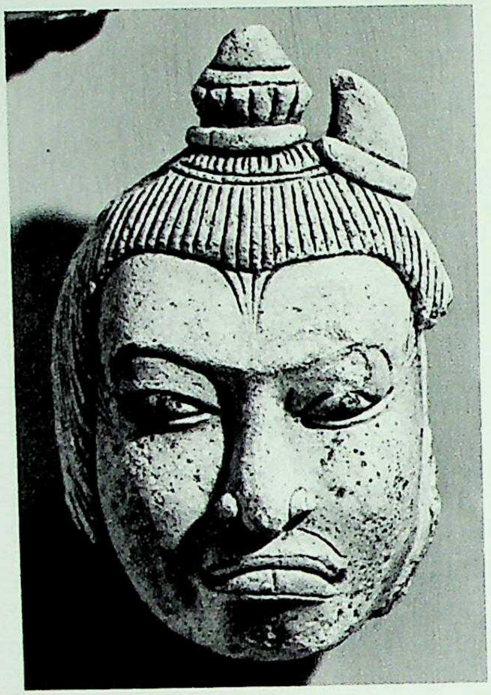
162 *Male Body.* Yellowish sandstone; h. 165 cm.; from Lopburi; Lopburi school, 13th c. Lopburi Museum.



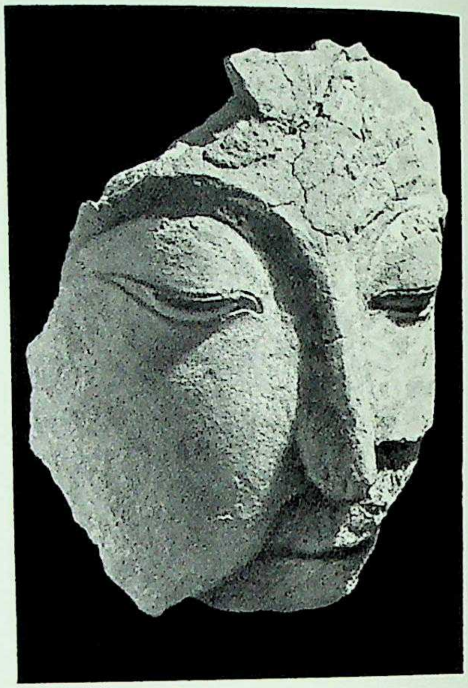
163 *Bodhi Tree.* Sandstone; h. 48 cm.; from Ayuthya; Ayuthya school, 17th-18th c. National Museum, Bangkok.



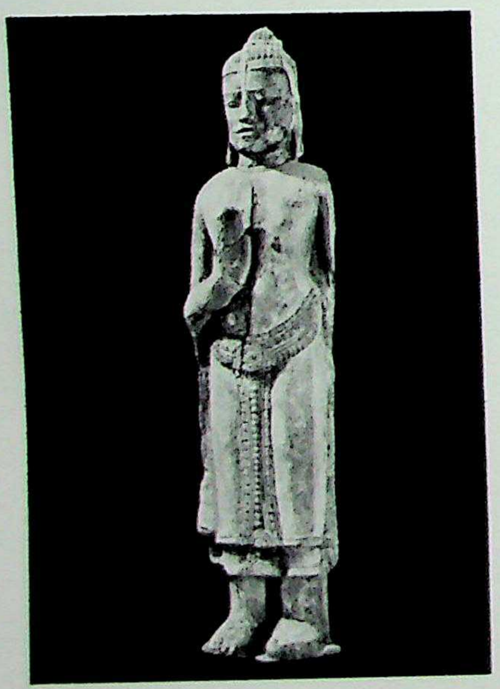
164 *Head of a Buddha*. Stucco; h. 24 cm.; Dvāravatī school, about 9th c. Dr. Viroj Kanasut Coll., Bangkok.



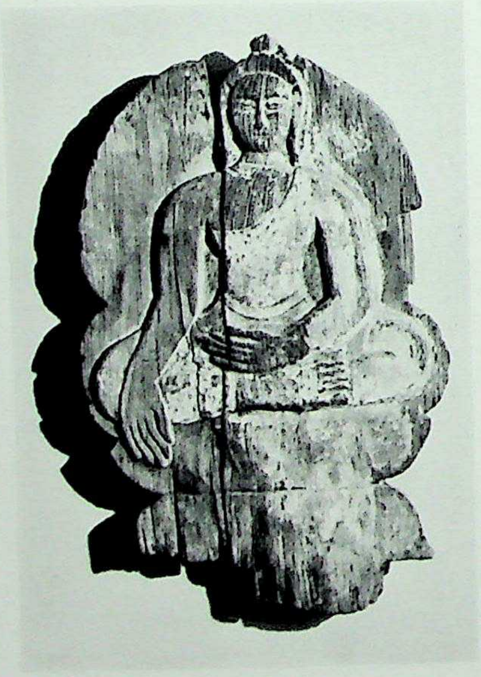
165 *Male Head*. Stucco; h. 15 cm.; from Nakhon Pathom; Dvāravatī (?) school. Nakhon Pathom Museum.



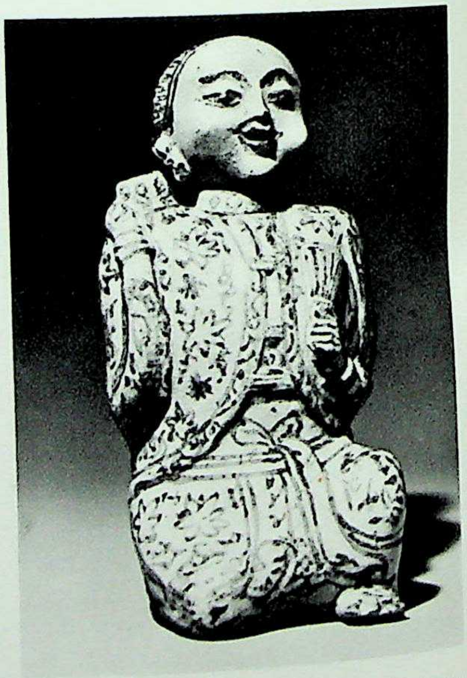
166 *Head of a Buddha*. Stucco; h. 30 cm.; Sukhothai school, 14th-15th c. Dan Wongprasat Coll., Bangkok.



167 *Standing Buddha*. Wood with traces of lacquer; h. 100 cm.; Lopburi school, 13th-14th c. Telan Coll., Bangkok.



168 *Māravijaya Buddha*. Wood; h. 80 cm.; from Sukhothai; Lan Na school, 16th (?) c. Sukhothai Museum.



169 *Kneeling Figure*. Savankalok ceramic ware; h. 18 cm.; provenance unknown; Sukhothai school, 14th c. M.C. Piya Rangsit Coll., Bangkok.

wash. They usually consist of heads betraying stylistic distortions: the features are precise and too hard, the hair with its meticulously detailed curls tends to appear too perfect. There is no trace of weathering to soften the modeling.

IVORY

This medium was little used in Thailand, no doubt because it was too easily destroyed and because it was not available in large pieces. The few authentic extant ivories represent divinities of rather small dimensions. They seem for the most part to be late works, although there has been found at Chan Sen an ivory comb with incised designs, dating from the seventh or eighth century.

And yet, faked ivories abound and it is extremely difficult to distinguish them from early pieces. One must first identify the stylistic features of the statue; a forger rarely copies them with any accuracy. Next, one must examine the state of the ivory and the patina. Obviously, an old ivory will show cracks and a yellowish, uneven patina. Sometimes, however, an old piece will have been lacquered at a later period to give it a fresh appearance; in such cases, traces of the coating should be visible.

WOOD

Wood in Thai sculpture was used primarily for Buddhist carvings. Various local woods were used, but the damp climate and the proliferation of termites have led to the destruction of most early works. Some have survived to the present day, thanks to a protective coating of lacquer, which was often overlaid with thin gold leaf. Most of these works are carved from a single block of wood; but for large full-length statues, the hands were often carved separately. One noteworthy fact is that wooden images were rarely represented seated. Some Buddhas have a cavity in the back to house a relic or a sacred text. Minute details in very low relief (waving of the hair, for example) may simply be modeled in the thick coat of lacquer covering the wood. Having been painted or lacquered, these statues often show traces of this coating. Pieces mutilated or damaged by termites have sometimes been recarved in such a way as to eliminate the damaged parts. This may have the effect of distorting the proportions and altering the stylistic elements; indeed, it may destroy the latter altogether. These changes will be detected by careful stylistic scrutiny. Actually, very few wood carvings earlier than the eighteenth century now exist. Most of the surviving examples were carved in the nineteenth century, but do not necessarily lack quality because of their relatively recent date.

GOLD, SILVER, HARD STONES

Most sculptures in precious metals consist actually of a terra-cotta core covered with gold or silver leaf. Any work of solid metal must be regarded with great suspicion and caution. The early images in rock crystal are now extremely rare, but they have been copied in glass during the past few decades, notably by Chinese craftsmen. Needless to say, such copies have neither the density nor the lustre of authentic pieces. The latter, moreover, are cooler to the touch than fakes.

CONCLUSION

While the foregoing remarks are the fruit of personal experience, they should not be taken as hard-and-fast rules. Rather, they are intended to serve only as guidelines for anyone planning to purchase a work of Thai sculpture, and it would be a mistake to eliminate categorically any object whose style or condition departs somewhat from the points briefly set forth here. Recent excavations, carried out in fully scientific fashion, have brought to light unquestionably authentic objects which many experts would have looked on with suspicion had they come upon them without reliable prior knowledge of their origin.

NOTES

Abbreviations :

AA	*Arts Asiatiques*, Paris
AMG	*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris
Archaeology	*Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology*, Silpakorn University, Bangkok
Art. Asiae	*Artibus Asiae*, Ascona
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, Saigon, and Paris
Essays . . .	*Essays Offered to G. H. Luce by his Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*. Edited by Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, and A. B. Griswold. 2 vols. (Ascona, 1966)
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok
Publ. EFEO	*Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris and Saigon

1. Shortly after the birth of the future Buddha, the seers recognized in him the thirty-two marks and the eighty minor signs of the Great Man (*Mahāpurusha*) and inferred that he would become a universal ruler or, if he renounced the world, a Buddha. The *rishi* Asita, in his Himalayan retreat, was notified by the gods of the birth of the Bodhisattva; coming to examine the child, he prophesied that he would become a Buddha. In Tibet, the successor of the Dalai Lama was identified in a similar way, from the marks of predestination shown at birth. It should be emphasized that the immaculate conception, gestation, and birth of the Bodhisattva were, in every respect, quite out of the ordinary. See, for example, *Lalitavistara*, translated by P. Foucaux, *AMG* (Paris, 1884), Chap. 6.

2. The many aberrant bronzes, with their often confusing iconography, are characteristic of a later production directly related to the Lopburi school. These decadent works would seem to appear from the end of the thirteenth century at the latest (e.g. those discovered at Pimai in 1966 by M. C. Yachai Diskul) and to have been produced for many centuries, probably down to the early twentieth century; the region remained more or less unaffected by political events until the late eighteenth century. See the bronzes, especially those from the Lefèvre-Pontalis Collection, reproduced in George Coedès, " Bronzes khmers", *Ars Asiatica* V (1923). Also, Jean Boisselier, "Note sur quelques bronzes khmers d'aspect insolite", *Essays*..., vol. 2, p. 30-36.

3. Alexander B. Griswold, " Bronze-casting in Siam", BEFEO t. XLVI, No. 2 (1954): p. 635 ff.; G. Groslier, " L'art du bronze au Cambodge", *Art et Archéologie khmers* I (1920): p. 413 ff.; D. N. Shukla, " Iconoplastic Art, The Metals", *Vāstu-Sāstra* II (Gorakhpur, n.d.): p. 108 ff.

4. The history of quartzite statues is surveyed by Dhanit Yupho, *Quartzite Buddha Images of the Dvāravatī Period* (Bangkok: Dept. of Fine Arts, B.E. 2510 = 1967 A.D.).

5. For the pre-Angkorian technique and the use of cross-pieces and supporting arches, see Pierre Dupont, " Les premières images brahmaniques de l'Indochine", *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, new series, XXVI (1951): p. 131 ff., and " La statuaire préangkorienne", *Art. Asiae Supplementum* XV (1955): p. 37 ff.; Jean Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère et son évolution*, Publ. EFEO XXXVII (Saigon, 1955): p. 154 ff., and *Le Cambodge*, Manuel d'Archéologie de l'Asie du Sud-Est, vol. I (Paris, 1966): p. 229 ff.

6. Brought to light in the initial excavations of Dvāravatī sites and published by George Coedès, " The Excavations at P'ong Tük and their Importance for the Ancient History of Siam", *JSS* XXI (1928): p. 204 ff. This lamp has been studied by Charles Picard, " La lampe alexandrine de P'ong Tuk (Siam)", *Art. Asiae* XVIII (1955): p. 137 ff.

7. Jean Boisselier, " Recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande. II. Rapport sommaire de la Mission 1965", *AA* XX (1969): p. 47 ff.

8. George Coedès, " Les statues décapitées de Savank'alok", *Bulletin et Travaux de l'Institut indochinois pour l'étude de l'Homme*, II (Hanoi, 1939): 2.

9. For this whole paragraph and below, see Jean Boisselier, " Récentes recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande", *AA* XII (1965): p. 141 ff.; *Guide to the U-Thong National Museum, Suphanburi* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., 1966), figs. 4-5.

10. The stone Buddha in the storerooms of the National Museum, Bangkok, was published (in Thai with English summary) by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Archaeology*, vol. 3, No. 3 (1971), p. 9 ff. For the early series, see in particular A. B. Griswold, " Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam", *Essays . . .*, vol. 2, p. 37-73; Jean Boisselier, " Le Buddha de Tûol Ta Hoy et l'art bouddhique du Sud-Est asiatique", *Annales de l'Université des Beaux-Arts* (Phnom-Penh, 1967), p. 121 ff.

11. The originality and affinities of the Chaiya statue were revealed and described by S. O'Connor, Jr., " Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam", *Art. Asiae Supplementum* XXVII (1972): p. 19 ff. For the Vishnus from the Mekong Delta region, see L. Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Publ. EFEO, vol. XLIII, No. 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 391 ff. Our archaeological researches in Thailand have led us to emphasize, on several occasions, the close connection between the Oc-èo finds and those in the Menam Plain, particularly at U Thong. See Jean Boisselier, " Quelques résultats d'une récente Mission archéologique en Thaïlande", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1965, p. 54 ff.; " Nouvelles données sur l'histoire ancienne de la Thaïlande", *Publications de l'Alliance française* (Bangkok, 1965), reprinted in *Silpakon* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., 1966); and *Nouvelle con-*

naissance archéologique de la ville d'U-Thong (in Thai and French; Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., B.E. 2511 = 1968 A.D.).

12. An initial definition of the statuary of the Dvāravatī school was given by George Coedès, "Les collections archéologiques du Musée national de Bangkok", *Ars Asiatica* XII (1928): p. 20 ff. Further distinctions were drawn by Reginald Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 21 ff., and especially by Pierre Dupont, *L'archéologie mône de Dvāravatī*, Publ. EFEO, vol. XLI (Paris, 1959), p. 171 ff. The latest works (A. B. Griswold, M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, J. Boisselier, etc.) are based on the progress made in the study of Buddhist iconography and in archaeological research in Thailand since 1960.

13. Stucs d'U Thong: Jean Boisselier, *Nouvelle connaissance archéologique de la ville d'U-Thong* (Bangkok, 1968); "Travaux de la Mission archéologique française en Thaïlande (Rapport 1966)," *AA* XXV (1972); and "...(Rapport 1968)," *AA* (forthcoming).

14. P. Dupont, *L'archéologie mône de Dvāravatī*, p. 65 ff.; Jean Boisselier, "Récentes recherches à Nakhon Pathom", *JSS* 58 (1970): p. 55 ff., and "Travaux... (Rapport 1968)", *AA* (forthcoming).

15. Discovered by Dr. Quaritch Wales from aerial photographs of the region, the site was cleared by the field service of the Fine Arts Dept. See Dhanit Yupho, *Some Recently Discovered Sites of Dvāravatī Period* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., B.E. 2054 = 1961 A.D.).

16. Georges Coedès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en pāli provenant du site de P'ra Pathom", *Art. Asiae* XIX (1956): p. 221-26; Jean Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lopburi", *Art. Asiae* XXIV (1961): p. 225-31; and Dhanit Yupho, *Dharmacakra or the Wheel of the Law* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., B.E. 2058 = 1965 A.D.).

17. The best examples of the new influence are the teaching Buddha from Kosum Pisai (illustrated here in Plate 61), often wrongly referred to as "Maitreya" following George Coedès; the gold Buddha in meditation from Dong Si Maha Pot in the collection of H.M. the King of Thailand, published by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Masterpieces from Private Collections* (Bangkok: Faculty of Archaeology, 1970), fig. 4; and the Buddha in *bhumisparśa mudrā* from Dong Lakhon or Dong Nakhon, published by J. Boisselier, "Travaux . . . (Rapport 1966)", fig. 74. Some scholars have proposed to assign to the Śrīvijaya school a fine large Buddha in meditation (height 33½ in.) at Wat Mahathat, Chaiya, as being representative of the influence of the Dvāravatī school. Retouched and lacquered, this statue, in view of its unusual anatomical verisimilitude, may simply belong to the Khmer style of the Bayon; it would thus bear witness to the Khmer expansion into the Peninsula during the reign of Jayavarman VII; see P. Dupont, *L'archéologie mône*, fig. 477. A Buddha sheltered by the *Nāga* (*ibid.*, fig. 497), also extensively retouched and over-restored, presumably adheres much more closely to the iconographical tradition of the Menam Plain. For the connection between Indonesian bronzes and the Nālandā school, see A. J. Bernet-Kempers, "The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leiden, 1933).

18. G. Coedès, "Les Collections archéologiques", Pl. 14.

19. Important though they are, no general study has yet been made of the *Pra Pim* of Thailand. The reader may consult George Coedès, "Tablettes votives bouddhiques du Siam", *Etudes Asiatiques*, Publ. EFEO, vol. XX, No. 1 (Paris, 1925), p. 145 ff., and Jean Boisselier, "Aperçu historique sur les 'Saintes Empreintes' de la Thaïlande", in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de L. Renou*, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fasc. 28 (1968), p. 153 ff.

20. Pierre Dupont, "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine occidentale", *BEFEO* XLI (1941): p. 233 ff.; Jean Boisselier, "Le Viṣṇu de Tjibuaja (Java occidental) et la statuaire du Sud-Est asiatique", *Art. Asiae* XXII (1959): p. 210-26, with a misinterpretation of the archaic Chaiya Vishnu; and S. O'Connor, Jr., "Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam", *Art. Asiae Supplementum* XXVIII (1972). The last work, by the very choice of title, unfortunately excludes the statues from Dong Si Maha Pot and U Thong. It may be noted that O'Connor's fig. 26, "Unidentified Figure", is certainly a torso of Avalokiteśvara (as already suggested by A. Lamb), in view of the tiger-skin and the flap hanging from the belt. This work and a torso in the storerooms of the Ayuthya Museum, probably from the same site, are the only known examples in Thailand of stone statues of this particular group of Avalokiteśvara idols. For this type of image, see Jean Boisselier, "A propos d'un bronze cham inédit d'Avalokiteśvara", *AA* IV (1957): p. 255 ff.

21. Stanley O'Connor, Jr., "An Ekamukhaliṅga from Peninsular Siam", *JSS* LIV (1966): p. 43 ff.

22. The Skanda was published by Boisselier, "Récentes recherches archéologiques", fig. 5. For the other images, see Diskul, *Masterpieces*, figs. 12-13.

23. The Ta Kua Pa images have often been referred to and reproduced. Among others, see L. de Lajonquière, "Le Domaine archéologique du Siam", *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine* (Paris, 1909), p. 234 ff., where they are mistakenly described as coming from a broken stele; Le May, *A Concise History*, p. 51, citing H. G. Quaritch Wales, "A newly-explored Route", *Indian Arts and Letters*, vol. IX, No. 1 (1934); Alastair Lamb, "Three Statues in a Tree: A Note on the Pra Narai Group, Takuapa", *Federation Museum Journal*, new series VI (1961); p. 64 ff.; Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques", II, p. 70. Above all, for these idols and the Chola group see O'Connor, Jr., *Hindu Gods*, p. 52 ff. O'Connor provides an extensive bibliography of the subject but, for the Wieng Sa statues, fails to refer to Coedès, "Les collections archéologiques", Pl. 10.

24. Pierre Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de Chaiya", *BEFEO* XLII (1942): p. 105 ff. Dupont surmises that the Buddha image may have been cast for an existing *Nāga*; in view of the sacred character of the Buddha images, this conjecture does not seem acceptable. The date 1183, read by Coedès, has been accepted by most scholars, but J. G. de Casparis has proposed to bring down the date to about a century later; see de Casparis, "The Date of the Grahi Buddha", *JSS* LV (1967): p. 31 ff. Stylistically, this hypothesis would be more satisfactory.

25. Conditions for photographing these works are very poor. Some views will be found in Boisselier, "Recherche archéologiques", II, figs. 29-32.

26. Initial conjectures concerning Si Tep in H. G. Quaritch Wales, "The Exploration of Śrī Deva, an ancient city in Indochina", *Indian Arts and Letters* X (1935): p. 61 ff., and *Towards Angkor* (London, 1937), p. 93 ff.; George Coedès, "Note sur quelques sculptures provenant de Srideb (Siam)", in *Etudes d'Orientalisme . . . à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* (Paris, 1932), vol. I, p. 159 ff. See also, M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "New Discoveries at the town of Sitep", *Archaeology*, vol. 1, No. 4 (1968), p. 63 ff.

27. For the Khmer styles and the classification of the lintels, see Boisselier, *Le Cambodge,* p. 41 ff. and p. 145 ff. For the chronology of the lintels with *makaras*, see M. Bénisti, "Recherches sur le premier art khmer, I. Les linteaux dits de Thala Borivat", *AA* XVIII (1968): p. 85 ff. To the list given by Bénisti may be added two unpublished lintels, one preserved at Ubon, the other—a remarkable piece of sculpture—at Ban Pra None in the immediate neighborhood of Wat Phu (Laos).

28. Jean Boisselier, "Une statue inédite du style de Sambor", *AA* II (1955): p. 18 ff.

29. Jean Boisselier, " Les linteaux khmers du VIIIe siècle. Nouvelles données sur le style de Kompong Prah", *Art. Asiae* XXX (1969): p. 101-44.

30. Jean Boisselier, " Notes sur l'art du bronze dans l'ancien Cambodge", *Art. Asiae* XXIX (1968): p. 284 ff.; E. C. Bunker, " Pre-Angkor Period Bronzes from Pra Kon Chai", *Archives of Asian Art* XXV (1971-72): p. 67 ff.; A. Le Bonheur, " Un bronze d'époque preangkorienne représentant Maitreya", *AA* XXV (1972): p. 129 ff.; Fine Arts Dept., *New Acquisitions of three Bronzes from Buri Ram,* Handbook of Special Exhibitions . . . (Bangkok, 1973).

31. See *Plan and Report of the Survey and Excavations of Ancient Monuments in North-Eastern Thailand* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., 1959), p. 59.

32. J. Boisselier, "Note sur quelques bronzes", pp. 30-36.

33. This bronze of unknown provenance was first published by G. Coedès " Les collections archéologiques", Pl. 23. It also appears in *Album of Art Exhibits,* vol. I (Bangkok: National Museum, B.E. 2498 = 1955 A.D.), fig. 72.

34. For the problem of Khmer art in Champa annexed by Cambodia in the time of Jayavarman VII, see Jean Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa,* Publ. EFEO, col. LIV (1963), p. 321 ff.

35. Some of the bronzes found at Dong Si Maha Pot (Ban Kok Pip, site No. 11) were published in Boisselier, "Travaux . . . 1966", p. 45 ff., figs. 67-73.

36. The problem of the *mandalas* and the reference to the *Hevajra Tantra* has been dealt with by J. J. Boeles, "Two Yoginīs of Hevajra from Thailand", *Essays . . .,* vol. 2, pp. 14-29.

37. The problem of the late images, to which we have referred above (Note 2), calls for special attention. Despite the often sorry mediocrity of an art in full decadence, the iconographical interest of these bronzes is certain. No less remarkable is their fidelity to the Angkorian traditions, especially when one observes how soon post-Angkorian Cambodia broke away from them.

38. To A. B. Griswold we owe an excellent introduction to the study of Sukhothai art seen against the historical background; see Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Dept., 1967). The particularly instructive epigraphy of the kingdom of Sukhothai was translated by George Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam : I. Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1924); the study of it has been continued and enlarged upon by Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, " Epigraphic and Historical Studies", *JSS* XLVI (1968) and following issues.

39. Jean Boisselier, " Précisions sur la statuaire du style d'Angkor Vat", *BEFEO* XLVI (1954): p. 227 ff. We know of but one statue at Angkor (and it is an aberrant work, obviously postdating the Angkor Wat style) whose dress in any way recalls that of the Sukhothai statues: the body of a *dvārapāla* from Prah Pithu T; see Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère* Pl. 14, fig. 3.

40. George Coedès, " L'art siamois de l'époque de Sukhodaya (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles), circonstances de son évolution", *AA* I (1954): p. 281 ff.

41. J. Boisselier, " Recherches archéologiques" II, p. 74 ff., figs. 49-53.

42. George Coedès, "Stèle de Rāma Gāmheṅ", *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1924), p. 37 ff.; " Les Premières Capitales du Siam aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles", *AA* III (1956): p. 243 ff.

43. All scholars have been struck by these tendencies peculiar to the Bayon style; notably, Jean Boisselier, " Réflexions sur l'art de Jayavarman VII", *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises,* new series, 27 (1952): p. 261 ff.; George Coedès, " Les statues du roi khmer Jayavarman VII", *Comptes rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 1958, p. 218 ff., and " Le portrait dans l'art khmer", *AA* VII (1960): p. 179 ff.

44. See Emcee Chand and Khien Yimsiri, *Thai Monumental Bronzes* (Bangkok, B.E. 2500 = 1957 A.D.), figs. 42-43, where the image is designated as " Chao Ma" or " Matriarch". The statue in meditation cast for Prince Yudhisthira in 1476 also combines the *vajrāsana* attitude with a very " Sukhothai" aesthetic and attire; see A. B. Griswold, " Prince Yudisthira", *Art. Asiae* XXVI (1963): p. 215-29.

45. The date proposed is based on an analysis of the adornments. The large pendant hanging from the necklace does not seem to appear before the reign of Chao Prasat Thong (1630-56). The image is a good example of the survival of the Sukhothai aesthetic some two centuries after the kingdom had been annexed by Ayuthya.

46. George Coedès, " Inscription du Çiva de Kambèṅ Bejra", *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1924), p. 157 ff.

47. The Brahmanic divinities of Sukhothai have been studied by M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, who proposes for them a relative chronology based chiefly on the analysis of adornments and the evolution of their decoration. The Thai publication, *Devarūpa samṛiddhi samaya Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1966), is to be followed by an English-language version.

48. Though interwoven with legendary accounts, the Chronicles appear to have a genuine historical character and in some respects they go to confirm recent archaeological findings. Consult George Coedès, " Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental", *BEFEO* XXV (1925): p. 1 ff.; C. Notton, *Chronique de Lamp'un : Annales du Siam,* vol. II (Paris, 1930).

49. C. Notton, *Chronique de Xieng Mai, Annales du Siam,* vol. III (Paris, 1932), Ill. 1 (facing p. 8).

50. Dupont, *L'archéologie mōne,* p. 92 ff.

51. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, " The 'Stone Buddha' of Chiengmai and its Inscription", *Art. Asiae* XXIV (1961): p. 324-29. No doubt the small Pāla stele discovered in the crypt of Wat Rājapūrana at Ayuthya has its place in the same context; see George Coedès, " Note sur une stèle indienne d'époque Pāla découverte à Ayudhyā (Siam)", *Art. Asiae* XXII (1959): p. 9-14.

52. Chand and Yimsiri, in *Thai Monumental Bronzes* (Bangkok, 1957), distinguish between two groups: Early Chieng San and Later Chieng

San. They subdivide the first into "soft type, late soft type, stiff type, semi-stiff type, and intermediate type", and consider the second to be an "imitation of Sukhothai",

53. A. B. Griswold, "Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam", *Art. Asiae Supplementum* XVI (1957).

54. From this remark stemmed all the studies which went to establish the chronology of Khmer art: see Ph. Stern, *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art khmer,* AMG (Paris, 1927). It should be noted that the method which we have so fruitfully employed for the study of Khmer and Cham statuary is much more difficult to apply to Buddhist sculpture. For, apart from the relatively limited number of adorned Buddhas, the images are governed by very strict iconographical rules and tend too often to copy statues enjoying special veneration for it to be possible to detect any real evolution. Of this, the dated Buddhas published by A. B. Griswold provide the best demonstration.

55. J. Boisselier, "Travaux . . . 1968", *AA* (forthcoming).

56. See *Archaeological Survey of India,* 1930-34. New Delhi: Indian Museum, Pl. 125 c.

57. For one of the best examples of the Early Style, see Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam* (Bangkok: Journal of the Siam Society, 2nd ed., 1973), fig. 10.

58. G. Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique", p. 97, n. 1. The same error is made in Le May, *A Concise History,* p. 129, and also in E. W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires: A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chieng Mai", *JSS* XXXIX (1951): p. 31 ff. For the history of the monument, see M. B. Wells, *Guide to Chiengmai* (Bangkok, 1964), p. 84 ff. and a forthcoming article by A. B. Griswold.

59. J. Y. Claeys, "L'archéologie du Siam", *BEFEO* XXXI (1931): p. 441 ff.; E. W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires", p. 1 ff.; A. B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* (Colombo, 1965), p. 173 ff.

60. The reader will find a selection of wood carvings illustrated in *The Kamthieng House* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1966) and a fine group of lintels in Kraisrī Nimmānahaeminda, "Ham Yon, the Magic Testicles", *Essays . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 133-48.

61. The toponyms U Thong (Ū Daṅ) and Suphanburi (pronunciation of Suparrṇapurī, "the city of gold") have roughly the same meaning, the first being a Thai form corresponding to the scholarly form of the Sanskrit compound. U Thong is apt to be misleading today, since it is the name of an important archaeological site, which, apart from a few scattered potsherds, has yielded remains extending from prehistory to about the eleventh century—when the site was abandoned—and then from the early seventeenth century until the present day. So the Prince of U Thong, toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, cannot have occupied a site which had been long deserted. The name U Thong, moreover, was given to this site only in 1904 by Prince Damrong Rajunubhab, as a result of the initial archaeological discoveries, whose full importance he divined. Nor does the Prince of U Thong appear to have resided at Suphanburi, whose foundation does not seem to be any earlier than the fifteenth century, and probably its capital should be sought elsewhere in the province of Suphanburi. We once proposed to identify it with Ban Rai Rot, near Don Chedi, on the evidence of finds made there (extensive remains of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), but we were unable to continue our intended excavations on the site which, meanwhile, was seriously disturbed by clandestine diggers. See Boisselier, "Recherches archéologiques", II, p. 52 ff., figs. 9-10.

62. After the capture of Angkor in 1177 by the Champa armies, a defeat which spelled ruin for the system built up by the Angkorian rulers since the ninth century, Jayavarman VII tried to make the Khmer kings *cakravartin* monarchs in accordance with the Buddhist conception. See Jean Boisselier, "Pouvoir royal et symbolisme architectural. Neak Pean et son importance pour la royauté angkorienne", *AA* XXI (1970): p. 91 ff. At Sukhothai, Rāma Kamhèng also acted as a *cakravartin* monarch, bringing the regions to east, south, west, and north more or less effectively under his control (see his great inscription) and redistributing the relics. So for the kingdom of Ayuthya to establish its hegemony, it was essential that it demonstrate its preeminence at once by speedily reducing Cambodia and Sukhothai to vassalage.

63. J. Boisselier, "Travaux . . . 1966", p. 42, figs. 51-55.

64. Attributed at first to the seventeenth century, these images raised some problems when we discovered them in the foundation deposit of the great Buddha of bonded stones at Tep Pranam (Angkor Thom). The Group C works found in the crypt of Wat Rājapūrana permit us to establish their chronological position and to understand the reasons for their presence in the foundations of a statue erected early in the second half of the sixteenth century, during the short-lived re-occupation of Angkor by the Khmer rulers. See Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère,* p. 290 ff., Pl. 114 A, B; A. B. Griswold, "Û Tóng, Ayudhyā and the National Style", *The Arts of Thailand* (Bloomington, 1960), p. 141 ff.

65. George Coedès, *Les Peuples de la Péninsule indochinoise* (Paris, 1962), p. 154.

66. Coedès, *Tablettes votives,* p. 167, Pl. 14-15, with incomplete series.

67. On the subject of the Brahmans at the Court of Ayuthya and Bangkok, see: H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1931), p. 54 ff.; J. Filliozat, "Kailasaparampāra", *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies...* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1965), vol. II, p. 241 ff.

68. Most of these images being unpublished, the Ayuthya school remains saddled with its unwarranted reputation for monotony. A few of them will be found in L. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien,* AMG (Paris, 1895), Part I, Plates XXVII and XXIX.

69. Chakri, like the Sanskrit *cakravartin,* means "he who bears the Wheel" (*chakra* or *cakra*) and designates the universal monarch, of whom the Wheel of the Law is traditionally the symbol and weapon. It is worth noting that, unlike the works brought together by King Rāma V at Wat Benchamabopit, the 1200 images collected in the capital by Rāma I were not meant to provide examples of the styles of the past. All the statues were coated with plaster and gilded, thus being given so uniform an appearance that, until the recent removal of the plaster casing, it was hardly possible to distinguish the various styles to which they belonged.

70. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Monuments,* fig. 19. For the ceremonies with which the image is associated, see H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies,* chapters 18 and 21. The name *Gandhārarattha* must not be regarded as referring to the iconography of Gandhāra, which would be an anachronism, but to the legends relating to Gandhāra. There the *Nāga*-king Elāpattra (Pāli, Aravāla), who as master of the

waters let loose the terrible hailstorms that played havoc with harvests, became after his conversion the provider of water for those requesting it through the intercession of Buddhist monks. Hence, the importance of a ceremony relating to Gandhāra and designed to bring down rain and protect the harvests. One understands, too, how it was that the monks came to participate in ceremonies of Brahmanic origin.

71. R. Lingat, "Le culte du Buddha d'Emeraude", *JSS* XXVII (1934): p. 9 ff. Carved in a variety of jasper, the image probably does not belong to the art of Lan Na, to which it had been proposed to assign it; it shows none of the characteristics of the school. As yet, however, we are in no position either to specify its origin or to determine whether its traditional attribution to Sinhalese art is justified. See J. Boisselier, "Récentes recherches archéologiques", p. 155.

72. A description of these works, with many illustrations, is to be found in Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, "Wat Benchamabopit and its Collection of Images of the Buddha", *JSS* XXII (1928): 19 ff.; reprinted in *Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication* (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1954), vol. I, p. 239 ff.

73. Alexander B. Griswold, "A Warning to Evildoers", *Art. Asiae* XX (1957): p. 18-28; E. Denis, S. J., "L'origine cingalaise du P'rah Malai", *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies . . .*, vol. II, p. 329 ff.

74. Alexander B. Griswold, "The Rishis of Wat Po", *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies* . . . p. 319 ff.

75. Several copies of these figure manuscripts are known, differing only in points of detail. One of them has been published by P. Neelakanta Sarma, "Un album thaïlandais d'iconographie indienne", *AA* XXVI (1973): p. 157 ff.

76. For illustrations of this entire set of compositions, see J. M. Cadet, *The Ramakien* (Tokyo, 1971).

77. T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, trans., *Dialogues of the Buddha (Dīgha Nikāya)*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 4 (London: Pāli Text Society, 1921), pp. 137-39.

78. Alexander B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture", *Art. Asiae* XXVI (1963): p. 85-131; "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying", *Essays*... p.37-73.

79. G. Coedès, "Bronze khmers", p. 32 ff.; Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré", *BEFEO* XXVIII (1928): p. 153 ff.; L. Finot, "Recherches sur la Littérature laotienne", *BEFEO* XVII (fasc. 5), p. 6 ff.

80. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Monuments*, p. 35 ff.

81. P. Dupont, *L'archéologie mône*, p. 120 ff., figs. 323-27; *The Arts of Thailand* (Bloomington, 1960), fig. 5.

COMMENTARIES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

by Jean-Michel Beurdeley

1 THE EMERALD BUDDHA

Jasper (?); overall height 29½ in. (75 cm.)
Undetermined date; erected in Bangkok in 1785
Wat Pra Kèo, Bangkok

Placed atop a high stepped pedestal erected by King Rāma III, this Buddha image is an object of the greatest veneration in Thailand. According to legend, it was carved five hundred years after the Buddha's death from an emerald from the Palace of Indra (actually, it is a variety of jasper or nephrite). The earliest mention of it occurs in 1434 at Chieng Rai, where it is said to have been discovered in a ruined *chedi*. The king of Chieng Mai built a monastery at Lampang to house it. In 1551, the king of Laos carried it off to Luang Prabang and thirteen years later transferred it to Vientiane. It was brought back to Thailand in 1780 by Rāma I, who placed it in Wat Arun at Thonburi. Five years later, he built Wat Pra Kèo in Bangkok to house the image. During the hot season of every year, the statue is clad in a royal ceremonial robe corresponding to that worn by crowned Buddhas; in the rainy season it is wrapped in a monastic robe. During the winter, a netted mantle of gold beads covers it entirely, as in this photograph. It has been claimed that the statue was executed by craftsmen in northern Thailand, using stone from the Nan region; the theory remains to be proved, however, for the style of the statue seems fairly close to that of South India and Ceylon. It is very likely that the image is not the work of any school in Thailand but was brought to the country as a finished work.

2 PRA PATHOM CHEDI

Nakhon Pathom
Rebuilt from 1853 on

Pra Pathom Chedi stands on a spot at Nakhon Pathom where, according to a Thai tradition, the Buddha rested while traveling through the country. The present monument was erected in 1853 by King Rāma IV Mongkut on the much venerated ruins of a *chedi* of the Dvāravatī period. Built of bricks taken from neighboring ruins, the present *chedi* follows the Sinhalese style and is the largest in Thailand. The enormous *stūpa* covering the original monument is 544 feet high and rests on a base consisting of several terraces. The *chedi* is surrounded by a circular gallery with shrines housing Buddha images at the four cardinal points.

3 WAT PRA MAHATHAT

Chaiya
Śrīvijaya school, 8th century; restored in the 20th century

Although often rebuilt and restored, Pra Mahathat at Chaiya is considered the best surviving example of Śrīvijaya architecture. It is a brick shrine standing on a high, decorated base; on each side are projecting blind doors, one with a niche. The restorations seem to have respected the original appearance of this monument, judging by the buildings of the same type represented in the architectural decorations at Borobudur and even at U Thong. In front of the east door of the shrine, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab discovered the famous torso of Avalokiteśvara, which is now one of the treasures of the National Museum in Bangkok (Plate 60).

4 PRANG OF WAT PRA RATANA SI MAHATHAT

Lopburi school, late-13th or early-14th century
Lopburi

This monument is probably the earliest example of the architectural formula of the *prang* and of the adaptation of the tower shrine to Buddhist worship. It is still very close to Khmer architecture as represented by the Pimai shrine. This *prang* has often been mis-dated to the late-11th or early-12th century. Actually, the only part of it from that period is a lintel, which was probably taken from a ruined shrine nearby.

5 WAT MAHATHAT

Sukhothai school, late-13th or 14th century
Sukhothai

Wat Mahathat stands in the center of the town of Sukhothai. Probably founded by Rāma Kamhèng, it was embellished by King Lö Tai in the first half of the 14th century. It is a vast complex dominated by a high *chedi* surrounded by eight reliquary towers and crowned by a bulbous *stūpa*, the shape of which is characteristic of Sukhothai art. Early photographs show that Wat Mahathat was once adorned with some very fine stuccos; only a few fragments of them have survived.

6 PRA CHEDI CHAI MONGKON

Ayuthya school, 1592
Wat Yai Chai Mongkon, Ayuthya

The Chai Mongkon *chedi* stands in the enclosure of Wat Yai Chai Mongkon (formerly, Wat Chao Phya Thai, Temple of the Supreme Patriarch), founded in about 1360 for the monks returning from Ceylon. The *stūpa* itself was erected by King Naresuen (r. 1590-1605) to commemorate his victory over the Burmese army at Nong Saray. The monument was surrounded by smaller *chedis*, which are now in ruins. Its tall, slender outline is characteristic of Ayuthya architecture.

7 PRA CHEDI OF WAT CHEDI CHET YOT

Lan Na school, 15th century
Chieng Mai

Built of stuccoed laterite and bricks, Wat Chedi Chet Yot was probably erected during the reign of King Tiloka (r. 1441-87) on the model of the famous temple of Mahābodhi at Bodh Gayā in India. The date of its construction is uncertain; possibly an already existing monastery was simply remodeled and embellished in the 15th century to commemorate the 2000th anniversary of the Buddha. The barrel vaults, built up with arch stones, are rather unusual in Thailand; they are apparently modeled on the architecture of Bodh Gayā and on the copy of the Mahābodhi temple built at Pagan in the 13th century.

8 BUST OF KRISHNA

Sandstone; height 41 3/8 in. (105 cm.)
From Si Tep
School of Si Tep, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This statue (photographed in such a way as to conceal the mutilation of the face) is one of the masterpieces of the Bangkok Museum. Attributed first to the art of Fu-nan, later to that of Dvāravatī, and finally thought to belong to an original school, this image does not represent a *yakshinī,* as some have assumed, but rather Krishna raising Mount Govardhana to shelter the shepherds and their flocks. The youthful figure and the supple grace of the body well illustrate the text of the *Bhāgavata Purāna,* which relates that with one hand the god raised the mountain and "held it in the air as easily as a child holds a mushroom". This statue may be compared with the Vat Koh Krishna in the National Museum at Phnom-Penh which, unlike this one, is part of a stele.

9 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height 19 3/4 in. (50 cm.)
School of Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ayuthya period), 16th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha in the *Māravijaya* posture wears a monastic robe with an outspread pleated flap over the left shoulder, very different from the flap generally worn in Thailand. This peculiarity, together with the *vajrāsana* attitude, indicates the present figure to be a deliberate copy in the Ayuthya period of the most venerated image at Nakhon Si Thammarat, the famous Pra Sihing, which itself preserves certain traditions of the Śrīvijaya school.

10 THE PRA BUDDHA JINARĀJA

Gilt bronze; height c. 10 ft. (c. 3 m.)
Sukhothai school, early 15th century
Wat Mahathat, Phitsanulok

The Pra Buddha Jinarāja is one of the finest, most imposing images in the late-classical style of Sukhothai. Making the gesture of *Māravijaya,* with fingers of equal length (except for the thumb) and the brow adorned with a patterned *ūrnā,* it seems to be imbued with a calmer grandeur than other 14th-century works and may well have been cast around 1420. Tradition has it that the image shed tears of blood at the entrance of the viceroy of Ayuthya into Phitsanulok in 1438. The *vihāra* housing it at Wat Mahathat was rebuilt by King Boromakot (r. 1733-58).

11 RELIEF REPRESENTING A STANDING DIVINITY

Stucco; height c. 7 1/2 ft. (c. 2.30 m.)
School of Lan Na, 15th century
Wat Chedi Chet Yot *(in situ),* Chieng Mai

Chedi Chet Yot (Plate 7) is a rather free copy of the famous Indian temple of Mahābodhi at Bodh Gayā. The walls of brick and laterite are not decorated with Buddha images but with Deva figures. Elegantly dressed and adorned, each in a different way, these divinities appear standing or seated (Plate 106) on panels marked off by pilasters. They were executed in stucco during the reign of King Tiloka (r. 1441-87), the probable founder of this monument.

12 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze; height 31 1/2 in. (80 cm.)
From Kamphèng Phet
Sukhothai school, 14th-15th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This head has the characteristic features of Sukhothai art: elongated face, long delicate nose, arched eyebrows, curling lips, small serried hair-curls. But the stylization is more systematic and the face no longer has quite the same spirituality as classic images of the same school. The Kamphèng Phet Buddha is distinguished from those of Sukhothai by the longer oval of the face, the more pointed chin, and the markedly hooked nose. The flame-top surmounting the *ushnīsha* is lost.

13 STANDING UMĀ (?)

Bronze; height 61 in. (155 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Brahmanic statue presumably represents Umā, *śakti* (i.e., wife or feminine energy) of the god Śiva. The Brahmanic divinities Śiva, Harihara, and especially Vishnu were often represented in Sukhothai art. They wear cylindrical diadems over a knotted chignon and bracelets adorned with filigree work. The skirt here is distinguished by its very peculiar drapery, which would seem to relate it to the costumes worn by Sinhalese dancers in the 14th and 15th centuries.

14 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze, brown patina; height 8 1/4 in. (21 cm.)
School of Lan Na, c. late-13th or early-14th century
National Museum, Chieng Mai
On the strength of the mild, tender expression, the lowered eyes, the strongly arched eyebrows, the slightly hooked nose somewhat (like that of Sukhothai images), the thick lips and the large hair-curls, one is inclined to attribute this mask of the Buddha to the initial phase of the early Lan Na style (also called Chieng Sèn style).

15 HAND OF A BUDDHA

Bronze; height 11 7/8 in. (30 cm.)
Sukhothai school, 14th century
Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok

This hand in *vitarka mudrā* is that of the walking Buddha of Wat Benchamabopit (Plate 93). The long, tapering, delicate fingers, with their tips slightly curving back like "lotus petals", as the ancient texts have it, testify to the same sense of spirituality as the statues themselves.

16 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Wood; height 10 5/8 in. (27 cm.)
From Wat Rājadhani, Sukhothai
U Thong style (?), 14th-15th century (?)
National Museum, Sukhothai

The salient hair-curls are set off by a thin headband; the conical *ushnīsha* is smooth. Wear has brought out the natural grain of the wood and makes us more responsive to the "presence of mutilation", to use the expression of André Malraux in *The Voices of Silence.*

17 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze, green patina; height 6 5/8 in. (17 cm.)
From U Thong (*chedi* No. 2)

Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, U Thong

The right side of this Buddha's face has been destroyed. Over the salient hair-curls rises an *ushnīsha* in the shape of a truncated cone, surmounted by a smooth conical ornament supported by a small corolla. The expression is mild but the face differs from that of the classical Dvāravatī images. The nose is straighter and the lips less thick, two features that bring to mind images of the Śrīvijaya school.

18 ADORNED BUDDHA SHELTERED BY THE NĀGA

Sandstone; height 44 1/8 in. (112 cm.)
From Wat Pra Ram, Ayuthya
Lopburi school, 12th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

The Buddha is seated in meditation on the coils of the *Nāga* king Mucalinda. Adorned with regal attributes (diadem and conical *mukuta*), he wears heavy ear-pendants and a broad jeweled necklace. His legs are laid over each other in the *vīrāsana* position. The undergarment is marked at the waist by a patterned belt; the torso is completely bare. This statue is stylistically close to Khmer art, but the facial expression is milder. The image of the adorned Buddha sheltered by the *Nāga* is highly characteristic of Lopburi statuary.

19 ADORNED BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze, brownish patina; height 8 1/4 in. (21 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th-14th century
James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok

This Buddha in the *Māravijaya* posture wears royal adornments rather different from those of the Khmer Buddhas (Plate 79). While the necklace and bracelets seem to preserve the tradition of the Bayon style, the diadem with high triangular fleurons and the long ear-pendants testify to the influence of Pāla-Sena art. The draping of the garment recalls that of the meditating Buddha in the National Museum in Bangkok (Plate 77).

20 COLOSSAL HEAD OF A BUDDHA

Gilt bronze; height 67 in. (170 cm.)
From Wat Pra Si Sanpet, Ayuthya
Ayuthya school, late-15th or early-16th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Ayuthya image is characterized by its perfection of workmanship, its elaborate stylization, its sharp-edged lines, and a modeling that is drier and more precise than in the Sukhothai school. The jeweled *ūrnā* is unusual in Thai statuary and recalls that of the Pra Buddha Jinarāja (Plate 10).

21 GROUP OF FIVE FEMALE MUSICIANS

Stucco; height 26 5/8 in. (67.5 cm.)
From Ku Bua
Dvāravatī school, c. 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This stucco bas-relief was uncovered in 1961 at Ku Bua, a site south of Ratburi, by the Fine Arts Department. Surrounded by a moat measuring 2000 m. by 800 m., the remains of the city included numerous monuments with a great many fragments of stucco and terra-cotta reliefs. Unfortunately mutilated, these fragments of reliefs are often highly naturalistic. This one represents a female orchestra; each of the musicians wears a high chignon and heavy ear-pendants, several metal specimens of which were also found in excavations.

22 FRIEZE OF WORSHIPPING DISCIPLES

Stucco; height c. 51 in. (c. 130 cm.)
Ayuthya school, c. 16th century
Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat *(in situ)*, Lopburi

Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat is the earliest and most important monument at Lopburi. This stucco frieze adorned a secondary *chedi* of the Ayuthya period. The disciples, each backed by an aureole, hold their hands in a gesture of adoration. Their bodies and limbs are unusually thin. They wear the monastic robe, with belt and frontal flap taken over from the Lopburi school.

23 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Terra-cotta; height 7 7/8 in. (20 cm.)
From Wat Pra Ngam, Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Delicately modeled in red clay and considered one of the masterpieces of the Bangkok Museum, this small sculpture probably formed part of the decoration of a *stūpa*. It was found on the site of Nakhon Pathom together with numerous other pieces in terra-cotta and stucco.

24 KINNARĪ

Red terra-cotta; height 19 3/4 in. (50 cm.)
From Kamphèng Phet
Sukhothai school, 15th or early-16th century
National Museum, Kamphèng Phet

The walls of Wat Pra Kèo and of Wat Chang Rop at Kamphèng Phet were adorned with terra-cotta reliefs, most of them representing heavenly beings: *apsaras*, *yakshas*, and the usual attendants of the gods. The figure shown here is a *kinnarī* sumptuously clad and adorned, with a human torso and bird feet.

25 WORSHIPPING FIGURE

Ceramic; height 24 3/8 in. (62 cm.)
Sukhothai school, 14th-15th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Either a divinity or a donor (since the forearms are broken off, no certain identification is possible), this terra-cotta figure with a bluish-gray glaze is one of the many ceramic statues produced in the kilns of the Sukhothai region. Some of them, like this one, by virtue of their size, the quality of the modeling, and their facial expression, may rightly be considered as works of sculpture.

26 AVALOKITEŚVARA

Bronze, grayish patina; height 8 5/8 in. (22 cm.)
Śrīvijaya school, 8th century
National Museum, Lopburi

The Avalokiteśvaras of the Śrīvijaya school have peculiar coiffures and adornments, recalling the arts of India and Indonesia. Here, the hair-locks, knotted into a high chignon *(jatāmukuta)*, evoke the tradition of Pallava art. The removable attributes that the statue held in its hands are lost. The youthful face has a serene expression.

27 VOTIVE STŪPA

Bronze; height 9 in. (23 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th-14th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This small votive *stūpa* stands on an ornate square pedestal with four *stūpa* miniatures in the angles. Its high drum is adorned all around with niches housing small Buddhas, all similarly represented in the *Māravijaya* posture. In form and composition, it is very close to actual architectural structures. Such *stūpas* served as reliquary shrines or as urns for the ashes of the dead, and they played a fairly important role in Lopburi art of the post-Bayon period.

28 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Gilt bronze; height 20 1/2 in. (52 cm.)
U Thong C style, early-15th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

Forming a regular oval, this head is very characteristic of the U Thong C style, with its *ushnīsha* surmounted by a high flame-top and its very tiny, tight hair-curls bordered on the brow by a narrow band. The gentle serenity of the facial expression and the rather cold perfection of the workmanship give a foretaste of the classical art of the Ayuthya school.

29 HOOK OF A LITTER

Bronze, green patina; height 7 3/4 in. (19.5 cm.)
Probably from Surin
Lopburi school, 13th century
James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok

This richly worked litter-hook represents Krishna dancing on Kāliya, the serpent he has just tamed. Bronze objects such as this form part of an abundant store of ritual equipage, many examples of which are to be seen in the Angkor Wat reliefs.

30 VOTIVE TABLET (PRA PIM)

Tin; height 12 5/8 in. (32 cm.)
Sukhothai school, late-14th or early-15th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

Many votive tablets of this type, in terra-cotta or tin, were discovered at Sukhothai. This one, cast in an alloy of lead and tin, represents the walking Buddha in a niche surmounted by a double parasol. It probably represents an episode in the Great Magical Display at Śrāvastī. With reference no doubt to the Magical Display, these *Pra Pim* are regarded as talismans that are particularly efficacious in protecting the house against fire.

31 KNEELING OFFERING-BEARER

Wood, partially colored; height 43 3/8 in. (110 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 18th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

This wood carving still bears traces of polychromy in red, black, and gold. The figure's hands are turned upward in a gesture of offering; it was probably used to present the traditional robes to the highest-ranking monk in the course of an annual ceremony which takes place in each monastery at the end of the rainy season (around the month of November). Certain of its ornaments point to the art of the Bangkok period.

32 AVALOKITEŚVARA

Limestone; height 17 3/4 in. (45 cm.)
From the region of Surāt Thani
Śrīvijaya school, c. 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Avalokiteśvara, or Lokeśvara, carries in his coiffure the image of Amitābha, the compassionate Buddha, of which he is an emanation. Devoid of folds, the garment is marked at the waist by a sunken band representing a belt. The left hand holds a partially broken attribute, probably the water-pot. The hair style, with a high chignon *(jatāmukuta)* and locks falling over the shoulders, is typical of the Śrīvijaya school of Thailand and reflects the influence of Pallava art.

33 STANDING BUDDHA

Limestone; height 9 ft. 5 in. (2.87 m.)
From Sukhothai
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

This large Buddha, carved in two blocks bonded together, wears the characteristic attire of Dvāravatī images. As in so many similar statues, the hands must have been in the position of *vitarka mudrā* (Plate 41); they were carved separately and affixed by means of mortises hollowed in the forearms. Found at Sukhothai, the statue was probably brought there from the Suphanburi region, perhaps in the wake of Rāma Kamhèng's conquests.

34 STANDING BUDDHA

Wood; height 39 in. (99 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 17th century
James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok

The attitude, gesture, and garment of this wooden Buddha are typical of the Ayuthya school in the 17th century, but the face with its sinicized features suggests that the image may have been carved by one of the Chinese craftsmen living in Ayuthya at that period.

35 STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze, green patina; height 21 5/8 in. (55 cm.)
From Sungai Kolok (Narathiwet)
Amarāvatī school, c. 5th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

A Buddha with flat hair-curls, clad in the regularly pleated robe and draped in the Amarāvatī mode. The *ūrnā* on the brow is in the form of a small disk; the eyes are inlaid with silver; the right hand is in *vitarka mudrā* (gesture of argumentation), while the left holds the edge of the monastic robe. Of Indian origin, this work was probably brought to Thailand by boat when Buddhism was first propagated in the peninsular region.

36 BOY WITH A MONKEY

Red terra-cotta; height 3 1/4 in. (8 cm.)
From the vicinity of U Thong
4th-5th century
National Museum, U Thong

A good many terra-cotta figurines similar to this one have been found in the Menam Plain. Their quality is uneven, the mold in some cases being very worn. Many are mutilated or headless. The purpose of these statuettes of a naked boy holding a monkey on a leash remains enigmatic.

37 STATUETTE OF A STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze, green patina; height 6 3/4 in. (17 cm.)
From Nakhon Pathom
Influence of the Amarāvatī style, 5th-6th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

Datable to about the 5th or 6th century, this statuette was found at Nakhon Pathom. Shown standing, the Buddha wears a pleated robe that leaves the right shoulder bare. The right hand is in *vitarka mudrā*, while the left holds a flap of the robe. In the back is a tenon to which the nimbus was fixed. The base is modern. It is thought that this Buddha might have been cast in Thailand after a model of the Amarāvatī school, such as the Buddha found at Sungai Kolok (Plate 35).

38 STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze, dark brown patina; height 19¾ in. (50 cm.)
From the Songkla region
Tradition of South India, c. 6th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

The monastic robe worn by this figure has lost its folds but is still draped in the mode of South India and seems related to the tradition of the post-Amāravatī Buddhas discovered at Buddhapād. This type of garment had little or no influence on the development of Dvāravatī statuary. The base of the statue is modern. It seems doubtful that this work was cast in Thailand.

39 STANDING BUDDHA

Sandstone; height 6¾ in. (17 cm.)
From Wieng Sa
Gupta art, 5th-6th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This high relief was found by Dr. Quaritch Wales in 1930 at Wieng Sa in peninsular Thailand. Its style relates it directly to the Indian school of Sārnāth. This standing Buddha wears the monastic robe with both shoulders covered; the waist is marked by an incised line. The *ushnīsha* surmounting the broad hair-curls is not much developed. The right hand, making the gesture of *vara mudrā,* has webbed fingers, as in certain Indian sculptures. The left hand is lost; it probably held the flap of the robe.

40 VISHNU

Limestone; height 27 in. (69 cm.)
From San Thung, Chaiya, c. 5th century
National Museum, Bangkok

A standing image of Vishnu, this figure wears a decorated miter and large ear-pendants. The god has four arms. The front hand on the right is raised, the back one leans on a club; on the left, the front hand holds a conch at the hip, while the back one is broken off. This image may well be the earliest Brahmanic idol in Southeast Asia. In spite of a certain awkwardness in the execution, faintly reminiscent of so many decadent works, various features vouch for its antiquity; for example, the right hand raised in *abhaya* and the indication of the sex hark back to pre Gupta Indian traditions.

41 STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze, greenish-gray patina; height 9½ in. (24 cm.)
From U Thong
Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, U Thong

This aureoled Buddha found in *chedi* No. 11 at U Thong makes the gesture of argumentation *(vitarka mudrā)* with both hands. The face is broad, with thick lips. The eyebrows form an arch with a triple curve overhanging the heavy lids of the prominent eyes. Covering both shoulders, the robe is rounded off at ankle level, leaving uncovered the lower part of the *antaravāsaka,* which is marked at the waist by a fillet. The aureole recalls the Śrīvijaya tradition. The perfect frontality of the image and the smooth robe are typical of Dvāravatī statuary. The *ushnīsha* is surmounted by an ornament which may originally have been gold-plated.

42 BUDDHA IN MEDITATION

Brick-red terra-cotta; height 17¾ in. (45 cm.)
From U Thong
Dvāravatī school, 7th-9th century
Nai Thieb Vatanakrai Collection, U Thong

This image of the Buddha in *samādhi* was found in 1959 in a monastery near U Thong. The figure was molded, which may account for the reversed position of the legs. The left knee is broken. Terra-cottas such as this were placed in niches to adorn the base of a *stūpa.* In view of the simplified forms, the meditative expression of the face with eyes that are nearly closed, and the curly hair with a conical *ushnīsha,* this image is inquestionably of the Dvāravatī period. But the attire, with its broadly pleated drapery over the shoulder and the frontal flap, is unusual.

43 BODY OF A STANDING BUDDHA

Stone; height 52½ in. (133 cm.)
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Lopburi

This Buddha wears the *uttarāsanga* (monastic robe) with both shoulders covered. At the waist, the upper edge of the *antaravāsaka* (undergarment) is marked by a fillet. The body has been given a very slight sway. The right hand, on which can be seen circles representing one of the "marks of the Great Man", is in *vara mudrā,* the gesture of bestowing favor—a *mudrā* rare in Dvāravatī statuary, in which the Buddha is chiefly represented in *vitarka mudrā.* The left hand must have held the garment.

44 THE FIRST SERMON

Limestone; length 45 in. (114 cm.)
From Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 8th century
National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

This slab carved in low relief represents the Buddha enthroned in the "European" fashion, preaching to disciples and ascetics. The figures flanking him are probably Indra holding a parasol and Brahmā with a fly-whisk. The back of the throne is ornamented with highly stylized *makara* heads. This representation recalls, in rather free fashion, some of the iconographical features of the Indian school of Amarāvatī.

45 BUDDHA (detail of the head)

Limestone with traces of polychromy; height 57 in. (145 cm.)
From Wat Na Pra Men, Ayuthya
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Bankkok

The hair, roughed out in large curls, contrasts with the polish and the fine patina of the serene face of this limestone Buddha, which still shows traces of color (ochre and gold). The face, with its prominent nose, thick lips, and eyebrows represented by a ridge forming a triple curve, is typical of Dvāravatī statuary.

46 STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze; height 11 in. (28 cm.)
Dvāravatī school, c. 9th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

A slightly flexed Buddha clad in the *uttarāsanga,* with the right shoulder bare. The lower edge of the robe curves out over the *antaravāsaka,* the upper edge of which is marked at the waist by a fillet. The right hand is in *vitarka mudrā* (gesture of argumentation); the left hangs down beside the body. The Buddhas of the Ayuthya school were to carry on this iconographical tradition, which was relatively unusual in Dvāravatī statuary.

47 COLOSSAL BUDDHA SEATED IN THE "EUROPEAN" FASHION

Quartzite; height c. 12 ft. (c. 3.70 m.)
From Ayuthya
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Originating in Nakhon Pathom, where fragments of several similar images were found, this statue was removed to Ayuthya when it became the capital. These colossal Buddhas seated in the "European" fashion and making the gesture of teaching (*vitarka mudrā,* in accordance with the South Indian tradition) number among the finest achievements of Dvāravatī sculpture. They consist of separately carved blocks of stone assembled by mortise-and-tenon joints.

48 TWO EPISODES FROM THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

Gilt limestone bas-relief
Dvāravatī school, 8th century
Wat Suthat, Bangkok

This stele stands at Wat Suthat behind the pedestal of a large Buddha from Sukhothai, which was brought to Bangkok at the behest of Rāma I. Two successive episodes in the Buddha's life are represented on its two registers. The lower scene shows the Great Magical Display at Śrāvastī and the confounding of the heretics. Above, the Buddha seated on the throne of Indra is instructing his mother, who had been reborn in the Tushita Heaven and who descended to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods to listen to him. Bas-reliefs in stone are unfortunately very rare in the art of Dvāravatī, for the limestones of Thailand are brittle and generally ill-suited to sculpture.

49 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze, jade-green patina; height $10\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm.)
From Nakhon Sawan
Dvāravatī school, c. 8th-9th century
Dr. Viroj Kanasut Collection, Bangkok

The casting of this *Māravijaya* Buddha is of mediocre quality; hence the cracked and scaly surface. The large hair-curls are surmounted by an *ushnīsha* in the form of a truncated cone, with a bud-shaped ornament. The hand in *bhumisparśa mudrā* lies flat on the leg. Indicated on the torso is a long, rather broadly pleated flap; the waist is marked by a fillet. On the strength of these features, one may attribute this statuette to the latter Dvāravatī period, when the school was beginning to be influenced by the art of Śrīvijaya.

50 BUDDHA SHELTERED BY THE NĀGA

Stone; height $29\frac{1}{2}$ in. (75 cm.)
From Dong Si Maha Pot (Prachinburi)
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Buddhist texts relate how Mucalinda, the *Nāga* king, gave shelter to the meditating Buddha by encircling his body with its coils and extending its hood over the Buddha's head. Here the hood alone is represented. This iconographical theme recurs frequently in Khmer statuary and in that of the Lopburi school. In this image, the Buddha is seated on a flat surface, between two *stūpas;* later, he is usually shown seated on the coils of the *Nāga* (e.g., Plate 18).

51 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

(detail of the profile)
Sandstone; overall height $32\frac{3}{4}$ in. (83 cm.)
From the Buriram region
Related to Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Found in the province of Buriram, this *Māravijaya* Buddha differs distinctly both in its aesthetic and its attitude from the Buddhas of Dvāravatī. The large salient curls are surmounted by a very small *ushnīsha,* which was probably covered by an ornament now lost. The facial features, with their expression of great serenity, are not altogether characteristic of the Dvāravatī tradition (cf. Plate 45) and the brow is marked with an unusual incised spiral of the *ūrnā* hair.

52 LION (detail)

Stucco; height of fragment c. $17\frac{3}{4}$ in. (c. 45 cm.)
From Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

Several lions decorating walls or flights of steps have been discovered at Nakhon Pathom. All are marked by an elaborate stylization, remote from reality and very different from the stylization adopted in pre-Angkorian art, but sometimes fairly close to that of the Indonesian tradition. This lion, one of the most successful and least distorted or caricatured, is representative of certain tendencies of Dvāravatī decorative art.

53 FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF

Stucco; height $47\frac{1}{4}$ in. (120 cm.)
From Chedi Chula Paton, Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, U Thong

Representing five sword-bearing figures, this bas-relief belonged to the architectural surface decoration of Chedi Chula Paton (also known as Wat Pra Paton). Excavations have revealed that this 7th-century monument was enlarged several times during successive centuries. This composition dates from the first restoration, during the late-8th century, when the base of the monument was decorated with stuccos, most of them representing episodes from the *Jātaka* stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations.

54 HEAD OF AN ADORNED DIVINITY

Terra-cotta; height 15 in. (38 cm.)
From Ku Bua (site No. 40)
Dvāravatī school, 7th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Discovered in the ruins of a monument at Ku Bua, this large head testifies to the skill of the Dvāravatī sculptors. The superb modeling of the terra-cotta conveys the mildness of the features and the serenity of the expression. The elaborate tiara worn by this figure, probably a guardian divinity, recalls the richest headdresses of post-Gupta Indian art.

55 BODHISATTVA

Terra-cotta; height $35\frac{7}{8}$ in. (91 cm.)
From Ku Bua (*chedi* No. 40)
Dvāravatī school, c. 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

The large town of Ku Bua, cleared in 1961, has yielded many stuccos and terra-cottas of exceptionally fine quality. This image represents a Bodhisattva wearing the *ajina* (antelope skin) over his shoulder and holding a water-pot. Although the headdress lacks the characteristic figurine of Amitābha, the statue probably represents Avalokiteśvara, whose role seems to have been an important one in central Indochina in the 8th and 9th centuries.

56 BUDDHA STANDING ON A MYTHICAL CREATURE

Limestone; height c. 17¾ in. (c. 45 cm.)
From Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

This representation of the Buddha is characteristic of the Dvāravatī school; framed by two divinities, he stands on a fabulous creature which seems to combine features of Sūrya and Garuda. The interpretation of the scene remains highly controversial. In Thailand it is thought to represent the "Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three". The exact purpose of such stelae is not known. The hole pierced in the sculptured part held a peg and there is a tenon at the back.

57 BUDDHA SEATED ON A MYTHICAL CREATURE

Limestone; height c. 17¾ in. (c. 45 cm.)
From Phitsanulok
Dvāravatī school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

A work similar to the previous illustration. In this example, the Buddha is carried by a fabulous creature traditionally designated as "Panasbati" (Forest Lord), which combines the features of a sort of Garuda, the mane and claws of a lion, and the highly stylized horns of a bull.

58 WHEEL OF THE LAW

Limestone; height 28⅜ in. (72 cm.)
From Nakhon Pathom
Dvāravatī school, 7th-8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Symbolizing the Buddha's First Sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth, the Wheel of the Law was one of the most ancient Buddhist images; such wheels were usually placed at the top of a tall pillar *(cakrastambha)*. Wheels like this one figure prominently in Dvāravatī sculpture. This one has an image of the sun god Sūrya at its base, recognizable from his two lotuses. Two *yaksha* figures support the rim of the wheel.

59 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze, brownish patina; height 12¼ in. (31 cm.)
Śrīvijaya school, c. 9th-11th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

This Buddha is seated in typical Śrīvijaya fashion, with tightly crossed legs in the *vajrāsana* position. The slight backward tilt of the torso is also characteristic of the school. The face is square, above the upper lip is a thin moustache; the eyes with bulging lids are lowered and the overall expression is serene. The robe leaves the right shoulder bare and a long narrow flap falls over the chest. The undergarment is marked at the waist by a band in an ogee curve. In its attitude, this Buddha is very much in the tradition of Śrīvijaya art, but the treatment of the garment seems to evoke the art of Haripuñjaya (cf. Plate 108). The lower part of the base has been restored.

60 TORSO OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

Bronze, dark gray-green patina; height 27½ in. (70 cm.)
From Wat Pra Mahathat, Chaiya
Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This image of Avalokiteśvara was discovered at Chaiya, in Wat Pra Mahathat, the Great Relic Monastery (Plate 3). In Śrīvijaya art, the Bodhisattva is often represented as here, with the features of a young, lavishly adorned prince. The face has an expression of great gentleness and kindliness; the hair falls in curls over the shoulders. While this bronze reflects Pallava or Indonesian iconographical traditions, it is nevertheless the creation of an original school of art in total command of its means of expression.

61 ADORNED BUDDHA TEACHING

Bronze; height 7⅞ in. (20 cm.)
From Kosum Pisai (Mahasarakham)
Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Seated in *vajrāsana* on a lotus throne supported by lions, flanked by two female attendants, this Buddha performs the *dharmacakra mudrā* (representing Setting in Motion of the Wheel of the Law). Both attitude and gesture are foreign to the iconography of central and eastern Indochina, but appear frequently in the art of Indonesia. This may be the earliest adorned image found in the Peninsula. It was thought at one time to represent the Bodhisattva Maitreya, but that identification has been ruled out by recent discoveries (cf. Plate 73).

62 AVALOKITEŚVARA

Sandstone; height 45¼ in. (115 cm.)
From Chaiya
Śrīvijaya school, 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

One of the finest sculptures of the Śrīvijaya school, this statue represents Avalokiteśvara clad in a long *paridhāna* held at the waist by a narrow, incised belt. The coiffure recalls that of the images of Pallava India. The Bodhisattva is identified by the Buddha Amitābha (much damaged) at the front of the chignon and by the antelope skin over the left shoulder. The features of the smiling face are executed with the greatest delicacy. The broken pieces of stone projecting from the legs are vestiges of the attributes and props of the statue.

63 TORSO OF AVALOKITEŚVARA

Bronze, black patina; height 25½ in. (65 cm.)
From Chaiya
Śrīvijaya school, 9th-10th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Avalokiteśvara, "the lord who looks down from on high" with compassion for earthly beings, is devotedly worshipped by adherents of the Mahāyāna sects. Shown here with eight arms, he wears in his headdress the usual Amitābha image surrounded by a kind of nimbus. Remarkable for the serene expression of the face, the noble bearing, and the splendor of its adornments, this statue, in spite of the damage it has suffered, is one of the most important examples remaining of Śrīvijaya art.

64 VISHNU

Sandstone; height c. 6¼ ft. (c. 190 cm.)
From Ta Kua Pa
Śrīvijaya school, c. 7th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Wearing a cylindrical miter edged with a border, this Vishnu is clad in a long *paridhāna* that forms a tight bunch of central folds, which fall to ground level and serve as a prop giving the statue greater stability. The forearms have been broken off. But on the base are remains of the club held in the left hand (the right hand held a ball, symbolizing the Earth, and was supported by a prop). Altogether there were five points of support. The beauty of the modeling, the masculine vigor of the body, and the serenity of the facial expression are highly characteristic of the Brahmanic art of peninsular Thailand.

65 VISHNU

Limestone; height 5 ft. 7 in. (170 cm.)
From Dong Si Maha Pot (Prachinburi)
Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Vishnu is clad in a long *paridhāna,* the serried folds of which hang between the legs in a narrow flap; it is secured at the waist by a broad belt tied over the right hip. On the head is a smooth, cylindrical, rather low miter. This figure, with its perfectly modeled anatomy, is one of a group of similar sculptures found in peninsular Thailand and also in Cambodia. The technique is bolder than in pre-Angkorian art, and the sculptor was confident enough to do away with the supporting arch and the crosspiece, which usually connects the headdress and the upper arm.

66 VISHNU

Sandstone; height 15⅜ in. (39 cm.)
Śrīvijaya school, 7th-8th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalermpol Dighamvara, Bangkok

This image of Vishnu is clad in a long *paridhāna* held at the waist by a broad belt, which is twisted and tied at the side, with a flap extending to the base in order to provide further support. The four arms have been broken off; the left hand probably rested on a long club. The garment forms a group of folds, which hang between the slightly spread legs. The statue thus had five points of support. The originality of this image lies in its decorated adornments: necklace and ear-pendants, which probably imitate the actual jewelry with which idols were adorned. Most images of Vishnu were quite large, and this statue is unusual for its small size.

67 THE BUDDHA OF GRAHI

Bronze; height 5 ft. 4 in. (162 cm.)
From Wat Wieng, Chaiya
Śrīvijaya school, late-12th or 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This large cast bronze consists of three separate parts: the Buddha itself, the *Nāga* hood, and the coiled body of the *Nāga*. On the base is an inscription whose dating is difficult to interpret; stylistically, the statue would seem to belong to the 13th century, but the precise dating is still controversial. The Buddha's gesture is the rather unusual one of *Māravijaya*; unlike the other sculptures of Śrīvijaya, he is seated in *vīrāsana*. The smooth *ushnīsha* adorned with a fleuron and the broad pleated flap of the garment are likewise rather rare. It has been suggested that the body of the *Nāga* and its inscription may have been cast at an earlier date than the body of the Buddha, but this view is unacceptable. In fact, a late-13th century dating would indicate the existence in the Chaiya region of a Khmerizing tradition after the Śrīvijaya period.

68 BRAHMANIC DIVINITY

Bronze, green patina; height 14¼ in. (36 cm.)
From Sating Pra
Śrīvijaya school, 8th-9th century
Songkhlà Museum

This statuette, probably representing Śiva, was found in the vicinity of Sating Pra. The divinity has a large flame-edged nimbus and four arms, but only the upper pair of hands have preserved their attributes: on the right a rosary, on the left an object difficult to identify. Garment, headdress, and facial features show a distinct kinship with the art of central Java. The hollowed eye-sockets must originally have been inlaid.

69 VISHNU

Sandstone; height 6 ft. 10½ in. (209 cm.)
From Si Tep
Si Tep school, 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Vishnu has a high cylindrical miter, slightly flattened in front; originally there were four arms, but only two remain. He wears a short garment that clings to the hips and thighs, with a flap forming several folds passing between the thighs and tucked up at the back. The statue possesses a great elegance of attitude and an exceptional boldness in the sway of its body; the flexion of the body must have been balanced originally by the movement and positioning of the arms, but none of the usual supporting devices was used. The thick neck of the statue is apparently unfinished.

70 STANDING DIVINITY (KRISHNA?)

Stone; height 37⅞ in. (96 cm.)
From Si Tep
Si Tep school, 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This divinity wears a polygonal miter. The movement of the left arm, now broken off, suggests that the figure may represent Krishna, an incarnation or *avatāra* of Vishnu, in the act of lifting up Mount Govardhana to provide shelter for the shepherds and their flocks. A fine boldness emanates from this sculpture, which is carved entirely in-the-round, without any arch, crosspiece, or other support. The Indian triple flexion and the shoulder movement evoke the Pallava and Chola aesthetic. The free and easy movement of the figure, not to be found in the art of pre-Angkorian Cambodia, is characteristic of the Si Tep style.

71 BUST OF VISHNU (detail)

Sandstone; overall height 4 ft. 7 in. (140 cm.)
Height of the head 11¾ in. (30 cm.)
From Si Tep
Si Tep school, 8th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This bust was found at Si Tep in 1967 by students of the Faculty of Archaeology in Bangkok, but the body had come to light much earlier. Si Tep appears to have been an important center of Brahmanic art in the 8th century. The face of this Vishnu has an expression at once virile and serene. One can hardly overpraise the sobriety and vigor of the modeling in the art of Si Tep, one of the most outstanding schools of Southeast Asia.

72 BODY OF A FEMALE DIVINITY

Sandstone; height 43¼ in. (110 cm.)
From Aranya Prathet
Lopburi school, 7th century
Collection of H.R.H. Princess Chumbhot of Nagara Svarga, Bangkok

This exceptionally beautiful piece was discovered by its present owner at Aranya Prathet (province of Prachinburi), not far from the Cambodian border. The goddess wears a skirt with median folds that leave much of the belly bare. The figure shows an unmistakable kinship with the pre-Angkorian style of Sambor Prei Kuk, and in particular with the statue of the Koh Krieng goddess in the Phnom-Penh Museum, which possesses the same aesthetic features: heavy breasts, narrow waist, broad hips. But the present statue has a fresher, more youthful look. The damage it has suffered renders any positive identification impossible, though the section of the right shoulder suggests that it originally had four arms. The ankles stand free, while those of the Koh Krieng goddess are connected by an uncut portion of stone.

73 MAITREYA

Bronze; height 18⅛ in. (46 cm.)
From Ban Fai, Lam Plai Mat (Buriram)
Lopburi school, late-8th or early-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

The headdress of this idol is a *jatāmukuta,* with four rows of small hair-curls, within which a pearl is set. The small *stūpa* above the forehead is a clue to the statue's identity as the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Swaying slightly and clad in a short garment held at the waist by a belt, this figure has a round, youthful face and wears no moustache. A common aesthetic vocabulary undoubtedly was shared by the Mahāyāna statues of the Buriram and Korat regions and the pre-Angkorian art of the 8th and 9th centuries.

74 BODHISATTVA

Bronze; height 4 ft. 7½ in. (141 cm.)
From Ban Fai, Lam Plai Mat (Buriram)
Lopburi school, 8th-9th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This large bronze Bodhisattva had four arms, of which only three remain. The upper right arm is broken off and two hands have been restored. The statue wears a short garment held at the waist by a belt whose front flaps are difficult to distinguish. The youthful face has a smiling expression. In its present state, it is impossible to determine whether or not the figure originally had a moustache. Hair-curls falling in loops make up a large chignon *(jatāmukuta)*; but lacking the symbol which must have originally adorned it, the figure cannot be positively identified. Bronze statues of this type discovered in the provinces of Buriram and Korat vouch for the existence of important Mahāyāna art centers in this region during the 8th and 9th centuries.

75 STANDING MALE DIVINITY

Bronze with high silver content; height 15⅜ in. (39 cm.)
From Prakon Chai (Buriram)
Lopburi school, 8th-9th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

Probably a Bodhisattva, this divinity has a slight flexion and wears a narrow diadem and a conical *mukuta*. The short garment is secured by a belt visible at the waist. The hands appear to have held attributes, but they are now lost. This piece was found at Prakon Chai (province of Buriram) together with a large number of Mahāyāna bronzes.

76 ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA

Sandstone; height 27½ in. (70 cm.)
From Ubon Ratchathani
Lopburi school (?), 8th-9th century (?)
National Museum, Bangkok

This curious statue represents Śiva and his wife united in a single androgynous body. The right side is male, as indicated by the moustache, and the left side female, with a voluminous breast and an ankle-length skirt. The headdress and the large ear-rings point to Indian antecedents. The adornments (particularly, the bracelets) and the seated position with crossed legs in "tailor fashion" are quite unusual and suggest that some local tradition was being followed.

77 BUDDHA IN MEDITATION

Sandstone, traces of gold lacquer; height 39⅜ in. (100 cm.)
From Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat, Lopburi
Lopburi school, late-12th or 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha in *samādhi* is seated in *vīrāsana* on a lotus base. He is clad in a robe that leaves the right shoulder bare, with a long broad flap forming a scarf. This base and the garment-flap are highly characteristic of the post-Bayon school of Lopburi, as are the flat hair-curls bordered by a band adorned with a pattern of small petals, the *ushnīsha* with two rows of petals ending in a smooth conical bud, the open eyes, and the square face with its serene, youthful expression. The circular *ūrnā,* however, is uncommon.

78 DECORATIVE LINTEL

Sandstone; length 6 ft. (182 cm.)
From Prasat Prang Ku
Lopburi school, first half of the 12th century
Archaeological Depository, Pimai

A lintel showing Vishnu mounted on Garuda. Flanking the central figures are lions spitting forth foliage scrolls that end in heads of monsters, which in turn spit forth the many-headed *nagas* that occupy the ends of the lintel. Over the foliage extends a frieze of dancers with a worshipping figure at either end.

79 STANDING ADORNED BUDDHA

Bronze, green patina; height 17 in. (43 cm.)
Lopburi school, 12th or early-13th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

A Buddha adorned with royal ornaments, both hands of this figure are raised in the *abhaya mudrā,* the gesture of dispelling fear. On each palm is incised the symbol of the Wheel of the Law. The Buddha's adornments are the same as in Plate 19: armlets and a belt with pendants. The robe covers both shoulders; through it can be seen, in accordance with tradition, the undergarment with a decorated frontal flap. Fairly common in the school of Lopburi, this type of statue is related to Khmer art of the 12th and early-13th century.

80 SEATED FIGURE PRESUMED TO PORTRAY JAYAVARMAN VII

Sandstone; height 4 ft. 4 in. (132 cm.)
From Pimai
Lopburi school, late-12th or early-13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Thought to be a portrait of King Jayavarman VII, this sandstone statue found at Pimai is purely Khmer in style. The facial features are strongly personalized, and it may be assumed to have been carved locally by artists who came from Cambodia to enlarge and embellish the temple. A similar statue from Krol Romeas is in the National Museum at Phnom-Penh, and an analogous head has been found at Prah Khan in Kompong Svay.

81 MĀRAVIJAYA BUDDHA ON AN ALTAR

Bronze, green patina; height 16⅜ in. (41.5 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

Around this figure of the Buddha subduing Māra, the adornments of which betray the influence of Pāla-Sena art, are grouped other, unadorned images of Buddhas in meditation. The composition of the base, with its frieze of meditating figures, is characteristic of the Lopburi school from the 13th century on. The decoration of the back-frame recalls the Angkorian tradition, although in somewhat sparer form, and introduces such new elements as the curious lions at the extremities of the multifoil arch.

82 DANCING YOGINĪ

Bronze; height 4⅜ in. (11 cm.)
Lopburi school, late-12th or 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This *yoginī,* a female figure of the Tantric Mahāyana, is represented in a ritual dancing attitude. Clad in a short garment with the edge folded back like a corolla, she wears a necklace and a broad diadem, not unlike those worn by so-called *apsaras* of the Bayon. The choreography of present-day Thai ballets seems to owe something to the dances that inspired such heavenly figures as this one.

83 BUDDHA IN MEDITATION

Sandstone; height c. 6 ft. 11 in. (c. 210 cm.)
From Lopburi
Lopburi school, late-13th or 14th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

This Buddha is completely unadorned except for the ear-pendants. He wears the monastic robe, with the right shoulder uncovered and a broad rectangular flap over the left shoulder. He is seated in *samādhi* on a base patterned with small petals. The pate is smooth, almost as though it were bald, and the *ushnīsha* is covered with the conical *mukuta* in four tiers, one of the characteristic features of the Lopburi school. But the meditative facial expression with closed eyes is clearly a survival from the Angkorian art of the Bayon.

83-a HEAD OF THE BUDDHA
(detail of Plate 83)

84 BUDDHA SHELTERED BY THE NĀGA

Bronze; height 20½ in. (52 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th-14th century
Collection of M. C. Piya Rangsit and M. C. Sanidprayurasakti Rangsit, Bangkok

A Buddha in meditation, seated on the coils of the *Nāga*. Like the Buddha of Grahi (Plate 67), this bronze was cast in three parts. The theme is Khmer but the iconography is peculiar to the Lopburi school of the 13th and 14th centuries: the edging of the headdress, the rectangular flap of the robe on the left side of the chest, the *vīrāsana* attitude with outspread knees, the youthful face with open eyes, and most of all the decorative stylization of the *Nāga* hood surrounded by an openwork aureole. These features of Lopburi art distinguish this style from that of the Khmer art of the Bayon.

85 GARUDA

Bronze, dark patina with traces of gilding; height 17¾ in. (45 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This large decorative figure represents Garuda, with its feathered head and hooked beak hugging a many-headed *nāga* serpent. The hands, curiously, are in the position of *abhaya mudrā*. This piece was probably mounted at the tip of a pole. Traces of gilding are visible under the patina of the bronze. With its fine, spirited treatment, it is very close to the Khmer style of the Bayon, where the figure of Garuda riding a *nāga* often adorns the ends of temple balustrades.

86 PEDESTAL

Bronze, green patina; height 10 in. (25.5 cm.)
Lopburi school, 12th-13th century
Collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, Bangkok

An elaborate bronze pedestal cast in two parts, this piece is decorated with two friezes illustrating scenes from one of the Buddha's previous lives, the famous *Vessantara-Jātaka*. The lower part stands on twelve feet; it is adorned on each side with the head of a monster, the *kīrtimukha* or glory-mask. Such narrative pedestals appear to be peculiar to Lopburi art.

87 VISHNU

Bronze; height 19¼ in. (49 cm.)
Lopburi school, 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Clad in a long, oddly draped *paridhana* and wearing an ascetic's cap shaped like a truncated cone, this Vishnu is one of the finest examples of a very peculiar iconographical series. Because of the unusual form of the garment, the statue was once identified as Kurmāvatāra (Incarnation in the form of a tortoise). The headdress and the arrangement of the attributes suggest that this image may possibly be a representation of Vāmanāvatāra, an incarnation in which Vishnu conquers the Three Worlds while taking the form of a dwarfish Brahman.

88 VIŚVAKARMAN

Bronze, black patina; height 11¾ in. (30 cm.)
From Ayuthya
Lopburi school, 13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Viśvakarman is a popular god in Buddhism, residing in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. He is the patron of carpenters and craftsmen. Here he is shown squatting with his right knee raised. Originally, he probably held some tools. His diadem is adorned with cabochons and small fleurons and his chignon is surrounded by hanging locks of hair. Richly adorned, he wears ear-pendants, the Brahmanic thread, bracelets, and a broad necklace. Secured by a belt with pendants, his short garment has a border folded over to form a corolla with broad pleats, and differs somewhat from the traditional Khmer attire.

89 BRAHMANIC DIVINITY

Gray sandstone; height 50 in. (127 cm.)
From San Ta Pa Dèng, Sukhothai
Lopburi school, 12th century
National Museum, Sukhothai

This Brahmanic divinity was discovered in 1962-64 at San Ta Pa Dèng, a monument in the Khmer style built during the reign of Sūryavarman II (first half of the 12th century). Five other statues, some of them female, came to light at the same site; all seem to have been executed under the direction of Khmer sculptors. Their adornments and garments are unusual for works carved in-the-round; they appear elsewhere only on Khmer bas-reliefs at Angkor Wat, a singular fact which serves to emphasize the complexity of the influences affecting the Lopburi school.

90 DESCENT FROM THE HEAVEN OF THE THIRTY-THREE

Stucco with traces of polychromy
Sukhothai school, 14th century
Wat Trapang Thong Lang *(in situ)*, Sukhothai

The *mondop* of Wat Trapang Thong Lang is adorned on three sides with large stucco compositions; unfortunately much damaged, all bear traces of polychromy. Each represents a different episode in the Buddha's life. This composition, now in a very poor state of preservation, was probably inspired by the Sinhalese tradition, for it is also to be seen on frescos in Ceylon. The Buddha is shown descending from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, where he had gone to preach the Law to his mother, who had been reborn among the Tushita Gods. Using a magic triple stairway built by the architect of the gods, he is accompanied by Indra and Brahmā.

91 ENGRAVED PANEL REPRESENTING A JATAKA SCENE

Schistose limestone slab; height 11 in. (28 cm.), width 19 in. (48 cm.)
From Wat Si Chum, Sukhothai

Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This engraved panel, part of a larger work, originally stood in a narrow passage recessed into the wall of the *mondop* of Wat Si Chum. The scene depicted is drawn from the *Jātaka* of the Noble Horse, which tells the story of the Buddha in an earlier incarnation as a horse harnessed to a war chariot. The line is sure and flawless. One may well wonder why scenes such as this, designed for the edification of the faithful, were hidden away in dark, narrow vestibules. Some scholars believe that these panels may have been taken from some other building that was destroyed or left unfinished.

92 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height 40 in. (102 cm.)
Sukhothai school, 14th or early-15th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

On this Buddha seated in *vīrāsana,* the robe leaves the right shoulder uncovered, while a scarf-like flap forming regular folds descends almost to the waist, which is marked by an edging of ogee design. The artist has achieved a deliberate stylization that is in keeping with the Sukhothai ideal; he has most successfully conveyed the Buddha's spiritual radiance and his majestic serenity. The lowered, slightly bulging eyes, the finely chiseled mouth, the thin ridge of the nose, the small serried hair-curls curving over the brow, the *ushnīsha* surmounted by a high flame ornament, the dignified attitude without any hint of stiffness—all these are characteristics which henceforth prevailed in the art of Thailand.

93 WALKING BUDDHA

Bronze, brown patina; height 7 ft. 2½ in. (220 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok

The statues of the walking Buddha, one of the most original creations of the Sukhothai sculptors, may have been initially inspired by Ceylonese mural paintings representing the Buddha descending from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. The left hand makes the gesture of *vitarka mudra,* while the right hangs loosely beside the body. The supernatural anatomy emphasizes the deliberate idealization of the figure. The clinging garment leaves the right shoulder uncovered. At the top of the *ushnīsha,* this Buddha has a flame ornament, the symbol of his powers and spiritual radiance. Such images were to influence the art of Lan Na and that of Ayuthya, but later statuary never attained the spirituality of the Sukhothai Buddhas.

94 STANDING BUDDHA

Bronze, brown patina; height c. 6 ft. 7 in. (c. 200 cm.)
U Thong style (group B), 14th century
Wat Benchamabopit, Bangkok

This large statue of the Buddha with right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* wears a robe covering both shoulders; the broad frontal flap and the patterned belt are a heritage of the Lopburi school. The hair-curls have a narrow edging; the flame-top on the *ushnīsha* is a later addition. Although made in Sukhothai, this image has adornments relating it to the school of Lopburi, while the modeling and facial expression belong to the U Thong style; there is little in it to suggest the art of Sukhothai.

95 HEAD OF UMĀ (?)

(detail of Plate 13)
Bronze; height c. 11¾ in. (c. 30 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Bangkok

The statue wears a diadem surmounted by a conical, bulbous *mukuta.* The gilded diadem covers the nape of the neck like a helmet, but leaves room for a knotted chignon. The ears are adorned with spear-shaped pendants hanging down almost to the shoulders. This headdress and ornaments are also worn by male divinities.

96 RECLINING BUDDHA

Gilt bronze; length 11½ ft. (350 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th-15th century
Wat Bovonivet, Bangkok

This image of the *Mahaparinirvana* (Great Total Decease) is made of gilt bronze. It was brought to Bangkok in the early-19th century from Wat Pra Pai Luang. The base, the statues of the disciples, and the paintings serving as a background for the reclining Buddha date from the 19th century. The iconography of the *Mahaparinirvana* is traditional, but its representation is rather uncommon in Sukhothai art; it was to occur far more frequently during the Ayuthya period.

97 ELEPHANT

Stucco over a core of brick and laterite; height c. 8½ ft. (c. 260 cm.)
From Wat Chang Lom, Si Sacchanalai
Sukhothai school, late-13th or early-14th century
National Museum, Sukhothai

Wat Chang Lom, the "Elephant-girt Temple", owes its name to the elephants that are a unique feature of the composition of the *chedi.* The bell-shaped *stūpa* rests on a square, stepped substructure whose lower story is surrounded by large-sized elephants treated in-the-round, which is quite rare, and separated by pillars; the latter probably supported a roof that has long since disappeared. These monumental sculptures may be compared to Sinhalese compositions, but also to those of Wat Pra Mahathat at Nakhon Si Thammarat.

98 HARIHARA

Bronze; height 5 ft. 1 in. (154 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Sukhothai

The Brahmanic divinity Harihara, half Vishnu and half Śiva, here has the crescent moon and frontal eye of Śiva. In his right hand he holds the *cakra*—a ring—of Vishnu. The other attributes are now lost. At Sukhothai, the king and the majority of the population were Buddhists. Even so, the Brahmanic cults were protected and ceremonies directed by Brahmins were celebrated at court. The garment and adornments of this statue, more or less influenced by Sinhalese antecedents, show how complex were the traditions of Thai art, which here departs deliberately from Khmer models.

99 BAS-RELIEF WITH WORSHIPPERS

Stucco; height 11¾ in. (30 cm.)
From the *chedi* of Wat Pra Pai Luang, Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Sukhothai

These stucco worshippers (probably deities) are shown kneeling, with clasped hands. They come from the east side of the *chedi* of Wat Pra Pai Luang, one of the oldest building complexes at Sukhothai. Founded by the Khmers as a Mahāyāna temple, it consisted originally of three sanctuaries. During the Sukhothai period it underwent many changes and was considerably enlarged.

100 ADORNED BUDDHA
(detail of the bust)

Gilt bronze; overall height 5 ft. (153 cm.)
From Wat Rājadhani, Sukhothai
Late Sukhothai school, 17th century
National Museum, Sukhothai

This adorned Buddha in meditation belongs chronologically to the Ayuthya period; but in its style and adornments it offers an excellent example of the persistence of the Sukhothai aesthetic. The elongated oval of the face, the curve of the eyebrows prolonged by the ridge of the nose, the sinuous line of the eyelids, the elaborate diadem, and the pointed *mukuta* are all characteristic features of the Sukhothai school.

101 MAKARA DRAGON

Glazed ceramic; height $25\frac{5}{8}$ in. (65 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
Kasem Sirikantraporn Collection, Bangkok

This ceramic dragon served originally as an architectural ornament, at the end of a roof or a string wall. It has a cream-colored glaze with brown highlights, the latter setting off the modeling of the figure and the details of its adornment. The technique is Chinese, but the iconography was already present in Champa and Cambodia in the 12th century.

102 TEMPLE GUARDIAN

Ceramic; height $41\frac{3}{8}$ in. (105 cm.)
From Sukhothai
Sukhothai school, 14th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This large ceramic statue with a greenish-white glaze was probably made in one of the workshops located to the north of the old city of Sukhothai. The grimacing figure was erected to guard the access to a temple. It is clad in a short garment whose belt and loose flaps recall the Lopburi school. The club on which it originally rested is now lost.

103 WAR ELEPHANT

Savankalok ceramic ware; height 19 in. (48 cm.)
From Kalimantan (Borneo)
Sukhothai school, 14th-15th century
National Museum, Jakarta

This ceramic piece with dark brown glazing and yellowish-gray decorations represents a mounted, harnessed elephant accompanied by four armed warriors. As it has no utilitarian purpose, it may have been a votive offering. Sukhothai wares were exported in considerable quantities, not only throughout the Indochina Peninsula but even as far as the Philippine Islands and Indonesia.

104 FEMALE DIVINITY

Bronze, green patina; height 53 in. (135 cm.)
From Kamphèng Phet
Late Sukhothai school, 15th-16th century
National Museum, Kamphèng Phet

The damage this statue has suffered makes it impossible to provide a complete identification of it. The nude torso is richly adorned with a necklace and bracelets. The figure wears two skirts, one over the other, secured by a belt. While the belt is presumably of Khmer inspiration, the folds on the right side of the skirt occur neither in Khmer art nor in that of Sukhothai. Khmer influence here is less palpable than in the Śiva of the same provenance (Plate 134).

105 SQUARE CHEDI OF WAT KUKUT (WAT CHAMADEWI)

School of Haripuñjaya (Lamphun), 12th-13th century
Lamphun

A stepped pyramid of five stories, the *stūpa* of Wat Kukut is built of laterite and was originally covered with decoration in stucco. It is one of the few surviving examples of the Mōn architecture of Haripuñjaya. The tiered structure of the *ratana cetiya* (jewel monument) on a square plan continued to be copied in the region, as in Wat Chedi Si Liem near Chieng Mai. With each side adorned on each story with Buddha figures in niches, it forms a monument of striking originality. The *ratana cetiya* of Wat Kukut has sometimes been compared with the Sat Mahal Pasada at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon, but it is in fact very different from it.

106 WORSHIPPING DIVINITY

Stucco; height c. 6 ft. 7 in. (c. 200 cm.)
Lan Na school, 15th century
Wat Chedi Chet Yot *(in situ)*, Chieng Mai

The *chedi* of Wat Chet Yot, the Monastery of Seven Spires (Plate 7), is adorned with a remarkable series of stuccos representing divinities seated in Indian fashion, richly attired in garments with broad folds and long, loosely hanging belts. Their hands are clasped in an attitude of worship. These stuccos are modeled in high relief over a brick core. They have the rather heavy face and prominent nose of images belonging to the second Lan Na style; their attire and adornments bring to mind certain Brahmanic divinities of Sukhothai.

107 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Limestone; height c. 8 in. (c. 20 cm.)
From Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun
Haripuñjaya school, 8th century
Museum of Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun

This Buddha head, with its large hair-curls, broad strong nose, thick lips, and triple curve of the eyebrows, evokes the style of Dvāravatī (Plate 45). Reflecting the dominant influences received by the kingdom of Haripuñjaya, this tradition continued there until as late as the 13th century, showing a strong tendency toward the stylization of essential features.

108 STANDING BUDDHA

Stuccoed terra-cotta; height c. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (230 cm.)
Haripuñjaya school, c. 13th century
Wat Kukut *(in situ)*, Lamphun

The sides of the octagonal *chedi* of Wat Kukut (or Wat Chamadewi) are adorned with large terra-cotta Buddha figures standing in niches. Unlike those of the square *chedi* (Plate 105), they stand with both forearms raised symmetrically, as in the Dvāravatī tradition. The monastic robe covers both shoulders and, in its lower section, forms two groups of perfectly symmetrical folds. The waist is marked by a fillet running in an ogee pattern. The face is smiling and relaxed, with a moustache on the upper lip indicated by a thinly incised line. The small, pointed hair-curls are set off from the forehead by a sharply delineated border.

109 HEAD WITH A DIADEM

Terra-cotta; height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in (24 cm.)
From Lamphun
Haripuñjaya school, 13th century
Museum of Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun

Nothing is known of the figure of which only this head remains; possibly it was a worshipper or a royal personage from an illustration of one of the *Jātaka* stories. The lively, expressive features are somewhat over-emphasized, and are faintly suggestive of the Dvāravatī tradition. Though partly broken away, the diadem plainly reveals the influence of Pāla art that frequently is evident in images found in the Lamphun region.

110 WORSHIPPING DISCIPLE

Terra-cotta; height 19¾ in. (50 cm.)
From Lamphun
Haripuñjaya school, 13th century
National Museum, Chieng Mai (Kraisrī Nimmānahaeminda Collection)

This curious terra-cotta figure of a disciple is seated in *vajrāsana,* with hands clasped in prayer. In its bristling hair-curls, sharp arcading of the eyebrows, and bulging eyes, it exaggerates the tendencies of the Haripuñjaya school, but also recalls a Dvāravatī penchant for dramatic caricaturization.

111 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze, brown patina; height 15 in. (38 cm.)
From Chieng Sèn
Lan Na school, 12th-13th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This head of the Buddha, with its mortise clearly visible at the base of the neck, comes from the Chieng Sèn workshops. In view of its classical beauty, it presumably antedates the foundation of the city in 1327-28. The serene and majestic expression, slightly hooked nose, arched eyebrows, thick lips, large hair-curls, and hemispherical *ushnīsha* are all characteristic of the classic style of the Lan Na school. The smooth ornament that originally crowned the *ushnīsha* has disappeared.

112 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze, height c. 23½ in. (c. 60 cm.)
Lan Na school (late first style), c. 14th century
Dr. Viroj Kanasut Collection, Bangkok

In this image of the Buddha subduing Māra, seated in the *vajrāsana* posture, the right arm is held apart from the body and the plump, swollen hand in the *bhumisparśā mudrā* rests on the knee. The monastic robe with its very short flap, the large hair-curls, and the conical *ushnīsha* surmounted by a smooth, bulb-shaped ornament, are all highly characteristic elements of the first style of Lan Na. Even so, the already pronounced stylization of the facial features, the slightly disdainful expression, and the hooked nose seem to announce the art of the second Lan Na period.

113 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height c. 27½ in. (c. 70 cm.)
Lan Na school (first style), late-13th or early-14th century
Wat Pra That Haripunchai, Lamphun

The fingertips of this *Māravijaya* Buddha extend all the way to the ground in the *bhumisparśā mudrā.* The figure wears a robe that leaves the right shoulder bare, with a very short flap folded over the left shoulder. Chest and shoulders are those of a sturdy, well-built man; the face, with downcast eyes, a slightly hooked nose, and thick lips, has an expression of serene majesty. Over the large hair-curls on the *ushnīsha* stands a smooth, bulbous ornament. Unlike the other *Māravijaya* Buddhas of the first Lan Na style (e.g., Plate 112), this one is seated in *vīrāsana.* This peculiarity suggests that the statue may have been produced in the Lamphun region, in a workshop already active before the capture of the town in 1292.

114 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height 7 ft., 8½ in. (235 cm.)
Lan Na school, dated 1492
Wat Pra Sing Luang *(in situ),* Chieng Mai

A colossal image that testifies to the Sukhothai influence on the Lan Na school: it is seated in *vīrāsana,* with a long flap falling to the waist on the left side of the torso; the flame-top replaces the smooth, bulbous ornament on the *ushnīsha*; the right hand rests in front of the knee. A distinguishing feature is the rather majestic stiffness of the torso, which is characteristic of the second period of Lan Na art but not at all reminiscent of the Sukhothai aesthetic.

115 KĪRTIMUKHA

Terra-cotta; height 20½ in. (52 cm.)
From Wat Pasak, Chieng Sèn
Lan Na school, 14th century
National Museum, Chieng Sèn

This *kīrtimukha* or "glory-mask" originally adorned the *chedi* of Wat Pasak. Firing and securing such terra-cotta sculptures was a much more difficult operation than in the case of stuccos; since they were so fragile, few of them have survived to the present day. The *kīrtimukhas,* with their round bulging eyes, small ears, and gaping jaws, perpetuate the Indian tradition of decorative monsters and lions.

116 DUCK-SHAPED EWER

Bronze, green patina; height 8⅝ in. (22 cm.), length 12¼ in. (31 cm.)
Lan Na school, 14th-15th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Delicately stylized and decorated with floral motifs, this bronze duck testifies to the sophisticated taste and skill of the Lan Na craftsmen. It is fitted with small rings, to which some sort of carrying cord was no doubt attached. Such objects, of which only very few are extant, were used in the practice of various religious rituals.

117 ADORNED BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height 19 in. (48 cm.)
From the collection of King Rāma VII
Lan Na school, 15th-16th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This *Māravijaya* Buddha, with the right hand resting on the leg in front of the knee, is seated in *vīrāsana,* as in the Sukhothai tradition. The adornments (diadem, long ear-pendants, necklace, bracelets) are representative of the later art of Lan Na. It should be noted that only the ear-pendants adhere to the Pāla-Sena tradition and that the bust seems abnormally bare, as in certain adorned images of the Lopburi school.

118 BUDDHA SEATED ON A MYTHICAL ANIMAL

Bronze; height 15⅜ in. (39 cm.)
Lan Na school, 17th-18th century
National Museum, Bangkok

Wearing the monastic robe with the right shoulder uncovered, this Buddha is seated in meditation on a lotus borne by an astonishing mythical animal that possesses the body of a bird and the head of an elephant. The fabulous creature itself stands on another lotus. The polygonal base is adorned with elephant heads at its corners and rests on three large feet. Certain details of the base seem inspired by Chinese models, while the curious mythical animal recalls a tradition extending as far back as the Dvāravatī period.

119 STANDING DIVINITY

Bronze with traces of gilding; height 29 in. (74 cm.)
Lan Na school, late-15th or early-16th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This bronze divinity, standing with hands clasped in worship, bears traces both of gilding and of red paint; the necklace and diadem have retained their gilding. The large ear-pendants, bracelets, headdress, and intricate skirt with deep folds falling from the hips to mid-calf all bring to mind the elaborate figures of divinities that adorn Wat Chedi Chet Yot at Chieng Mai (Plates 11, 106).

120 KNEELING FIGURE

Bronze; height c. 13¾ in. (c. 35 cm.)
Lan Na school, 16th-17th century
Private collection, Bangkok

This kneeling figure, with smooth hair and hands clasped in prayer or to carry an offering, wears an unusual garment that leaves the right shoulder bare and includes a rounded flap folded over the belt. The face shows the stylization of the later Lan Na school, but the unusually mild expression conveys a sense of intense yet tender piety. The bottom of the openwork base bears an inscription in the *yūon* script of northern Thailand.

121 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; brown patina; height 19¼ in. (49 cm.)
From Sanburi (Chainat)
U Thong style (group A), 13th-14th century
Royal Collection, National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha in the *Māravijaya* posture is one of the finest examples of early U Thong sculpture. The legs are crossed on top of each other in the *vīrāsana* position; the outspread knees and broad shoulders form a silhouette that would fit neatly into a square. The robe leaves the right shoulder uncovered and a long rectangular flap extends down the left side of the chest; a belt is visible at the waist. The hair, consisting of small curls, is bounded on the brow by a narrow band. The *ushnīsha* is surmounted by a smooth, conical, little knob. No pedestal has been found for the image.

122 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Gold; height 7 in. (18 cm.)
From Wat Rājapūrana, Ayuthya
U Thong style (group B), 13th-14th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

This gold Buddha subduing Māra is assigned to group B of the U Thong style because the *ushnīsha* is not surmounted by a knob but by a flame ornament set on a small cup. The knees, however, are widely spread, like figures in the U Thong A style. This gold statuette formed part of a treasure found at Ayuthya in the crypt of the *prang* of Wat Rājapūrana, a monument founded in 1424 by King Boromarāja on the spot where the bodies of his two brothers were incinerated Most of the Buddhas found in this trove belong to group C of the U Thong style. A few pieces, such as this one, are older and antedate the construction of the temple.

123 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze, green patina; height 10¼ in. (26 cm.)
From Suphanburi
U Thong style (group A), 13th-14th century
National Museum, U Thong

With its open, slightly bulging eyes, square chin, small salient hair-curls bounded by a narrow band, and smooth conical *ushnīsha,* this head found at Suphanburi provides evidence of an influence of the Mōn tradition of Haripuñjaya-Lamphun upon the early U Thong style. The statuary of this early style (group A) is, moreover, still very close to the art of Lopburi in its post-Bayon phase.

124 WALKING BUDDHA

Gilt bronze; height 5 ft. 2¼ in. (158 cm.)
From Ayuthya
U Thong style (group A), late-13th or 14th century
Wat Suthat, Bangkok

This figure, its right hand raised in *vitarka mudrā,* differs distinctly from the walking Buddhas of the Sukhothai school (cf. Plate 93). The modeling of the body is far less supple and the attitude more static; the *ushnīsha* is no longer surmounted by a flame-top but by a large, smooth, bulbous ornament. The square face faintly evokes the Haripuñjaya-Lamphun tradition, which sometimes makes itself clearly felt in U Thong statuary of group A (cf. Plate 123); but the hair is no longer edged by the usual band. The back of this statue is not modeled, probably because it was designed to stand in a niche.

125 BUDDHA SUBDUING MĀRA

Bronze; height 21⅝ in. (55 cm.)
From Wat Rājapūrana, Ayuthya
U Thong style (group C), late-14th or early-15th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

The narrow shoulders of this Buddha, its soft, elongated form with knees held fairly close together, and its long oval face seem closer to the art of Sukhothai than to that of either the A or B style of U Thong statuary. Much the same can also be said of the scarf-flap that ends in an ogee design and of the flame-topped *ushnīsha.* Like the *Māravijaya* Buddha of group A (Plate 122), this bronze was found in the crypt of the *prang* of Wat Rājapūrana at Ayuthya, but it is clearly a later work and falls into group C of the U Thong style.

126 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Bronze, green patina with traces of gold; height 44 in. (112 cm.)
From Ayuthya
Ayuthya school, 15th century
Royal Palace Museum, Ayuthya

This fine, colossal bronze head answers to the ideal conception of the Buddha image during the Ayuthya period. The eyes are half closed and the delicate arcading of the eyebrows joins at the root of the nose. Above the upper lip, a thin, undulating line suggests a moustache. The elaborate stylization of this face emphasizes its expression of serene spirituality.

127 HEAD FROM A BUDDHA IMAGE

Sandstone; height c. 25½ in. (c. 65 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 17th century
Wat Pra Rup *(in situ)*, Suphanburi

This large sandstone head has the rather conventional stylistic peculiarities characteristic of Ayuthya images: eyebrows forming fine ridges that meet at the top of the nose, the corners of the eyes well marked, the moustache represented by a single incised line, half-closed eyes with bulging lids, and small hair-curls treated like inlays and extending to a point over the middle of the brow. The *ushnīsha,* rather low and capped by a flame ornament, seems to have been carved separately and stands on a row of small curls arranged like a crown.

128 JĀTAKA SCENE

Stucco; height c. 27½ in. (55 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 17th century
Wat Lai *(in situ)*, near Lopburi

The *vihāra* of Wat Lai, some twelve miles from Lopburi, is decorated with large stucco compositions forming a series of panels illustrating the Buddha's previous incarnations. Full of verve and movement, the present scene is taken from the *Canda Kumāra Jātaka*. It shows the god Indra preventing the sacrifice of Prince Canda, the future Buddha, by breaking the parasols erected for his ceremonial immolation.

129 STANDING ADORNED BUDDHA

Bronze, height 28 3/8 in. (72 cm.)
Ayuthya school, c. 16th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha, with right hand raised in the *abhaya mudrā,* is clad in the monastic robe covering both shoulders, with a belt holding a frontal flap; although it is in the Lopburi tradition, this flap is highly simplified. The diadem with filigree-work, its extensions above the ears, and the high bulbous *mukuta* are all characteristic features of Ayuthya statuary. The sloping line of the left arm recalls the Sukhothai aesthetic.

130 BUDDHA WITH TWO DISCIPLES

Sandstone; height 16 in. (40.5 cm.)
Ayuthya school, c. 17th century
James H. W. Thompson Collection, Bangkok

This preaching Buddha, flanked by two disciples, is set off by a decorated arcaded frame. The Buddha holds a screen in both hands, an unusual gesture in the earlier periods. His garment is draped in the Chinese manner, with a flap brought up over the right shoulder. Chinese influence on Ayuthya art had already made itself felt in the 15th century, as shown by paintings from the crypt of Wat Rājapūrana (1424). The Buddha's seat is characteristic of later Ayuthya statuary.

131 FOOTPRINT OF THE BUDDHA

Carved wood with traces of gilding; height 29 1/2 in. (75 cm.), length 7 ft. 2 1/2 in. (220 cm.)
Ayuthya school, c. 15th century
Wat Pra Rup *(in situ)*, Suphanburi

The *Buddhapadas* or "Holy Footprints of the Buddha", evoke the original Footprint situated at the summit of Samantakūta or Adam's Peak in Ceylon. This one is adorned with a wheel bearing the 108 supremely auspicious signs. At the ends of the foot are pictured the four world-guardians. According to an oral tradition, this Footprint was brought southward down the river to Suphanburi together with a Buddha image, and both were erected at Wat Pra Rup.

132 BUDDHA IN MEDITATION UNDER THE BODHI TREE

Bronze; height 13 3/4 in. (35 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 16th-17th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This bronze represents the Buddha seated in *samādhi* under the tree where he is believed to have attained Enlightenment. Beneath his seat, the armies of Māra are massed to prevent him from achieving his goal of Supreme Enlightenment *(Sambodhi)*. Among these hostile beings can be distinguished serpents, figures riding elephants, and bull-headed monsters. One of the elephants seems to have abandoned the futile struggle, and raises a lotus toward the Buddha as a token of submission and veneration. Edifying images of this type continued to be made in quantity and were highly appreciated throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

133 HEAD OF A HERMIT

Bronze; height 8 7/8 in. (22.5 cm.)
From Wat Si Sanpet, Ayuthya
Ayuthya school, 1458
National Museum, Bangkok

This stylized but lively head of a hermit (*rishi*) was part of a large group of statues cast at Ayuthya in 1458 at the command of King Borom Trailokanath to illustrate the 550 *Jātaka* stories of the Buddha's previous births. When the Burmese captured Ayuthya in 1767, most of these bronzes were destroyed by fire.

134 STANDING ŚIVA

Bronze; height 9 ft. 2 in. (280 cm.)
From Kamphèng Phet
Ayuthya school, dated 1510
National Museum, Bangkok

An inscription on the base of this statue of Śiva records the fact that it was cast in 1510. With its hieratic air and lavish adornments, it is a striking and memorable image. Executed by a craftsman of the Sukhothai school, it was inspired in part by a Khmer model, as evidenced by the style of the short garment with the corolla flap at the waist, the belt with pendants, and the decorated diadem. Since bronze permits of a far more precise rendering of details than does stone, the sculptor took great pains with the adornments and costume. The square, determined jaw and the inlaid eyes give the face an expression of great forcefulness and authority.

135 PRA THORANI

Wood, partly gilded; height 7 7/8 in. (20 cm.)
Ayuthya school, 15th-16th century
Wat Pra Rup *(in situ)*, Suphanburi

On the wooden panel on the back of the Buddha's Footprint illustrated in Plate 131 is depicted a dramatic episode of the *Māravijaya* story peculiar to the Indochina Peninsula: Pra Thorani, the Earth goddess, wrings her hair streaming with water from the libations made by the Buddha-to-be in the course of his previous lives; the lustral waters are so profuse that they drown the army of the evil Māra. The grimacing faces of the latter in the foreground contrast powerfully with the serene confidence of the goddess.

136 KINNARĪ

Wood; height 48 7/8 in. (124 cm.)
Bangkok school, reign of Rāma I (1782-1802)
National Museum, Bangkok

The *kinnarī* is a graceful mythical figure comprised of a human female torso and the body of a bird. On its head is a diadem in several tiers. Lavishly adorned with jewelry (necklaces, belt, bracelets) it adheres very closely to the iconographical tradition of late Ayuthya art.

137 DOOR PANELS

Wood; height 7 ft. 6 1/2 in. (230 cm.),
width 44 in. (112 cm.)
From the Royal Chapel, Ayuthya
Ayuthya school, 17th-18th century
National Museum, Ayuthya

Guardians in the shape of celestial figures are often represented on the panels of doors, either in painting, in lacquer with mother-of-pearl inlays, or as here in carved wood. Though somewhat stiff and static, these lavishly attired divinities standing under a tiered canopy provide an excellent example of the late Ayuthya style. One may also note in them a few reminiscences of the art of Lopburi.

138 BULL

Bronze, with traces of gold leaf;
height 46 in. (117 cm.), length 48 7/8 in. (124 cm.)
From Pra Phuttabat (Saraburi)
Ayuthya school, 17th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This humped Brahman bull *(bos indicus)* was cast in eight parts. Each of the four legs is adorned with a floral motif in low relief. Majestic, hieratic, or realistic, the animal figures of the Ayuthya school offer eloquent testimony of both the skill of the bronze casters and the variety of sources from which they drew inspiration. The bull is a symbol of one of the four continents of the traditional Buddhist cosmology.

139 THE CUTTING OF THE HAIRLOCK

Bronze; length 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm.)
Bangkok school, reign of Rāma III (1824-51)
National Museum, Bangkok

During the reign of Rāma III, small bronzes representing episodes in the life of the Buddha seem to have enjoyed great popularity. These devotional tableaux reveal a vivid sense of life and dynamism, as well as a piety and delicate sensibility. Here, Prince Siddhārtha, before becoming the Buddha, renounces the world by cutting off his hair. His charioteer and companion Chandaka weeps at his feet, while his horse Kanthaka is about to die of grief. The saintly hair is being collected as a relic by kneeling divinities.

140 STANDING BUDDHA

Lacquered wood; height 46⅞ in. (119 cm.)
Bangkok school, early-19th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha is clad in a monastic robe decorated with gold and red floral motifs recalling those on the garment of Pra Malai (Plate 141). The small, tightly-coiled hair-curls and the very low *ushnīsha,* capped by a high flame ornament, are silver plated. Both hands, with their long tapering fingers, all equal in length, perform the gesture of dispelling fear *(abhaya mudrā)*. The attitude and the almost rectangular hands are highly characteristic of statuary of the Bangkok school.

141 PRA MALAI

Gilt bronze; height 33½ in. (85 cm.)
Bangkok school, 19th century
National Museum, Nakhon Pathom

This bronze statue represents the visit to Hells of the monk Pra Malai. His legend was very popular from the 18th century on and frequently served as the subject of sculpture and painting of the Bangkok period. Pra Malai wears the traveling garb of a monk, with the scarf across his chest and the alms bowl slung over his shoulder. He stands above a group of condemned sinners, who are vividly represented in monstrous forms and distorted postures. The tortures and afflictions which they suffer in Hells vary according to the nature of the evil deeds they had committed on earth.

142 ADORNED BUDDHA

Bronze; height 16⅛ in. (41 cm.)
Bangkok school, 19th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This Buddha, with hands uplifted in the *abhaya mudrā,* is clad in ornamental royal attire very similar to that actually worn by Thai monarchs during the first half of the 19th century. The sumptuous embroideries and jewelry adorning the garments are enhanced with red and green enamels. The figure wears a diadem and a high *mukuta* that tapers to a sharp point. Such lavish ornamentation was much in vogue from the end of the Ayuthya period on.

143 CEREMONIAL CANDLE-HOLDER

Gilt bronze; height 17⅜ in. (44 cm.)
Bangkok school, second half of the 19th century
National Museum, Bangkok

This candle-holder recalls those used by worshippers in certain religious ceremonies when lighted candles are passed around a relic or a venerated statue. The copper light-reflector generally takes the form of a stylized banyan leaf, and is usually decorated with a religious motif. Here, it is a representation of the god Brihaspati, regent of the planet Jupiter, riding his usual mount, the deer. This candle-holder is one of a set depicting the gods of the nine planets.

144 SCENE FROM THE RĀMĀYANA

Marble; height 18 in. (45.5 cm.)
Bangkok school, first half of the 19th century
Wat Po *(in situ)*, Bangkok

This marble panel carved in low relief represents an episode from the *Ramakien* (or *Rāmakīrti*), the Thai version of the *Rāmāyana*. It is one of a series of 152 panels adorning the base of the *ubosoth* (ordination hall) of Wat Po. It has been conjectured that the panels may have been removed from an earlier monument (perhaps of the late Ayuthya period), but both the carving style and the costumes worn by the figures suggest that these reliefs were executed during the reign of Rāma III (1824-51). Whatever their date, they are noteworthy for their sureness of line, their exquisitely rendered decorative motifs, and their fine sense of composition.

145 HEAD OF AN ADORNED BUDDHA

Bronze, with traces of gold lacquer;
height 14⅛ in. (36 cm.)
From Wat Pra Si Ratana Mahathat
Ayuthya school, 16th-17th century
National Museum, Lopburi

This head of an adorned Buddha is no doubt roughly contemporary with the adorned Buddha of the late Sukhothai school illustrated in Plate 100; it reveals not only all that the art of Ayuthya owes to Sukhothai but also the critical features that distinguish the two schools. Coming at the end of an evolution that began with the U Thong C style, Ayuthya retained no more of the Sukhothai idealization than its linear patterning. Only the delicate curves marking changes of plane suggest the gaze beneath the lowered eyelids or evoke a stereotyped smile. On the other hand, the ears show a naturalism that is alien to Sukhothai art and that recalls, across an interval of some five centuries, an interpretation dear to the Khmer sculptors of the 11th and 12th centuries; it results no doubt from a lingering attachment to the traditions of the Lopburi school.

GLOSSARY

In view of the importance of Buddhism throughout the history of Thailand, names and terms are defined here by their Buddhist or local meanings, often in preference to their more common definitions.
Abbreviations: Kh. = Khmer, P. = Pāli, Skt. = Sanskrit, Th. = Thai.

abhaya mudrā (Skt.): gesture of dispelling fear; the right hand is raised and open, with the palm held forward. In Mahāyāna, this is the gesture of the transcendental Buddha Amoghasiddhi. In Thailand, the gesture may be performed with the right hand, the left hand, or both, having a different shade of meaning in each case.

abhisheka (Skt.): sacred, royal consecration; ritual unction. The *abhisheka* of Śrī, with the goddess seated on a lotus, holding a lotus in each hand and doused by two elephants, is a symbol of prosperity that figures prominently in both Buddhist and Brahmanic iconography.

Amitābha (Skt.): "Infinite Light", a transcendental Buddha of Mahāyāna; one of the most popular Jinas, shown seated in meditation. His paradise, Sukhāvatī, "the Blissful", is situated in the Western region of the Universe.

antaravāsaka (Skt., P.): undergarment of the Buddhist monk, covering the lower part of the body. Held in at the waist, it can be draped in different ways.

Ardhanārī (Skt.): Brahmanic divinity representing Śiva as half-male and half-female, symbolizing the union of masculine and feminine energies.

Aśoka (Skt.; P., *Asoka*): Buddhist emperor of India (c. 273-236 B.C.) and propagator of the Buddhist religion, especially in Ceylon; considered a model Buddhist king and archetype of the universal ruler *(cakravartin)*.

Avalokiteśvara (Skt.; or *Lokeśvara*): one of the most popular of the great Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna. Bearing the image of Amitabha in his headress, he can assume very different aspects; in his "radiant" aspect, his body covered with a multitude of tiny Buddha images, he is an important figure in the Khmer art of the Bayon style.

bhumisparśa mudrā (Skt.): gesture of taking the Earth to witness, representing the Buddha's victory over Māra *(Māravijaya)*. In Mahāyāna, the attitude of the transcendental Buddha Akshobhya (the Imperturbable).

bodhi (Skt., P.): perfect knowledge, revelation, and Enlightenment resulting in Buddhahood. *Sambodhi,* or "Full Enlightenment", is the supreme attainment, characteristic of the Buddha.

Bodhisattva (Skt.; P., *Bodhisatta*): a Buddha-to-be, only one step short of Buddhahood. There are innumerable Bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna faith; those who play a leading role in it are designated Mahāsattvas (Great Beings). For Theravāda, the Bodhisatta is the historical Buddha before he attained Enlightenment.

Brahmā (Skt., P.): four-faced Brahmanic divinity, born of the golden lotus that grew from Vishnu's navel when he awoke from his cosmic meditation; dispenser of the Vedas. In Buddhism, the Brahmas, over whom Mahābrahmā rules, are gods of meditation standing far above the Realm of Desires.

Buddha (Skt., P.): the Enlightened One. Buddhology distinguishes the Pratyeka Buddhas (P., Pacceka Buddhas), enlightened for their own sake, from the Samyaksambuddhas (P., Sammāsambuddhas), the "all-enlightened ones" who, like the historical Buddha, are alone capable of instructing other beings. The texts further distinguish the Buddhas of the Past, numbering from seven to a thousand or so, whose careers were the same as that of the historical Buddha and who taught in the course of long-past ages. The trascendental Buddhas are peculiar to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Buddhapada (Skt., P.): the Buddha's Footprint, attesting in a symbolic form to his presence in a given place at a given time; a cult object often copied from the most famous Footprint, that on Samantakūta (Adam's Peak) in Ceylon.

caitya (chaitya), *cetiya* (Skt. P.): a kind of funerary monument or, more broadly, any monument having a particular religious significance. The *chedi* (Thai pronunciation of *cetiya)* designates more particularly the *stūpa* or a religious edifice lying outside the usual categories.

cakra (Skt.): wheel, disc, attribute of Vishnu, symbol of the Buddhist universal ruler. In Buddhism, the Wheel is the symbol of the doctrine and of the First Sermon, during which the Wheel (i.e., the Buddhist Law) was set in motion. It is one of the marks *(lakshanas)* of the Mahāpurusha.

cakrastambha (Skt.): a Wheel mounted on a tall pillar; one of the earliest symbols of Buddhism. A famous *cakrastambha* was erected by Aśoka at Sārnāth, at the site of the First Sermon.

cakravartin: see *world ruler*.

Champa: an early Indianized kingdom on the eastern coast of the Indochina Peninsula. Gradually absorbed by Vietnam (late-10th to 17th century), but briefly controlled and annexed by Cambodia (1181-1220).

chedi (Th.): see *caitya*.

deva, devatā (Skt., P.): god, deity of undetermined rank; some *devas* live on earth, some on the slopes and peak of Mount Meru, others in a sequence of heavenly levels.

Dharmacakra (Skt.): Wheel of the Law; see *cakra*.

dharmacakra mudrā (Skt.): gesture of setting in motion the Wheel of the Law, symbolizing the teaching of the Buddha; little known in the iconography of South India. For Mahāyāna, a gesture of the transcendant Buddha Vairocana.

dvārapāla (Skt.): door guardian; the guardian on the right side of the door (i.e., to the right of the divinity) has a kindly expression, while the one on the left generally is depicted with a ferocious aspect. From the late Ayuthya period, all of them take the form of a *yaksha* with a terrifying face.

Earth: attribute of Vishnu, represented by a ball, substituted for the lotus in the iconography of the Indochina area. In Buddhism, the Earth Goddess appears in answer to the Buddha's summons *(bhumisparśa mudrā)* and bears witness to the extent of his merits before Māra. In the iconography of Thailand and Cambodia, she then wrings her hair, still wet with the lustral waters of the libations made by the future Buddha in the course of his previous incarnations, and drowns the armies of Māra in the resulting flood.

Enlightenment (site of the): The Bodhimanda, at Bodh Gayā (Mahābodhi), is the spot where all the successive Buddhas have attained or will attain Full Enlightenment. It is a sacred place, considered unique in the world and resisting the destruction of the worlds marking the end of the cosmic period.

Fu-nan: ancient Indianized kingdom in the Indochina Peninsula, formed in the first century A. D. Well established in the lower Mekong basin in the fifth century, it disappeared in the sixth, making way for the rise of Khmer power.

Gampola: town in Ceylon, in the present district of Kandy, and capital of the kingdom from 1341 to 1415.

gandharvas (Skt.): a class of genii, heavenly musicians in Vedism and Brahmanism. In Buddhism, they form part of the retinue of the god who acted as regent of the East; one of their leaders, Pañcaśikha, plays a fairly prominent role, occasionally accompanying Indra.

Ganeśa (Skt.): "Lord of the *ganas*", deities of lower rank. Son of Śiva and Parvati, Ganeśa is the god of knowledge and destroyer of obstacles. An obese figure represented with an elephant's head and a single tusk, the other having been broken off in a fight against Paraśurāma, sixth incarnation of Vishnu.

Garuda (Skt.): mythical bird, king of the birds and natural enemy of snakes. He has the beak, wings, legs, and claws of an eagle, but arms and a rather human torso. A highly stylized figure in Khmer art, taken over in Thai art.

Gods, Thirty-three (Skt., *Trayastrimśa;* P., *Tāvatimsa*): the gods governed by Indra (or Śakra, P., Sakka) living on Mount Meru who keep the world in proper working order. Their city is Sudarśana, "good-looking", and they come together in the Sudharmā Hall to judge the actions of all beings. The Buddha went up to the Heaven of the Thirty-three to teach the Law to his mother, who was reborn in the Tushita Heaven.

Great Departure: the decisive moment in the historical Buddha's career when, on the night of his twenty-ninth birthday, assisted by the gods, he left his family and palace to become a mendicant monk, renouncing all possessions and worldly attachments and devoting himself to meditation.

Great Magical Display: often called the miracle of the Double Appearance, performed by the Buddha at Śrāvastī to confound the heretics opposing him. In spite of its legendary character, it seems to be based in part on an actual historical event, for some of the opposing masters appear also in the Jain tradition.

hamsa (Skt.): sacred goose, a mythical bird often ridden by Brahmā and Varunā, the god ruling the West. In its flight, the *hamsa* established the link between the aquatic world and the heavenly world. Prominent in Buddhist imagery, it often takes the place of the *makara.*

Harihara (Skt.): Brahmanic divinity who combines the names and features of Śiva (Hara) and Vishnu (Hari), and represents the two divinities merged into a single figure with the attributes of both.

Hells: both hot and frigid hells. In the Buddhist hells, the damned endure a variety of torments before they can be reborn to a new stage of life; the nature and duration of their suffering are in proportion to their transgressions.

Hinayāna (Skt.): "Minor Vehicle" or "Lesser Means of Progression", the name used pejoratively by Mahāyāna Buddhists in referring to the non-Mahāyāna sects (esp. the Theravāda; Skt., Sthāviravāda), which adhered strictly to the early Buddhist traditions.

I-ching: a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who traveled in India and Indonesia from A.D. 671-95. His *Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Seas* provides valuable information about the communities in Southeast Asia during the late-seventh century.

Indra (Skt.): king of the thirty-three gods dwelling on Mount Meru and lord of all the gods depending on the four "Great Kings" of North, East, South, and West. Under the name Śakra (P., Sakka), he is a devotee of the Buddha, whom he visits occasionally on earth and whom he places upon his own throne on Mount Meru.

īryāpatha (Skt.): the four positions of the body (walking, standing, sitting, and reclining) in which the Buddha may be represented.

jatā (Skt., P.): braided chignon worn by ascetics (also, *jatāmukuta);* its style, as represented on statuary, often provides useful evidence in dating a work.

Jātaka (Skt., P.): stories of the Buddha's former births illustrating his progress, as an animal or a human, toward Buddhahood. There are 550 *Jātakas,* each designated by the name of the hero of the story.

Jina (Skt., P.): "the Conqueror". In Buddhism, the term designates the Buddha or Buddhas, especially the transcendental Buddhas of the Mahāyāna, often referred to as Dhyāni Buddhas (Buddhas of meditation).

khon (Th.): one of the forms of the classic Thai theatre; performed by masked actor-dancers with chorus and orchestra. Its themes are largely drawn from the Thai version of the *Rāmāyana.*

kinnaras, kinnarīs (Skt., P.): heavenly figures, half-human and half-bird in form; they can descend to earth. Occupying a prominent place in Thai Buddhist imagery, they are frequently represented as flying musicians, and have figured in many charming artistic compositions.

kīrtimukka (Skt.): "glory mask", often improperly designated as a Kāla. It is a lion mask, with arms and sometimes horns, spitting forth scrolls of foliage. A symbol of prosperity, such masks frequently appear in both Buddhist and Brahmanic imagery.

Kolya: a clan of North India related to that of the Śākyas, and therefore to the Buddha as well.

Krishna (Skt.): the Dark One (referring to his complexion), eighth incarnation of Vishnu and one of the most popular gods of Hinduism. His legend is related at length in the Bhāgavata Purāna and the Harivamśa.

Kuvera (Skt., P.): the god of wealth; also known as Vaisravana (or P., Vessavana) in Buddhism. Often represented as an obese figure carrying a purse and accompanied by the Seven Treasures. As god of the North he rules over the *yaskshas* and the *kinnaras*.

lakshana (Skt.; P., *lakkhana*): mark, sign, auspicious attribute. See also, *Marks of the Great Man*.

Lakshmī (Skt.): Brahmanic divinity, goddess of good fortune, prosperity, and beauty; spouse of Vishnu (also known as Śrī). She is generally believed to have been born of the Churning of the Ocean; her emblem is the lotus. See also, *Śrī* and *abhisheka* of Śrī.

lalitāsana (Skt.): seated attitude, with left leg folded and right leg hanging down.

linga (Skt.): emblem, phallus; symbolic representation of Śiva as a stylized phallus. *Lingas,* of which there are many different types, are often divided into three parts: a cube base representing Brahmā, an octagonal prism representing Vishnu, and a cylindrical section with rounded top representing Śiva.

Mahābodhi: sanctuary erected at Bodh Gayā on the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment. See also, *Enlightenment*.

Mahāparinirvāna (Skt.; P., *Mahāparinibbana*): the Great Total Decease of the Buddha, which occurred after he had assembled all the faithful for his final sermon.

Mahāpurusha (Skt.): Great or Eminent Man. See also, *lakshana, Marks of the Great Man.*

Mahathat (Th.; Skt., *Mahādhātu*): Great Relic. The name given to the most important reliquary monument in each of the principal towns of Thailand.

Mahāyāna (Skt.): "Greater Vehicle" or "Greater Means of Progression"; advanced Buddhist doctrine attaching essential importance to speculations on the nature of the Buddhas and to the role of the Bodhisattvas.

Mahishāsuramardini (Skt.): Brahmanic divinity; an aspect of Durgā, one of the forms of Devī, wife of Śiva, who subdues the buffalo-demon Mahishāsura.

Maitreya (Skt.; P., *Metteya*): one of the great Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna Buddhism; usually represented with the image of a *stūpa* in his headdress. In the Therevāda, Maitreya is the Buddha of the future, at present dwelling as a god in the Tushita Heaven.

makara (Skt.): a mythical animal sometimes ridden by Varuna, the god ruling the West. An aquatic monster combining the characteristics of the crocodile and the dolphin and having a trunk.

mandala (Skt., P.): circle, disc, or circular arrangement; sacrificial area; a magic chart divided geometrically with representations of divinities or of Buddhas and their pantheons.

Māra (Skt., P.): Death; the force of Evil. In Buddhism, believed to be a very powerful god of the Realm of Desires.

Māravijaya (Skt., P.): victory over Māra; epithet of the Buddha after subduing Māra, a victory symbolized by the gesture of *bhumisparśa mudrā* and frequently represented in Thai statuary.

Marks of the Great Man: the thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks described in the Buddhist scriptures, whereby the predestination of the Buddha may be recognized at birth. See also, *lakshanas*.

Meru (Skt., P.): mythical mountain (also often called Sineru in Buddhist Scriptures), the axis of the world around which the continents and oceans are ordered. At its summit is the Above of the Thirty-three Gods; at the opposite pole, the realm of Asura; halfway up, the realms of the four "Great Kings" of the cardinal points; above it, the multiple levels of Heaven, occupied by gods increasingly free of all forms of worldly attachments.

mondop (Th.; Skt., *mandapa*): pavilion, most often with pillars. An edifice on a square plan with pyramidal roof, usually built of brick and wood, and used in Thai monasteries as reliquary building, a library or sacristy, etc.

Mrigadāva (Skt.): the Deer Park at Sārnāth, the place where the Buddha preached his First Sermon and set in motion the Wheel of the Law. One of the "indestructible" places, the one where all the successive Buddhas preach their first sermon.

Mucalinda (P.; Skt., *Mucilinda*): a *nāga* king; during the sixth week after the attainment of Enlightenment, he protected the meditation of the Buddha from exceptionally inclement weather by surrounding him with his coils and sheltering him with his hood.

mudrā (Skt.): seal, mark; gesture of the hands and fingers to which a mystical significance is attributed. Chiefly utilized in Tantrism, the term is practically unknown in Theravāda Buddhism and in the iconography of Thailand.

mukhalinga (Skt.): a *linga* bearing at the foot of the cylindrical part one *(ekamukhalinga)* or several faces of Śiva, rendered in high relief. See also, *linga*.

mukuta (Skt., P.; or *makuta*): tiara, diadem. The term is specifically applied in the art of Southeast Asia to the patterned headdress fitting over the top of the head.

Mūlasarvāstivādin: a Buddhist sect following nearly the same doctrine as the Theravāda, but using Sanskrit. The Chinese pilgrim I-ching bears witness to its importance in the Ganges basin, Kashmir, and Southeast Asia in the late-seventh century.

nāga (Skt., P.): snake, serpentine divinity dwelling in the subterranean and watery regions. Guardians of treasures and endowed with a very long life, *nāgas* have the power of assuming human shape; hence the hybrid aspects that frequently appear in Indian art. Forming part of the retinue of the god of the West, some of them are pious devotees of the Buddha.

Nandin (Skt.): name of the white bull, who serves as the mount and companion of Śiva. Its image appears in all Śivaite temples, facing the sanctuary of the divinity.

padmāsana (Skt.): lotus seat, taking the form of a lotus in full bloom with the seat at its center. The term is also used to define the attitude of a seated deity in *vajrāsana*. See also *vajrāsana*.

Pāli: language of ancient India; the early-middle Indian dialect used by Theravāda Buddhism in Ceylon and the Indochina Peninsula; the earliest recorded language of the Menam Plain.

paridhāna (Skt.): garment; a rectangular piece of cloth tied around the waist and draped in different ways, but always entirely covering the legs.

Pārileyyaka (Skt., P.): name of the forest near Kauśāmbī where the Buddha, distressed at the dissensions among his followers, withdrew accompanied by a solitary elephant, also called Pārileyyaka, which followed in his steps.

Phanom (Th., from Kh., *phnom* or *bnam*): mountain; also used traditionally to designate a temple, sanctuary, or sacred site.

Pra Malai (P.): name of a Buddhist monk who, according to a text known throughout Southeast Asia and Ceylon but particularly popular in Thailand from the sixteenth century on, visited the Infernal regions and then the Heaven of Indra to inform the faithful of what he had seen.

prang (Th., from Skt., *prānga*): a high, recessed sanctuary on a square plan, with a high base and large roof. Recalling the Khmer *prasat* (style of Angkor Wat) but much more developed in its elevation, it is characteristic of the architecture of the Ayuthya and Bangkok periods.

prasat (Kh., Th.; from Skt., *prāsāda*): palace, temple. In Cambodia, the term generally designates the tower-shrine itself; in Thailand, it refers rather to the temple building as a whole.

Rāma (Skt.): seventh incarnation of Vishnu, prompted by the gods' request to be delivered from the demons *(Rākshasa)*. See also, *Rāmāyana.*

Ramakien (Th.): see *Rāmāyana.*

Rāmāyana (Skt.): story of Rāma; the epic poem attributed to Vālmīki, telling the story of Rāma: his birth, the rape of his wife Sitā by Rāvana, lord of the demons reigning at Lankā, the victorious war against the latter, etc. The epic is well known throughout East Asia and numerous regional variations have developed. The Thai version, the *Ramakien,* was composed by King Phraya Tak; the first complete text dates from the reign of Rāma I.

rasmi (Skt., P.): ray of light, designating the halo surrounding the Buddha and, more often, the stylized flame surmounting the *ushnisha,* symbolizing the powers and glory of the Buddha (Skt. *tejas*).

Ratanakosin (Th.): "Jewel of Indra"; name given to the Bangkok era, referring specifically to the Emerald Buddha, considered by legend to have been carved in an emerald from Indra's own hoard.

rishi (Skt.): ascetic, hermit. Generally represented in Thai art as a bearded figure wearing a headdress made of bark; particularly common in the imagery of the Bangkok period.

Śākya (Skt.; P. *Sākya*): clan residing at Kapilavastu (a section of the Himalayan region that roughly corresponds to present-day central Nepal) into which was born Prince Siddhārtha, the last incarnation of the Buddha. Śākyamuni, "Sage of the Śākyas", was one of the names given to the historical Buddha.

samādhi (Skt.): the attitude of meditation; seated cross-legged in the Indian fashion, with both hands resting on each other in the lap (the gesture of the hands is also called *dhyāna mudrā,* with roughly the same meaning). For Mahāyāna, the characteristic posture of the Jina Amitābha.

samghāti (Skt.): one of the three garments of the Buddhist monk; a sort of shawl which can be worn over the *uttarāsanga.* In Southeast Asia, it is rarely worn at all, except on certain occasions when it is folded and carried over the left shoulder.

Sanskrit: an Indo-European language; in its earliest form, it dates from the Vedic period. It is the sacred language of Hinduism, and is also used in Buddhism (esp. Mahāyāna). The grammar of classical Sanskrit is highly precise and logical.

śāstra (Skt.): order, law, teaching, instruction; the term designates any instrument of teaching and any religious, scientific or artistic treatise.

Śiva (Skt.): one of the greatest gods of Brahmanism, corresponding to the Vedic divinity Rudra, master of the yogis and supreme god of the Śivaite sects (Mahādeva, Maheśvara). In Buddhism, Śiva is inferior to the thirty-three gods but is the most powerful of the earth-dwelling deities.

Skanda (Skt.): a Brahmanic divinity, the god of war; son of Śiva (also known as Kārttikeya). Forever youthful, he wears his hair with the five or three locks of adolescent boys. His mount is a peacock.

song kriiang (Th.): "wearing royal attire", designating adorned Buddha images in the iconography of Thailand.

Śrī (Skt.): divinity, wife of Vishnu (see also, *Lakshmī, abhisheka* of Śrī). Also, an honorary prefix attached to the names of deities, high-ranking personages, and geographical sites or territories.

stūpa (Skt.): originally meaning tumulus or burial mound, it very early became the most important type of Buddhist monument and was gradually enhanced with a very elaborate symbolism. Essentially, a *stūpa* is a reliquary or commemorative monument consisting of a dome supported by a base and surmounted by tiers of parasols.

Sujātā (Skt., P.): name of a pious woman from whom the future Buddha once accepted a bowl of curds. This refreshment put an end to the long, prejudicial and exhausting austerities to which he had subjected himself, and having thus regained his strength he was ready for the Enlightenment.

Sūrya (Skt.): the Brahmanic sun god, represented with a lotus in each hand. In the iconography of North India he wears a miter and boots. He plays a lesser part in Buddhism, but in Dvāravatī imagery (esp. Wheels of the Law), he appears occasionally in the same role as the goddess Śrī.

sūtra (Skt.; P., *sutta*): a sacred cord or thread; the rule expressed in aphorisms; also, books containing the rules and teachings of the Buddha (excluding the Commentaries).

Suvannabhūmi (P.): "Land of Gold", a name which in early Buddhist texts appears to designate part of lower Burma and western Thailand (the western section of the Menam Plain and possibly including peninsular Thailand as well).

tantra (Skt.): doctrine, rule, theory, and especially esoteric doctrines making much use of magical formulas. The ritualistic practices of Tantrism, arising as a movement in the sixth century, penetrated both the late Mahāyāna and Brahmanic cults.

Tāvatimsa (P.): see *Gods, Thirty-three.*

Thammayut (Th.; P., *Dhammayuttika*): "keeping to the Law," the name of the Buddhist sect founded by King Rāma IV Mongkut to counter the tendencies toward laxity and declining discipline in religious matters.

Theravāda (P.): "Doctrine of the Elders", representing the traditional Pāli heritage of early Buddhism; the Pāli Canon is considered by the Theravāda sects to the authentic doctrine.

tribhanga (Skt.): triple flexion; the attitude with a pronounced sway of the hips that is characteristic of Indian statuary.

triśūla (Skt.): trident, weapon; attribute of Śiva and, on occasion, his symbol as well.

Trivikrama (Skt.): "three strides". Vāmana, the dwarf Brahman, fifth incarnation of Vishnu, conquered the three worlds in three strides over the demon-king Bali but left the underworld to him.

Tushita (Skt.; P. *Tusita*): one of the heavens of the Realm of Desires, far above Mount Meru. There dwell the gods in palaces in the air, the Bodhisattvas awaiting their final existence on Earth, and the deceased mothers of the Buddhas.

Umā (Skt.): one of the names of Devī, wife or *śakti* (personified energy) of Śiva. Like the other aspects of Devī (Durgā, Kālī, Gaurī, etc.), Umā also appears as an autonomous divinity.

uposathaghara (P.; Th., *ubosoth, bot*): assembly hall of Buddhist monks; laid out on a rectangular plan, with a single nave or with side aisles. At the end stands a large Buddha image on a high pedestal. The consecrated area is marked off by eight boundary stones (*simās*).

ūrnā (Skt.; P., *unnā*): tuft of white hair between the eyebrows of the Buddha; one of the *lakshanas*. The *ūrnā* is rarely indicated in the art of Southeast Asia.

ushnīsha (Skt.; P., *unhīsa*): turban, skull protuberance; one of the *lakshanas*, generally surmounted by a knob or a flame (*rasmi*).

uttarāsanga (Skt., P.): the outer robe of the Buddhist monk; a large rectangular piece of cloth consisting of several strips sewn together; it is draped in various ways, either covering both shoulders or leaving the right shoulder bare.

Vaiśravana: see *Kuvera*.

vajrāsana (Skt.): the Adamantine Seat, which appeared miraculously on the site of the Enlightenment at the moment when the future Buddha sat there in meditation to prepare himself for the Enlightenment. The *vajrāsana* posture is the seated attitude with legs crossed and each foot resting on the opposite thigh, the soles turned upward (also called *vajraparyanka* or *padmāsana*).

Vajrasattva (Skt.): Buddha of the late Mahāyāna (sometimes also a Bodhisattva), the "Being with a Thunderbolt". This figure is sometimes confused with Vajradhara, the "Thunder Bearer", at the top of the hierarchy of transcendental Buddhas, representing the Buddha as supreme reality.

vara mudrā (Skt.): gesture of bestowing favors and charity, with the right hand open and arm extended (also, *varada mudrā*). In Mahāyāna, the gesture of the transcendental Buddha Ratnasambhava.

Vatuka-Bhairava (Skt.): "the Terrible", the menacing aspect of Śiva, with projecting fangs, bristling hair, and eyes bursting out of his head. His mount is a dog.

vihāra (Skt., P.; Th., *vihan*): originally, the dwelling place of monks. Having the same plan as the *uposathaghara*, the *vihāra* came to house Buddha images. It often occupies the center of a courtyard surrounded by a cloister where additional statues of the Buddha are erected.

Vinaya (Skt., P.): discipline. The first section of the three-part Buddhist Canon (known as the *Tripitaka* &., *Tipitaka*, or "Three Baskets"). The *Vinaya* lists all the rules of discipline and sets forth the reasons for them; also contains the rules governing monastic attire.

vīrāsana (Skt.): "the seat of the hero (*vīra*)." The hero posture is the seated attitude with legs folded, one lying on top of the other; usually the right leg lies on the left.

Vishnu (Skt.): one of the chief gods of Brahmanism, considered by its adherents to be the supreme lord. Usually represented with four arms, he can be designated by 108 names corresponding to various shapes and activities. His ten incarnations (*avatāras*, "descents") enable him to reveal himself in order to save the world.

Viśvakarman (Skt.; P., *Vissakamma* or *Vissukamma*): god of the Heaven of the Thirty-three, architect of the gods. At the command of Indra, he sometimes builds various structures on Earth for the Buddha.

vitarka mudrā (Skt.): gesture of argumentation, with half-opened hand, thumb and index finger joined. The gesture may be performed with one or both hands. In the iconography of South India and related schools, it is substituted for the *dharmacakra mudrā*.

wat (Th.): Buddhist monastery, in which the various other religious edifices are grouped. Often translated as "pagoda;" sometimes, the latter term refers only to the *stūpa*.

world ruler: the universal monarch (Skt., *cakravartin* or "sovereign with the Wheel") dominating the four continents, beginning with that of the East. In the Buddhist view, only a *cakravartin* is able to extend his influence without resorting to force, and he alone has the power to disperse and relocate sacred relics. A world ruler never reigns in a Buddha's lifetime.

yakshas, yakshinīs (Skt.; P., *yakkhas, yakkhinīs*): supernatural beings attending Kuvera. They may be kindly or menacing; they are sometimes represented as cannibalistic. In Buddhism, it is generally their protective role that prevails.

yoga (Skt., P.): system of physical and spiritual discipline designed to give mastery over body and mind. Originating in ancient times, these exercises are used as much in Buddhism as in Brahmanism. The *yogi* is the adept of *yoga*, the ascetic who practices *yoga*.

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Abbreviations:

AA	*Arts Asiatiques,* Paris
Art. Asiae	*Artibus Asiae,* Ascona
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient,* Hanoi, Saigon, and Paris
Essays . . .	*Essays Offered to G. H. Luce by His Colleagues and Friends in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday.* Edited by Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, and A. B. Griswold. 2 vols. (Ascona, 1966)
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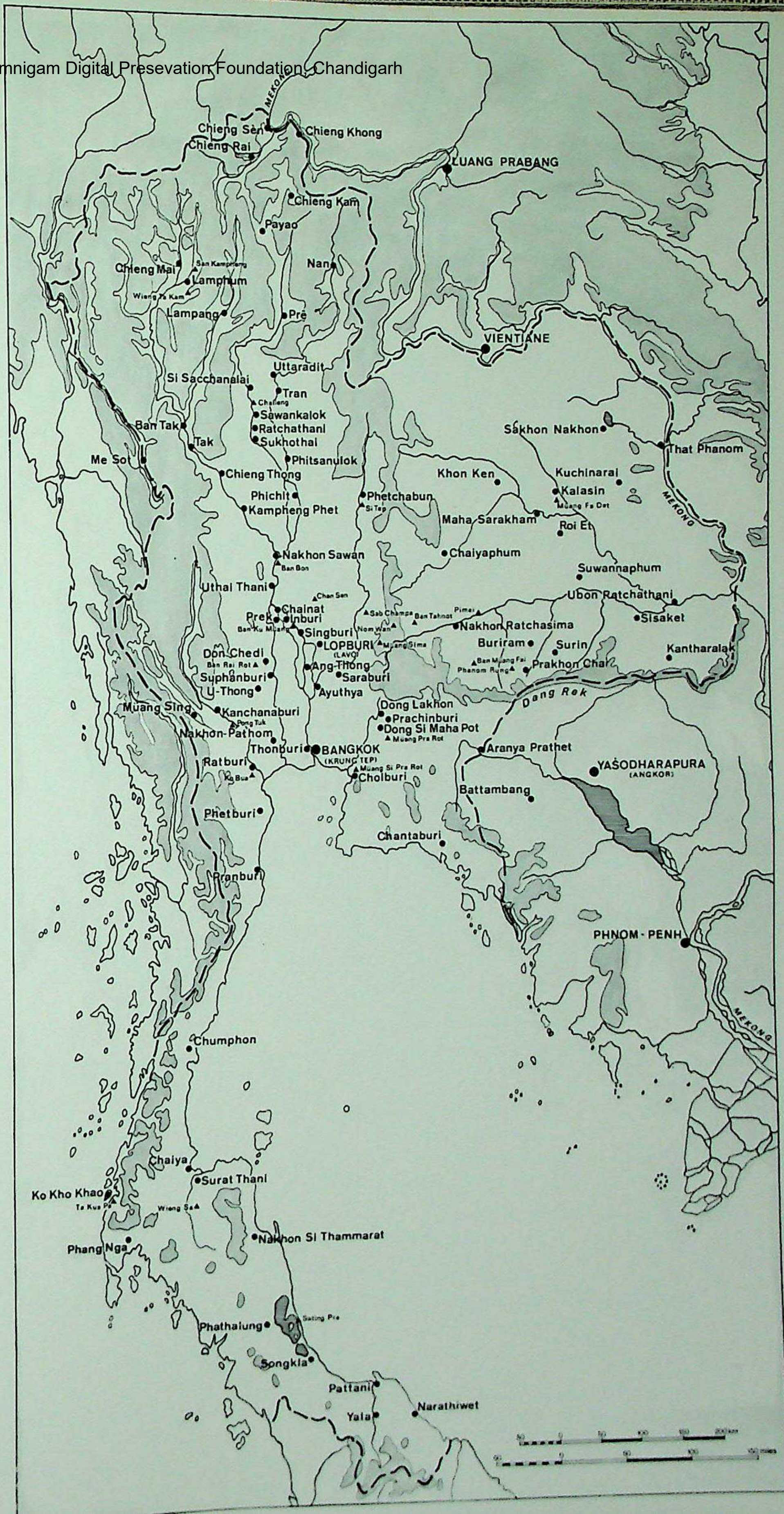
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Chieng Rai
LUANG PRABANG
Chieng Kam
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Chieng Mai
Lamphum
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Lampang
Pre
VIENTIANE
Uttaradit
Si Sacchanalai
Tran
Chaliang
Sawankalok
Ratchathani
Sukhothai
Sakhon Nakhon
That Phanom
Ban Tak
Tak
Me Sot
Phitsanulok
Chieng Thong
Khon Ken
Kuchinarai
Kalasin
Muang Fa Det
Phichit
Phetchabun
Si Tep
Kampheng Phet
Maha Sarakham
Roi Et
MEKONG
Nakhon Sawan
Ban Bon
Chaiyaphum
Suwannaphum
Uthai Thani
Chan Sen
Ubon Ratchathani
Chainat
Prek
Inburi
Ban Ku Muang
Sab Champa
Ban Takhoi
Pimai
Nakhon Ratchasima
Sisaket
Singburi
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(LAVO)
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Buriram
Surin
Kantharalak
Don Chedi
Ban Rai Rot
Ban Muang Fai
Phanom Rung
Prakhon Chai
Ang Thong
Saraburi
Suphanburi
U-Thong
Ayuthya
Dang Rek
Dong Lakhon
Muang Sing
Kanchanaburi
Prachinburi
Pong Tuk
Dong Si Maha Pot
Nakhon Pathom
Muang Pra Rot
Aranya Prathet
Thonburi
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(KRUNG TEP)
YAŚODHARAPURA
(ANGKOR)
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Cholburi
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Battambang
Phetburi
Chantaburi
Pranburi
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MEKONG
Chumphon
Chaiya
Surat Thani
Ko Kho Khao
Ta Kua Pa
Wieng Sa
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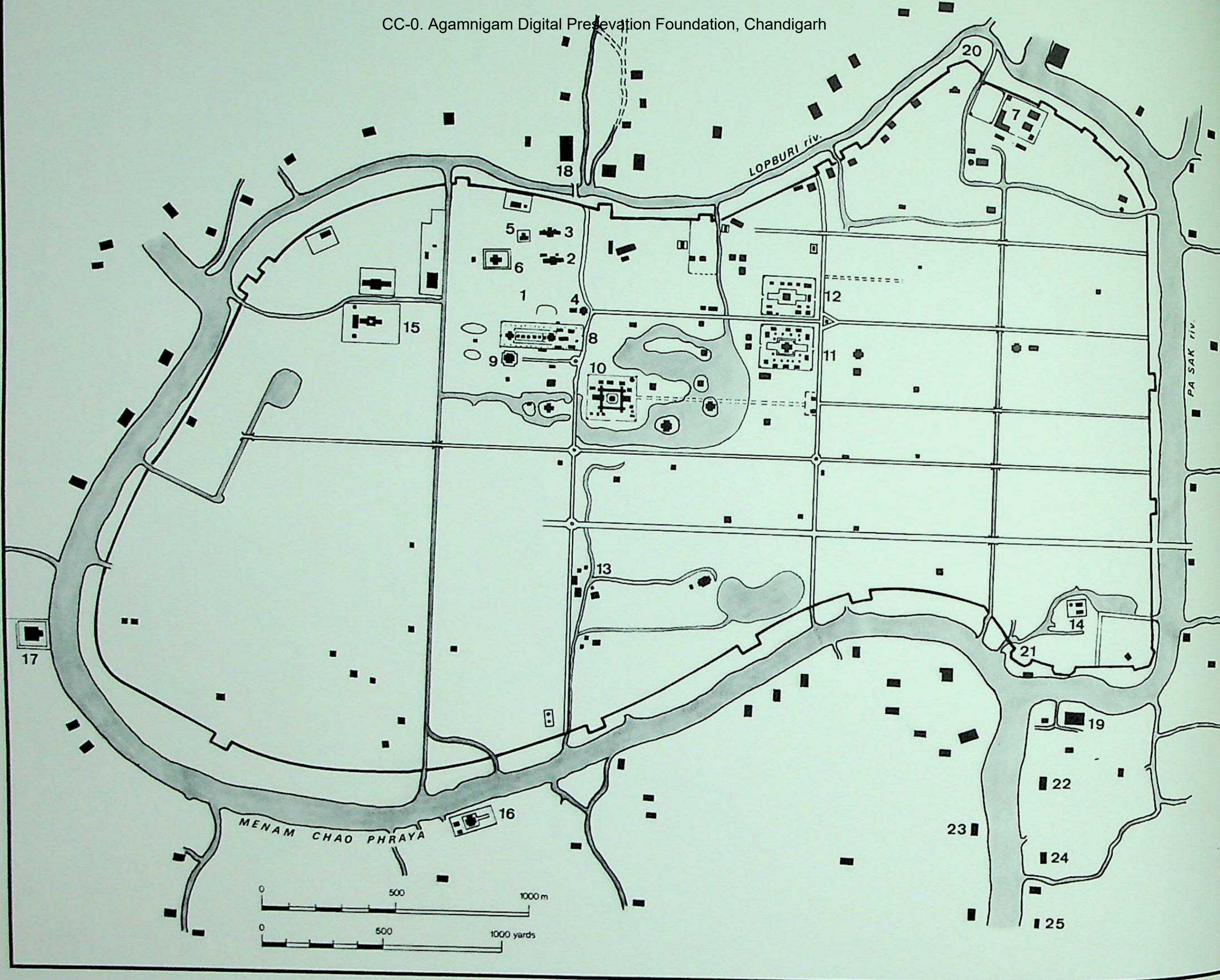
Map VI:
General Map
of Thailand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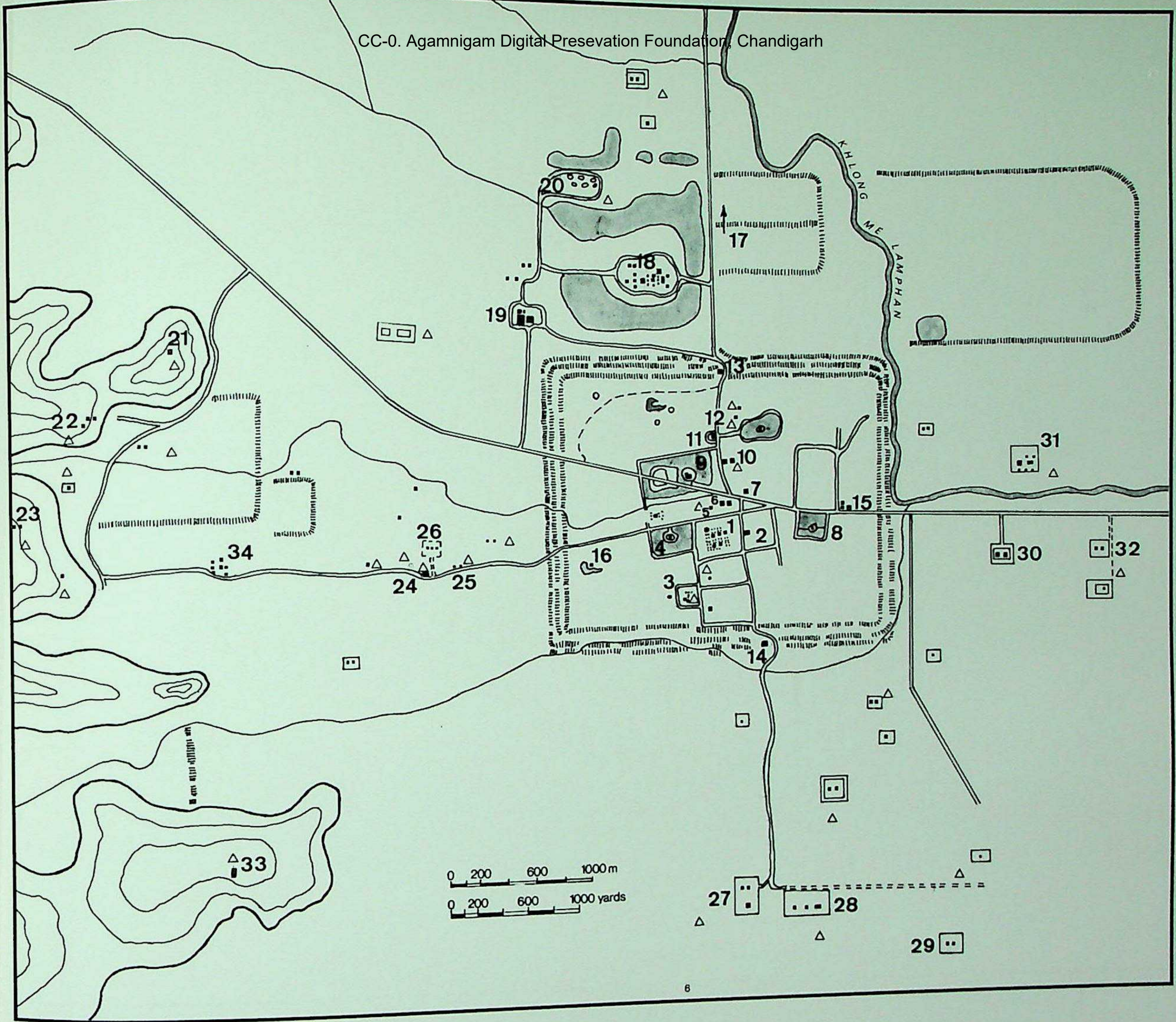
City Plan of Ayuthya

Royal buildings:
1. Wang Lang (old Royal Palace)
2. Vihan Somdet
3. Sanphet Prasat
4. Chakravat-phaichayon
5. Trimuk
6. Banyong-ratanat
7. Chatakasem or Wang Na (Palace)

Monasteries:
8. Wat Si Sanphet
9. Vihan Pra Mongkol Bopit
10. Wat Pra Ram
11. Wat Pra Mahathat
12. Wat Ratchaburana (or Rājapūrana)
13. Wat Boromaphuttaram
14. Wat Suwandararam
15. Wat Lokayasutha
16. Wat Phutthaisawan
17. Wat Chai Watthanaram
18. Wat Na Pra Men
19. Wat Pra Chao Phananchöng

Fortifications:
20. Pom Mahachai (bastion)
21. Pom Phet (bastion)

Foreign establishments:
22. Dutch quarter
23. Portuguese quarter
24. British quarter
25. Japanese quarter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City Plan of Sukhothai

1. Wat Mahathat
2. Nön Prasat
3. Wat Si Sawai
4. Wat Trapang Ngön
5. Lake Müang
6. Wat Chana Songkhram
7. Wat Mai
8. Wat Trapang Thong
9. Wat Sa Si
10. Wat Ta Kuan
11. San Ta Pa Dèng
12. Wat Sarasak
13. Pratu San Luang (Gate)
14. Pratu Namo (Gate)
15. Pratu Kamphèng Hak (Gate)
16. Pratu Oa (Gate)
17. Pra Ruang road (to Si Sacchanalai)
18. Wat Pra Pai Luang
19. Wat Si Chum
20. Potters' kilns of Thurieng
21. Wat Saphan Hin
22. Wat Pra Bat Noi
23. Wat Chedi Ngam
24. Ho Thewalai Mahakaset Phiman
25. Wat Tük
26. Wat Pa Mamuang
27. Wat Chetuphon
28. Wat Chedi Si Hong
29. Wat Wat Si Pichit Kiti Kalyaram
30. Wat Trapang Thong Lang
31. Wat Chang Lom
32. Wat Chedi Sung
33. Wat Pra Bat Yai
34. Wat Mongkon

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
	543	*Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha (traditional date)	543	Year 1 of the Buddhist era		Bronze Age culture
		Walls of Rājagriha (Old Rajgir)		Beginning of the historical period (according to the *Mahāvamsa*)		
	518	Conquest of Gandhāra and Sind by Darius				
500						
	c. 486	Probable date of the *Mahāparinirvāna*	c. 500	Mesolithic culture of Balangoda	c. 500-250	Vietnam: Dông-sön culture (Late Bronze Age)
	c. 480	Buddhist council of Rājagriha				
400						
	c. 380	Buddhist council of Vaiśālī				
	327-325	Alexander's expedition to India				
	324-300	Reign of Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya dynasty				
	c. 305	Expedition of Seleucus Nicator				
	c. 302	Megasthenes visits Pātaliputra				
300						
	c. 273-236	Reign of Aśoka				Beginning of Iron Age
	c. 256	Buddhist missionaries sent to neighboring countries				Appearance of lacquer in Vietnam
	c. 250	Buddhist council of Pātaliputra		Beginning of the Anurādhapura period	257-111	Early historical period in Vietnam
		Pillars of Aśoka, caves of the Barabar hills (Bihār)	247-207	Reign of Devānampiya Tissa	c. 255	Construction of the Co-loa citadel in Vietnam
		Fortifications of Shishupalgarh (Orissa)		Introduction of Buddhism		China-India relations by the Burma road
	c. 217	Buddhist missionaries in China (according to Chinese tradition)		Mahinda moves to Mihintale		Early exchanges with the Indian world
				Arrival of a cutting from the Bodhi Tree		
				Founding of the Mahāvihāra		
				First Sinhalese Buddhist Commentaries		
200						
	c. 187	End of the Maurya dynasty	199	Death of Mahinda		
	c. 187-75	Śunga dynasty	161-137	Reign of Dutthagāmanī		
	165	Indo-Parthian rulers of Bactria		Building at Anurādhapura and Mihintale		
	126	A Chinese embassy visits the Oxus				
		Balustrades of the Bhārhut *stūpa*, of Bodh Gayā, etc.	103-102	Reign of Vattagāmanī	111 B.C.-939 A.D.	Chinese occupation of Vietnam
				Tamil attacks		
100						
		Early caves of Orissa				
	75-30	Kānva dynasty	89-77	Restoration of Vattagāmanī		
		Early Buddhist caves, *Toranas* of *stūpas* I and III at Sāñchi				

	THAILAND				CHINA	
	History		Art			
				Bronze Age (later period) Cemeteries of Lopburi Khao and Khao Khi Phoi (Uthai Thani): stone implements, pottery, bronze, iron, hempen textiles	c. 551-479	K'ung-fu-tzu (Confucius) Bronze Age civilization
500						
					481	End of the "Spring and Autumn Period"
					453-221	Warring States period Iron Age
400						
			400 ± 100	Late Bronze Age: Dông-sön material (bronze drums) and later stone industry (regions of Uttaradit, Kalasin, Kanchanaburi, etc.)	c. 372-289	Meng-tzu (Mencius)
300						
	c. 240-220	Buddhist missionaries in Suvannabhūmi (Lower Burma or West Menam Plain), according to Buddhist tradition			221-206	Ch'in dynasty
					214	Construction of the Great Wall begins
					206 B.C. – 9 A.D.	Former Han dynasty
200						
					c. 117	Beginnings (?) of tomb sculpture
100						
						Appearance of glazed pottery

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
	c. 30	Beginnings of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the Deccan	35-32	Writing of the Pāli Canon First dissensions in the Buddhist Community (Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra)		
	26-20	Embassies to Augustus				
0						
	c. 20	Indo-Scythian rulers: Maues		Contacts with the Roman world Pliny mentions Ceylon	40-43	Insurrection of the Trung sisters in Vietnam Expedition of Ma Yüan; intensified sinicization of North Vietnam
	78	Beginning of the Śaka era Kushans in the Indus Valley				Beginnings of indianization Buddhist monks in Vietnam
	78-102(?)	Reign of Kanishka (or 144-188?)				
100						
	c. 100	Embassy to Trajan Roman trading stations in the south (emporium near Pondicherry) "Greco-Buddhist" art of Gandhāra Art of Mathurā Art of Amarāvatī				Brick tombs of Han type in Vietnam First rulers of Fu-nan Earliest material from Oc-èo, Beikthano, Halin, etc.
200						
			214-36	Progress of the Mahāyāna		Kingdom of Lin-yi (northern provinces of future Champa) Pyu kingdom of the Irrawaddy
	293	Sassanian conquests in the Northwest				
300						
	320	Beginning of the Gupta era Gandhāra art, beginnings of Gupta art	303-31	Reign of Sirimeghavanna Height of the Anurādhapura period First mention of Bodhisattva images		Increasing trade with eastern and western Asia
	376-414	Reign of Chandragupta II	c. 362	Arrival of the Tooth Relic	c. 375	Sanskrit inscriptions from Bhavavarman (Champa)

	THAILAND			CHINA	
	History		Art		
0	43	First mention of the Peninsula: Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*		9-23	Usurpation of Wang Mang
				23-220	Later Han dynasty
					Funerary shrines of Shantung
					Earliest Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts
100			Protohistoric culture (West Menam Plain, regions of Lopburi and Dong Si Maha Pot)		
				182	Tomb frescoes of Wang-tu (Hopei)
				1st-3rd centuries	Horses and chariots of the Wu Wei tomb (Kansu)
200		Indianized states in the Peninsula (according to Chinese sources)	Alexandrian lamp from Pong Tük, Roman and Hellenistic intaglios	220-65	The Three Kingdoms
				243	First embassy from Fu-Nan
				260	Pilgrimage of Chou Chih-ning to Khotan
				265-316	Western Ch'in dynasty
					Relations with India begin, by way of the southern sea route
300		Sanskrit rock inscriptions in the Peninsula	Earliest influence of Andhra art (U Thong)		Beginning of the Turco-Mongolian invasions
				316-589	The Six Dynasties, division of North and South
				after 335	Chinese pilgrims in the "western countries"
				344-409	The painter Ku K'ai-chih
				353	Work begins on the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang
				393-413	Pilgrimage of Fa-hsien to India and Ceylon

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
400						
	405-11	Fa-hsien in India				
			410-32	Reign of Mahānāma		
			412-13	Fa-hsien lives at Anurādhapura		
			428	Embassy to China, nuns sent to Nanking		
			432-59	Tamil invasion and rule		
	436	Simhavarman, Pallava king of Kānchi				
		Founding of the Buddhist university of Nālandā	459-77	Reign of Dhātusena		
	448	Hephthalite Huns in the Oxus valley		Construction of monasteries, embellishment of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri		Burma: towns of Prome, Beikthano, Halin
		Mahāyānist caves of Ajantā	477-95	Reign of Kassapa I		
		Sārnāth school of sculpture		Sigiriya: fortress, palace, frescoes	484	Fu-nan: embassy of the monk Nāgasena to China
	499	End of the great Gupta dynasty	495-512	Reign of Moggallāna I		
500						
		Gandhāra art (Bāmiyān)		Arrival of the Hair Relic		
		Temples of Bodh Gayā, Deogarh, etc.				
		Caves of Ajantā, Ellora, Aurangābād, etc.			514	Fu-nan: usurpation of Rudravarman
	543	Beginning of the Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpi			537	Last mention of Fu-nan
					c. 550	Beginnings of Cambodia (Chenla)
	565-631	Conquest of Khotan by western Turks				Progress of the Mahāyāna in Vietnam
	578	Inscription in Cave III at Bādāmi				Amitābha statue at Van-phuc
600						
	c. 600-30	Reign of Mahendravarman I, Pallava	608-18	Reign of Aggabodhi II		Buddhism attested in Indonesia
	606-47	Reign of Harshavardhana		Rebuilding of the Thūpārāma, new monasteries	617	Cambodia: embassy of Īśānavarman I to China
	609-42	Reign of Pulakesin II, Chālukya				
		Gandhāra art (Fundukistan)		Internal dissensions and Tamil interference		Foundations at Sambor Prei Kuk
		Rock temples: Aurangābād, Ellorā, etc.				
		Pallava art: Mahāballipuram				
	627-45	Journey of Hsüan-tsang				Burma: enceintes of Śrīkshetra and Thatön (Sudhammavatī)
						Champa: foundations at Mi-sön
	675-85	I-ching lives at Nālandā				Vietnam: Hoà-phong pagoda (temple of Phap-vân)
			684-718	Reign of Mānavamma		
				Alliance with the Pallavas	c. 683	Beginnings of the Śrīvijaya kingdom in Sumatra
700						
		Rise of the Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism				
	711	Muslim conquest of Sind				
	731	Embassy of Yaśovarman to China				Java: temples of the Dieng plateau

	THAILAND			CHINA	
	History		Art		
400				404-37	Chih-mung and 15 monks in India
	424-53	First embassies to China from the principalities of the Peninsula			
	c. 450	Sanskrit inscription of Raktamrittikā (Land of Red Earth), Phathalung-Kelantan region	Influences of South Indian art (Sungai Kolok and Korat Buddhas, U Thong reliefs, Chaiya Vishnu, etc.)	c. 450	Work begins on the cave temples of Yün-kang
				494	Founding of the cave temples of Lung-men
500				c. 500	The painter Hsieh Ho
		Khmer inscriptions in the eastern provinces and at Si Tep	Gupta influences in statuary (Wieng Sa, U Thong, Chainat, etc.). Bronzes in the Sui style (Phetburi)	581-618	Sui dynasty
600				618-907	T'ang dynasty
		Buddhist inscriptions (Nakhon Pathom, U Thong, Dong Si Maha Pot, etc.) Khmer inscriptions (Chantaburi, Aranya Prathet) Hsüan-tsang refers to the kingdom of Dvāravatī	Rise of the Dvāravatī school Temples founded at Nakhon Pathom, U Thong, Ku Bua, etc. Pre-Angkorian art in the eastern provinces	629-45	Pilgrimage of Hsüan-tsang to India
				646	*Record of the Western Lands* (by Hsüan-tsang)
				671-95	I-ching goes to India by the southern sea route
				676	Great Buddha of Lung-men
	661	Founding of Haripuñjaya (traditional date)		699-759	The painter Wang Wei, who developed ink monochrome painting
		First Inscription of the kingdom of Canāśa (Bo Ika) Copper plate inscription from U Thong			
700				706	Tomb of Princess Yung-t'ai at Ch'ien-hsien (Shensi)
			Brahmanic statues in the Peninsula and at Dong Si Maha Pot		

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
	c. 740	Capture of Kānchī by the Chālukyas				
	753	Beginnings of the Rāshtrakūta empire			c. 750-930	Art of Central Java
	765-1197	Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Bihār			c. 768	Establishment of the Śailendra dynasty in Java
	c. 760	Kailāsa of Ellorā				
		Bodh Gayā, Nālandā, Pattadakal, etc.	777-97	Reign of Mahinda II		Indonesian raids in the Indochina Peninsula
				Foundations at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva		
800						
					802-54	Cambodia: Reign of Jayavarman II
			833-53	Reign of Sena I	825	Burma: founding of Pegu
				Pāndya invasion and conquest, looting of Anurādhapura	875	Champa: Buddhist temple of Dông-düöng
			853-87	Reign of Sena II		
	c. 870	End of the Pallava dynasty		Alliance with the Pallavas against the Pāndyas	879-89	Cambodia: reign of Indravarman I
	c. 871-907	Reign of Adityarāja, Chola				Temples founded at Roluoh: Prah Kô, Bakong
					889-c. 900	Cambodia, reign of Yaśovarman I
		Chola art				Founding of Angkor (Yaśodharapura): Phnom Bakheng, etc.
900						
	c. 900-925	Reign of Harsha, Chandella	915	The Pāndya ruler seeks aid against the Cholas and takes refuge in Ceylon		
		Khajurāho (early period)			927-41	Cambodia: reign of Jayavarman IV
						New capital at Koh Ker (921-44): Prasat Thom, etc.
					c. 930	Art of Eastern Java
	c. 962	Founding of the kingdom of Ghazni	c. 946	Anurādhapura abandoned for Rohana	939	Independence of Vietnam
	973	Founding of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalyānī	959	Chola invasion	945-68	Cambodia: reign of Rājendravarman II
						Return to Angkor: eastern Prasat Mebon, Pre Rup, etc.
	985-1012	Reign of Rājarāja, Chola	982-1029	Reign of Mahinda V, last ruler of Anurādhapura	968	Reunification of Vietnam
			985-1015	Chola rule		
	998-1030	Reign of Mahmud of Ghazni	993	Anurādhapura taken and sacked	982	Expedition of Vietnam against Champa
1000						
	1012-44	Reign of Rājendra Chola I			1002-49	Cambodia, reign of Sūryavarman I
	1018	Capture of Kanauj by Mahmud	1017	Capture of Mahinda V and Chola occupation	1010-1225	Vietnam: Li dynasty
	1023	Chola incursion into Bengal			1016-49	Java: reign of Airlanga
		Chola art (Tanjore, etc.)			1025	Sumatra: Chola suzerainty
			1055	Vijayabāhu crowned at Rohana	1044-77	Burma: reign of Aniruddha
						Campaign against Thatön (1158)
	1080-1101	Reign of Harsha, Kāshmīr	1073	Vijayabāhu drives out the Cholas and transfers the capital to Polonnaruva		Foundations at Pagan
					1078-1222	Java: kingdom of Kadiri
					c. 1086-1112	Burma: reign of Kyanzittha

	THAILAND				CHINA	
	History		Art			
					755	Rebellion of An Lu-shan
	775	Śrīvijaya attested in the Peninsula (Ligor)		Mahāyāna bronzes in the north-eastern provinces (Ban Tahnot, Prakon Chai, Ban Fai, etc.)		
800						
		Expansion of Śrīvijaya into the Menam Plain		Peak of the Mahāyāna school of Śrīvijaya (Chaiya)	845	Buddhism outlawed Cessation of Buddhist pilgrimages
	868	Inscription of the kingdom of Canāśa (Bo Ika)		Renewed activity of Dvāravatī architecture	874	Agrarian uprising of Huang Ch'ao
				Brahmanic and Buddhist art of Si Tep		
				Pallava influences in the Peninsula		
900						
					907-60	The Five Dynasties
					916-1125	Liao empire (Khitan) north of the Great Wall Yüeh celadons Official use of printing
	937	Inscription of the kingdom of Canāśa (Ayuthya)		Decline of the Mahāyāna schools in the Menam Plain	c. 937-75	The painter Tung Yüan
				Decadence of the Dvāravatī school	960-1126	Northern Sung dynasty
					966	Restoration of Buddhism, collective pilgrimage
1000						
	1022-25	Khmer expansion to Lopburi and into the Menam Plain				
	1025	Raid of Rājendra Chola I in the Peninsula		Influences of Angkor art at Lopburi		
			1036-1042	Founding of the sanctuary of Pimai		White Ting porcelain
		Relations of Haripuñjaya with the Mōns of Lower Burma			c. 1050	End of the pilgrimages to India
	1068	Raid of Vīrarājendra Chola in the Peninsula	1063	Founding of the Great Relic Monastery at Lamphun	1071-76	Reforms of Wang An-shih

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
1100						
	c. 1106-41	Reign of Vishnuvardhana, Hoysala			c. 1113-45	Cambodia: reign of Sūryavarman II
		Hoysala art (Belur, Halebid)				Founding of Angkor Wat
	c. 1150-99	Sena dynasty in Bengal				Fighting against Champa and Vietnam
			1153-86	Reign of Parakrāmabāhu I	1173-1210	Burma: reign of Narapatisithu and introduction of Sinhalese Buddhism
				Monuments at Polonnaruva		
			c. 1160	Unification of sects within the Mahāvihāra	1177	Cambodia: Angkor captured by Champa
			1161	Unification of the kingdom		
	1186	Muhammad of Ghor occupies the Punjab	1164	Raids in Burma and in the Pāndya kingdom	1181-c. 1218	Cambodia: reign of Jayavarman VII
	1193	Delhi taken by Qutb-ub-dīn Aibak	1187-96	Reign of Nissamkamalla		Construction of Angkor Thom: the Bayon, Prah Khan, Ta Prohm, etc.
				Foundations at Polonnaruva		
	1197	Destruction of the Buddhist university of Nālandā			1191	Champa: the capital Vijaya seized by the Khmers
1200						
	1202	Benares taken by the Muslims				
	1206	Qutb-ub-dīn Aibak first sultan of Delhi	1214	Pāndya invasion and taking of the capital	1203-20	Champa annexed by Cambodia
		Muslim art in Delhi			1222-93	Java: kingdom of Singhasāri
	1221	Mongol invasion (Genghis Khan) repulsed			1225-1400	Vietnam: Trān dynasty
	1241	Lahore taken by the Mongols	1246	Jāvaka (Malayan) attack repulsed	1247	Śrīvijaya: mission sent to Ceylon and armed conflict
		Pāndya art (Chidambaram, etc.)	1256	Mission from Sukhothai	1275	Javanese expedition against Sumatra
						Progress of Islam
					1283-85	Champa: Mongol invasion
	1288	Marco Polo visits Kāyal			1285	Visit of Marco Polo
					1287	Burma: Pagan taken by the Mongols
1300			1293-1326	Kurunegala the capital	1293-1520	Java: kingdom of Mojopahit
	1308-26	Muslim conquest of the Deccan				
	1310	End of the Chola empire			1313-26	Vietnamese lordship over Champa
	1323	Mongol invasion	c. 1320	Religious mission from Burma	1315	Burma: founding of Sagaing
	1336	Founding of Vijayanagar	1326	Gampola the capital	c. 1326	Progress of Islam in the southern part of the Peninsula
			1341-1415	Gampola period, temples founded in the Kandy region	1347	Burma: Taungu the capital of the Burmese kingdom
				Religious mission from Sukhothai	1352	Cambodia: Angkor besieged by the army of Ayuthya
			1344	Dedigama the capital		
					1353	Founding of the kingdom of Lan Chang (Laos)
					1361-90	Champa: campaigns against Vietnam
						Northern provinces lost
	1398	Invasion of Timur (Tamerlane)			1364	Burma: founding of Ava
					1393-94	Cambodia: Angkor taken by the king of Ayuthya

	THAILAND				CHINA	
	History		Art			
1100						
	c. 1113-45	Khmer expansion into the Sukhothai region and the northeastern provinces; attacks against Haripuñjaya	1108	Monuments at the sanctuary of Pimai	1101-26	Reign of Hui Tsung, artist and patron of the arts
				Khmer monuments in the eastern and north-eastern provinces and at Sukhothai	1115-1237	Northern Chin empire
					1127-79	Southern Sung dynasty
	c. 1150	Lopburi throws off Khmer rule (embassies to China)	c. 1150	Founding of Wat Kukut at Lamphun		Sung celadons (Lung-chüan)
					1140-1210	The painter Liang K'ai
	1167	Dharmaśoka inscription (Nakhon Sawan)			c. 1167-1227	Genghis Khan, founder of the Mongol empire
	c. 1181	Extension of Khmer occupation (reign of Jayavarman VII)		Art in the Khmer style of the Bayon at Sukhothai, Phetburi, Müang Sing, Lopburi, Pimai, etc.		
1200						
	c. 1220-50	Liberation of the Thais in the Menam Plain	1218	Reconstruction of the large *cetiya* of Wat Kukut	1206	Genghis Khan proclaimed by the tribes
		Founding of the kingdom of Sukhothai		Pāla-Sena influences on Lopburi art and that of the North	1215	Peking taken by Genghis Khan
	1261-1317	Reign of Mangrai		Khmerizing survivals in the Lopburi school	1227	Capital of the Hsi Hsia empire taken by the Mongols
	1262	Founding of Chieng Rai				
	c. 1279-1316 (or 1299)	Reign of Rāma Kamhèng	c. 1250	*Prang* of Wat Pra Ratana Si Mahathat at Lopburi	1240-70	Work of the painter Mu-ch'i
	1283	Invention of the Thai script		Sculptures in the U Thong style	1254-1322	The painter and calligrapher Chao Meng-fu
	1287	Friendship pact between the rulers of Chieng Rai, Sukhothai and Payao		Large monuments at Sukhothai and Si Sacchanalai	1271-95	Journey of Marco Polo
				Lan Na (or Chieng Sèn) school of sculpture	1276	Hangchow, the Sung capital, taken by Khubilai Khan
	1289	Independence of Lopburi			1278-1368	Mongol Yüan dynasty
	1292	Decline of Śrīvijaya in the Peninsula	1292	Founding of Wat Chieng Man (Chieng Mai)		
		Lamphun taken by Mangrai; end of the Haripuñjaya kingdom				
	1296	Founding of Chieng Mai, capital of Lan Na				
1300						
	c. 1316-46 (or 1299)	Reign of Lö Thai, Sukhothai	1319	Founding of Wat Pasak (Chieng Sèn)	1301-74	The painter Ni Tsan
		Influence of Sinhalese Buddhism		Flowering of the Sukhothai school		"Blue and white" porcelain
	c. 1342	Relics brought to Sukhothai from Ceylon	c. 1340	Founding of Wat Pra Sing (Chieng Mai)		
	1338	Payao annexed to the kingdom of Lan Na	c. 1345	Restoration of Wat Mahathat (Sukhothai)		
	1349	Allegiance of the rulers of Sukhothai to the Prince of U Thong	1353	Founding of Wat Putthaisavan (Ayuthya)		
	1350	Founding of the kingdom of Ayuthya				
	1355-85	Reign of Kü Na, Lan Na	1369	Founding of Wat Pra Yun (near Lamphun)	1368-1644	Ming dynasty
	1370-88	Reign of Paramarāja (or Boromoracha), Ayuthya				Restoration of the Great Wall
	1370	Religious influence of Sukhothai on Lan Na	c. 1370	Influence of Sukhothai art on the Lan Na school		
	1378	Ayuthya imposes its lordship on the kingdom of Sukhothai	1374	Work begins on Wat Mahathat (Ayuthya)		

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
1400					1400	Vietnam: founding of the imperial capital of Thanh-hoa
					1402	Champa: province of Indrapura (Mi-sön) ceded to Vietnam
					1404	Founding of Malacca
					c. 1406	Java: weakening of the kingdom of Mojopahit
	1414	Khizr Khān occupies Delhi	1412-67	Reign of Parakrāmabāhu VI Kingdom of Kotte	1413-27	Vietnam: Ming occupation
	1420	Nicolo Conti visits Vijayanagar	1423	Ordination of Lan Na monks at Kalyani	1428	Vietnam: liberation by Lē Loi Founding of the Later Lē dynasty (1428-1788)
					1431	Cambodia: Angkor taken by Ayuthya
					1434	Capital transferred to Phnom-Penh
	1459	Founding of Jodhpur Development of Muslim architecture				
			1472	Founding of the kingdom of Kandy	1471	Champa: Vijaya taken by Vietnam Loss of provinces north of Cape Varella
			1475	Burmese religious embassy		
	1498	Vasco da Gama at Calicut				
1500					1499	Java: last embassy to China
	1504	Kâbul occupied by Bābur	1505	Arrival of the Portuguese	c. 1507-56	Cambodia: reign of Ang Chan Lovek the capital
	1509	Albuquerque governor of India			1511	Malacca taken by Albuquerque
	1526	Bābur victorious at Pānīpat Beginnings of the Mughal empire			1527	Vietnam: rivalry breaks out between Mac, Trinh, and Nguyên families
					1541	Burma: Pegu annexed by the Taungu dynasty
	1556-1605	Reign of Akbar			c. 1550	Cambodia: shortlived reoccupation of Angkor
	1565	Fall of the Vijayanagar empire Muslim architecture: Delhi, Agra, Allahābad, Lahore, etc. Rajput painting			1563	Laos: capital transferred from Luang Prabang to Vientiane
					1594	Cambodia: Lovek taken by Nareśvara Flight of King Satha I to Laos Interference of Portuguese and Spaniards in internal affairs
1600	1606	Rebellion of Khusrav				
	1628-58	Reign of Shāh Jahān				
	1632	Mughal invasion of Bijāpur			1611-1635	Champa reduced to the enclave of Phan-rang
	1653	Aurangzeb, viceroy of the Deccan	c. 1620	Religious mission from Ayuthya	1619	Java: founding of Batavia (ancient Sunda Kalapa, modern Jakarta)
	1658-1707	Reign of Aurangzeb Building in Delhi, Agra (Palace, Taj Mahal), Lahore, etc.			1620	Vietnam: division into two kingdoms under the nominal authority of the Lê, with the Trinh Family in the North, the Nguyên Family in the South

	THAILAND				CHINA	
	History		Art			
1400						
			1401	Founding of Wat Chedi Luang (Chieng Mai)	1403-24	Reign of Yung-lo
					1405-33	Diplomatic activity in Southeast Asia and voyages as far as Africa
			1424	Founding of Wat Rājapūrana (Ayuthya)	1420	The Temple of Heaven built in Peking
						Peak period of "blue and white" porcelain, polychrome porcelain
	1438	Kingdom of Sukhothai annexed by Ayuthya	1449	Casting of the colossal *Māravijaya* Buddha of Nan		
	1441-87	Reign of Tilokarāja, Lan Na	c. 1455	Founding of Wat Chedi Chet Yot (Chieng Mai)		
	1448-88	Reign of Borom Trailokanath, Ayuthya		Ayuthya: casting of images illustrating the 550 *Jātakas*		
	1463-91	Phitsanulok capital of the kingdom of Ayuthya	1465	Construction of Wat Chulamani (Phitsanulok)		Tombs of the Ming emperors
			1478	Construction of the Chedi of Wat Chedi Luang (Chieng Mai)		
	1475	Buddhist council at Chieng Mai	1482	Construction of Wat Mahathat (Phitsanulok)		
1500						
	1509	Embassy sent by Albuquerque to Ayuthya	1510	Erection of the Śiva and Vishnu of Kamphèng Phet		
	1515	Lampang taken by troops from Ayuthya				
	1516	Ayuthya signs a treaty with the Portuguese	1516	Construction of the enceinte of Lamphun		
	1549	Burmese invasion of the kingdom of Ayuthya			1530	Restoration of the Temple of Heaven, Peking
	1556	Chieng Mai taken by the Burmese				
	1569	Ayuthya taken by the Burmese			c. 1570	Publication of the novel *Journey to the West* and of technical and scientific works
	1590-1605	Reign of Nareśvara (Pra Naret), Ayuthya	1569	Ayuthya: building of Phu Khao Thong by the Burmese		
	1592	Pra Naret victorious over the Burmese at Nong Saray			1570	The Spaniards in Manila, trade with China
	1593	Re-establishment of the pre-1549 frontiers	1593	Ayuthya: construction of the *stūpa* of Wat Chai Mongkon to commemorate the victory of Pra Naret	1573-1619	Wan-li period, economic changes
	1598	Treaty between Ayuthya and Spain				
1600						
	1608	Ayuthyan embassy to Holland and relations with Japan	1602	Reclining Buddha of Wat Kho (Lampang)	1601	The Jesuits at the court in Peking
	1612	Official relations with England				School of painting of Father Matteo Ricci
	c. 1620	Religious mission sent to Ceylon	c. 1620	Founding of Pra Putthabat (Saraburi)		
	1630-55	Reign of Chao Prasat Thong, Ayuthya			1626-1705	The painter Chu Ta

	INDIA		SRI LANKA (CEYLON)		SOUTHEAST ASIA	
	1661	Bombay ceded to England				
	1674	Pondicherry founded by François Martin			1636	Burma: Ava the capital
	1686-87	Bijāpur and Golconda taken by the Mughals	1658	End of Portuguese domination	1641	Malacca taken by the Dutch
	1699	First Marātha raid on Mālwa			1641-47	Laos: travellers' accounts by G. van Wusthoff and Father Leria
			1687-1707	Reign of Vimaladharmasuriya Building of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy	1677	Vietnam: elimination of the Mac Family
1700					1687	Capital fixed at Huê
	1708	Shāhu, king of the Marāthas Decadence of the Mughal empire			1707	Laos divided into three kingdoms
	1728	Founding of Jaipur				
	1742	Bengal invaded by the Marāthas	1737-47	Reign of Vijaya Rājasimha Request for a religious mission to be sent from Ayuthya	1731	Cambodia loses southern provinces to the Nguyên Dynasty
	1744-48	Anglo-French war				
	1758	The Marāthas penetrate into the Punjab	1747-80	Reign of Kiri Srī Rājasimha Restoration of monuments		
	1765	Treaty of Allāhābād, end of Mughal power	1753	Arrival of the mission from Ayuthya	1752-60	Burma: reign of Alaungpaya
					1756	Founding of Dagon (Rangoon)
	1775-82	First Marātha war against the British				
					1778	Laos: Vientiane taken by Chao Phraya Chakri
					1783	Burma: founding of Amarapura
					1785	Burma annexation of Arakan
1800			1796-1815	Srī Vikrama Rājasimha, last king of Ceylon	1787	Vietnam: treaty between France and the Nguyên Dynasty
			1816	Thai religious mission to Anurādhapura and Kandy		
			c. 1820	Religious mission sent to Bangkok	1820-41	Vietnam: reign of Minh-mang
					1822	Exodus of Cham minorities to Cambodia
					1824	Burma: first Anglo-Burmese war
					1835-41	Cambodia under the overlordship of Vietnam
			1852	Mission sent to Ceylon by Rāma IV Mongkut	1838	Burma: Ava destroyed by an earthquake
					1842-45	Cambodia: rule restored to Ang Duong with the help of Bangkok
					1856-57	Burma: founding of Mandalay

	THAILAND				CHINA	
	History		Art			
1632	Conquest of Chieng Mai by the Burmese		Influences of Angkorian art in Ayuthya: construction of Prasat Nakhon Luang and Wat Chai Watthanaram		1642-1715	The painter Wang Yüan-ch'i
c. 1657-88	Reign of Chao Pra Narai, Ayuthya				1644	Burning of the imperial palace, Peking
1664	Commercial treaty between Ayuthya and Holland				1644-1911	Ch'ing dynasty
1684-87	Exchange of embassies between Ayuthya and France				1662-1722	Reign of K'ang-hsi, patron of the arts and literature
			French engineers at Lopburi		1679-1735	Writing of the "History of the Mings"
						Coromandel lacquer
1700						
1728-62	Chieng Mai recovers its independence				1706-25	Encyclopaedia in 10,000 chapters
1733-58	Reign of Chao Boromokot, Ayuthya				1736-1796	Reign of Ch'ien-lung
1750	Sinhalese religious embassy to Ayuthya		Completion of Pra Putthabat (Saraburi); restorations: *prang* of Chalieng, Wat Mahathat (Phitsanulok), Wat Mahathat (Nakhon Si Thammarat), etc.			"Famille rose" and "eggshell" ceramics
1767	Ayuthya taken and sacked by the Burmese					Carved Peking lacquer
1767-76	Liberation of the kingdom of Ayuthya				1751	Restoration of the Temple of Heaven, Peking
1767-82	Reign of Phraya Tak, with capital at Thonburi					
1775	Liberation of Chieng Mai, with Lan Na reunited to the kingdom	1780	The Emerald Buddha set up in Thonburi			
1782	Phraya Chakri proclaimed king at Bangkok as Rāma I; founding of the Chakri dynasty; transfer of the capital to Bangkok; beginning of the Ratanakosin era	1782	Bangkok, Dusit Mahaprasat Palace, Wat Mahathat			
		1785	Bangkok: Wat Pra Kèo, establishment of the Emerald Buddha.			
		1787	Reconstruction of the *mandapa* of Pra Putthabat (Saraburi)			
1796	Reconstruction of Chieng Mai by Chao Kawila	1793	Bangkok: founding of Wat Po		1796-1820	Reign of Chia-ch'ing
1800						
1809-24	Reign of Rāma II		Colossal statues in Bangkok (Wat, Suthat, Wat Ratchanada, Wat Po, etc.)			Beginning of economic decline
c. 1815	Religious mission sent to Ceylon					Internal disruption
1818	Commercial treaty with Portugal		Reconstruction of Wat Ratcha Orot (Thonburi): sinicizing tendencies			Increasing pressures exerted by Western powers
1824-51	Reign of Rāma III					
1826	Commercial treaty with the East India Company	1842	Founding of the *prang* of Wat Arun (Thonburi)			
1833	Commercial treaty with the United States	1853	Restoration of Pra Pathom Chedi begins			
1835	Introduction of printing	1864	Founding of Wat Ratchapratit (Bangkok)			
1851-68	Reign of Rāma IV Mongkut	1870	Reconstruction of Pra Pathom Chedi completed			
	Religious reform, founding of the Thammayut sect					
1855-68	Treaties granting new trade facilities to the European powers	1872	Construction of the royal palace of Bang Pa In begins			
1868-1910	Reign of Rāma V Chulalongkorn	1899	Construction of Wat Benchamabopit ("Marble Temple")			

INDEX

Abbreviations : B.: Buddha; Bodh.: Bodhisattva; div.: divinity; W.: *Wat* (monastery).
Note : Thai names are accompanied by their phonetic transliterations in parentheses. *Wats* are listed under the first letter of their names. Asterisks following a page number indicate that the reference is to a footnote.

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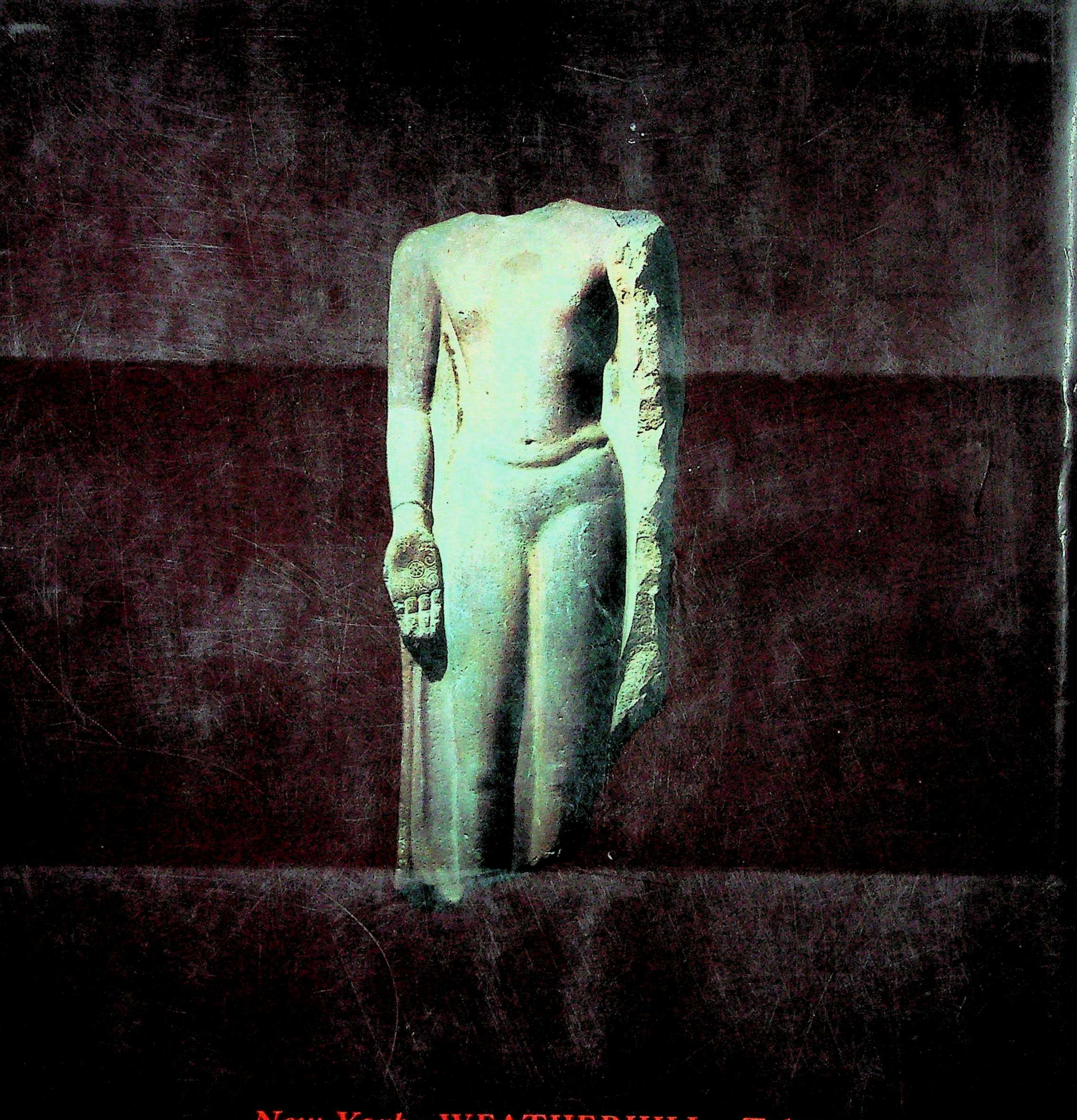

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